THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

VOLUME II. PART I.

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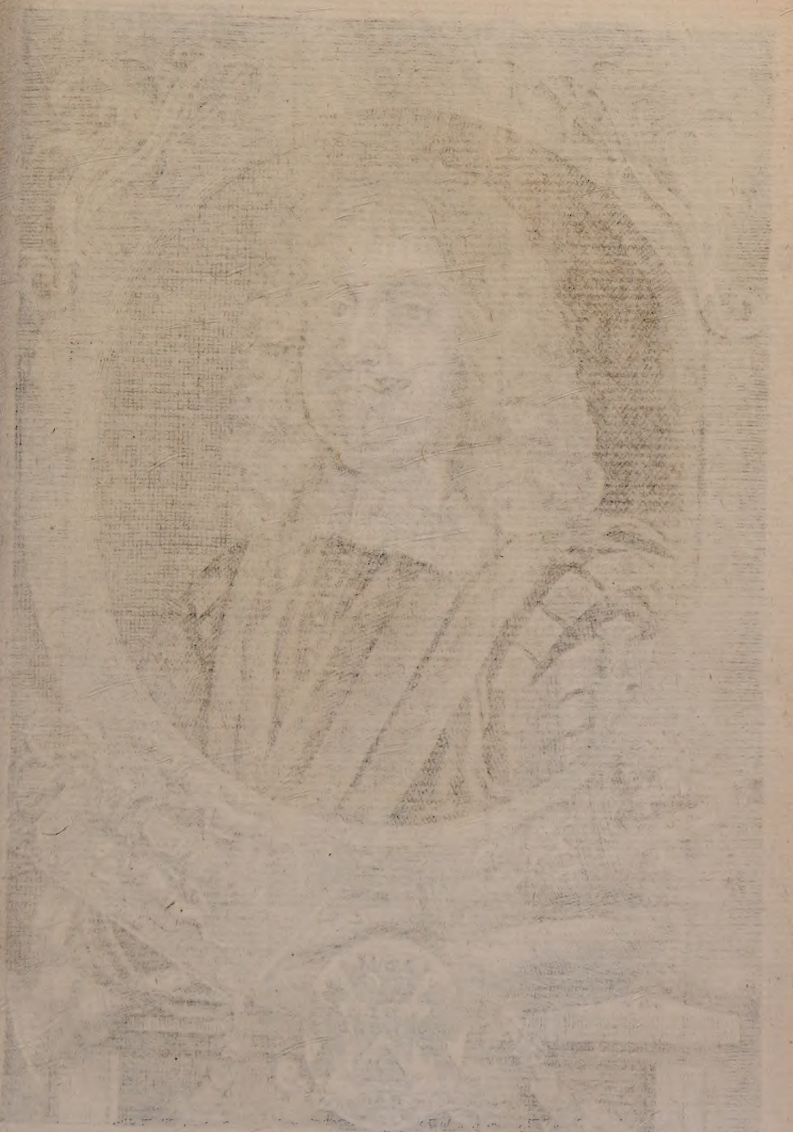

Edward Earle of CLARENDON Lord High CHANCELLOR of England and Chancellor of the University of Oxford An. Dni. 1667.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable
EDWARD EARL of CLARENDON,
Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counſellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*
Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME II. PART I.

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Sept. 15. 1703.

TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

TO *Your Majeſty is moſt humbly Dedicated this Second Part of the* Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars, *written by* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon. *For to whom ſo naturally can the works of this Author, treating of the Times of Your Royal Grandfather, be addreſs'd, as to Your Self; now wearing, with Luſtre and Glory, that Crown, which, in thoſe unhappy days, was treated with ſo much contempt and barbarity, and laid low even to the Duſt?*

This Second Part comes with the greater confidence into Your Preſence, by the advantage of the favourable reception the Firſt hath met with in the World; ſince it is not to be doubted, but the ſame truth, fairneſs, and impartiality, that will be found throughout the whole thread of the Hiſtory, will meet with the ſame Candour from all equal Judges.

'Tis true, some few Persons, whose Ancestors are here found not to have had that part during their lives which would have been more agreeable to the wishes of their surving Posterity, have been offended at some particulars, mention'd in this History, concerning so near Relations, and would have them pass for mistaken Informations. But it is to be hoped, that such a concern of Kindred for their Families, though not blameable in them, will rather appear partial on Their side; since it cannot be doubted, but this Author must have had his materials from undeniable, and unexceptionable hands, and could have no temptation to insert any thing, but the truth in a work of this nature, which was design'd to remain to Posterity, as a faithful record of things, and Persons in those Times, and of his own unquestionable sincerity in the representation of them.

In this assurance it is humbly hoped, it will not be unprofitable to Your Majesty to be here inform'd of the fatal and undeserv'd misfortunes of one of Your Ancestors, with the particular and sad occasions of them; the better to direct Your Royal Person through the continual uncertainties of the Greatness of this World. And as Your Majesty cannot have a better Guide, throughout the whole Course of Your Reign, for the good Administration of Your Government, than History in general, so there cannot be a more useful one to Your Majesty than this of Your own Kingdoms; and it is presum'd, without lying under the Imputation of misleading Your Majesty, it may be asserted that no Author could have been better instructed, and have known more of the Times and Matters of which he writes, than this who is here presented to You.

Your Majesty may depend upon his Relations to be true in Fact; and You will find his Observations just; his Reflections made with judgment and weight; and his Advices given upon wise and honest Principles; not capable of being now interpreted as subservient to any Ambition or Interest of his own; and having now outliv'd the Prejudices and Partialities of the Times in which they were Written. And Your Majesty thus Elevated, as by God's blessings You are, from whom a great many

many Truths may be industriously conceal'd, and on whom a great many wrong Notions under false Colours may with equal care be obtruded, will have the greater Advantage from this faithful Remembrancer.

This Author, once a Privy Counsellor and Minister to two Great Kings, and, in a good degree, Favourite to one of Them, hath some pretence to be admitted into Your Majesty's Council too, and may become capable of doing You Service also; whilst the Accounts he gives of Times, past, come seasonably to Guide You through the Times present, and those to come.

This History may lie upon Your Table unenvied, and Your Majesty may pass hours and days in the perusal of it, when possibly, They who shall be the most useful in Your Service, may be reflected on for aiming too much at influencing Your Actions, and engrossing Your Time.

From this History Your Majesty may come to know more of the nature, and temper of Your own People, than hath yet been observ'd by any other Hand. Neither can any Living Conversation lay before Your Majesty in one view, so many Transactions necessary for Your observation. And seeing no Prince can be endued in a moment with a perfect Experience in the Conduct of Affairs, whatever knowledge may be useful to Your Majesty's Government, if it may have been concealed from You in the Circumstances of Your Private Life, in this History it may be the most effectually supplied; where Your Majesty will find the true Constitution of Your Government, both in Church and State, plainly laid before You, as well as the Mistakes, that were committed in the management of both.

Here Your Majesty will see how both those Interests are inseparable, and ought to be preserv'd so, and how fatal it hath prov'd to both, whenever, by the Artifice and Malice of wicked and self-designing Men, they have happen'd to be divided. And though Your Majesty will see here, how a Great King lost his Kingdoms, and at last his Life, in the Defence of this Church, You will discern too, that it was by Men who were no better

Friends to Monarchy than to true Religion, that his Calamities were brought upon Him; and as it was the method of those Men to take exceptions first to the Ceremonies and outward Order of the Church, that they might attack her the more surely in her very Being and Foundation; so they could not destroy the State, which they chiefly design'd, till they had first overturn'd the Church. And a truth it is which cannot be controverted, that the Monarchy of England *is not now capable of being Supported, but upon the Principles of the Church of* England; *from whence it will be very natural to conclude, that the preserving them both firmly United together, is the likeliest way for Your Majesty to Reign happily over Your Subjects.*

The Religion by Law Establish'd is such a Vital part of the Government, so constantly woven and mixed into every branch of it, that generally Men look upon it as a good part of their Property too; since that, and the Government of the Church, is secured to them by the same Provision. So that it seems that, next to Treason against Your Sacred Person, an Invasion upon the Church ought to be watched and prevented by those who have the Honour to be trusted in the Publick Administration, with the strictest Care and Diligence, as the best way to preserve Your Person and Government in their just Dignity and Authority.

Amongst all the Observations, that may be made out of this History, there seems none more Melancholick, than that, after so much misery and desolation brought upon these Kingdoms by that unnatural Civil War, which hath yet left so many deep and lamentable marks of it's Rage and Fury, there have hitherto appear'd so few signs of Repentance and Reformation.

Some Persons will see, they are design'd to be excepted out of this Remark, whose Conduct hath happily made amends for the Mistakes of their Ancestors, and whose Practice in the Stations they are now in, does sufficiently distinguish them. Happy were it for the Nation, had all the rest thought fit to follow so good Examples, and that either Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion,

or

or Acts of Grace and Favour, or Employments of Authority, Riches, and Honour, had hitherto been able to recover many of them to the temper of good Subjects. The truth of this obſervation is ſet forth by this Author in ſo lively a manner, that one hath frequent occaſions to look on him as a Prophet as well as an Hiſtorian, in ſeveral Particulars mention'd in this Book.

That this Remark may not look froward or angry, with great ſubmiſſion to Your Majeſty, it may be conſider'd, what can be the meaning of the ſeveral Seminaries, and as it were Univerſities, ſet up in divers parts of the Kingdom, by more than ordinary Induſtry, contrary to Law, ſupported by large Contributions; where the Youth is bred up in Principles directly contrary to Monarchical and Epiſcopal Government? What can be the meaning of the conſtant Solemnizing by ſome Men, the Anniverſary of that diſmal Thirtieth of January, *in ſcandalous and opprobrious Feaſting and Jeſting, which the Law of the Land hath Commanded to be perpetually obſerv'd in Faſting and Humiliation? If no ſober Man can ſay any thing in the defence of ſuch Actions, ſo deſtructive to the very Eſſence of the Government, and yet impoſſible to be conducted without much Conſultation and Advice, it is hoped this Reflection will not be thought to have proceeded from an uncharitable and ill-natur'd Spirit, but from a dutiful and tender Regard to the good of the Nation, and the proſperity of Your Majeſty's Reign.*

In the mean time, whether this does not look like an induſtrious Propagation of the Rebellious Principles of the laſt Age, and on that ſcore render it neceſſary that Your Majeſty ſhould have an Eye toward ſuch unaccountable Proceedings, is humbly ſubmitted to Your Majeſty; who will make a better Judgment upon the whole than any others can ſuggeſt to You: You have a greater Intereſt to do it; You have much more to preſerve, and much more to loſe; You have the happineſs of Your Kingdoms, Your Crown, and Your Government to ſecure, in a time of as great difficulties, as ever were yet known, under a very Expenſive War at preſent, and ſome Circumſtances attending it in relation to theſe Nations,

that may continue even after a Peace; beſides the danger of a future Separation of the two Kingdoms, very uncomfortable to reflect on; which yet, in all probability, will have Influence upon the preſent times too, if it comes once to be thought that it is inevitable.

God give Your Majeſty a ſafe and proſperous paſſage through ſo many appearances of Hazard; You can never want Undertakers of divers ſorts, who, according to their ſeveral Politicks, will warrant You Succeſs if You will truſt 'em: But Your real happineſs will very much depend upon Your Self, and Your chooſing to Honour with Your Service ſuch Perſons as are Honeſt, Stout, and Wiſe.

If Informations of Times paſt may be uſeful, this Author will deſerve a ſhare of Credit with You, whoſe Reputation and Experience were ſo great in his Life time, that they will be Recorded in times to come for the real Services he did, beſides the Honour and great Fortune, unuſual to a Subject, of having been Grand-father to two great Queens, Your Royal Siſter and Your Self; both ſo well belov'd, and eſteem'd by Your People; both ſo willing, and zealous to do Good. Her Power indeed was more limited and dependent; but Her early Death made room for Your Majeſty's more unreſtrain'd and Soveraign Authority, and reſign'd to Your Self alone the more laſting diſpenſation of thoſe Bleſſings that came from Heaven to You both.

If the benefit Your Majeſty may reap by the peruſal of this Hiſtory, ſhall prove ſerviceable to after-times, it will be remember'd to the praiſe and honour of his Name; and Your Majeſty Your Self will not be diſpleaſed to allow his Memory a ſhare of that Advantage; nor be offended with being put in mind, that Your Engliſh *Heart, ſo happily own'd by Your Self, and Ador'd by Your Subjects, had not been ſo* Entirely Engliſh, *without a communication with His Heart too, than which there never was one more devoted to the good of his Country, and the firm Eſtabliſhment of the Crown.*

It being deſign'd by this Dedication only to Introduce this Noble Author into Your Preſence, it would be contrary

trary to the Intention of it to take up more of Your Majesty's Time here; it is best therefore to leave this faithful Counsellor alone with You. For God's sake, Madam, and Your own, be pleased to read Him with Attention, and serious and frequent Reflections; and from thence, in Conjunction with Your own Heart, prescribe to Your Self the Methods of true and lasting Greatness, and the solid Maxims of a Soveraign truly English; *That during this Life, You may exceed in Felicities and Fame, and after this Life, in Reputation and Esteem, that Glorious Predecessor of Your Majesty's, the Renown'd First* Semper Eadem, *whose Motto You have chosen, and whose Pattern You seem to have taken for Your great Example, to Your own Immortal Glory, and the Defence, Security, and Prosperity, of the Kingdoms You Govern.*

And God grant You may do so long.

THE

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK VI.

Isa. XVIII. 2.

Go, ye swift Messengers, to a Nation scattered and peeled, to a People terrible from the beginning hitherto: a Nation meted out and troden down whose Land the Rivers have spoiled.

Isa. XIX. 13, 14.

The Princes of Zoan are become fools:
The Lord hath mingled a perverse Spirit in the midst thereof.

WHEN the King set up his Standard at *Nottingham*; which was on the 25th of *August*, as is before remember'd, he found the place much emptier than he thought the Fame of his Standard would have suffer'd it to be; and receiv'd Intelligence the next day, that the Rebels Army, for such now he had declared them, was Horse, Foot, and Canon, at *Northampton*; besides that Party which, in the end of the Fifth Book, we left at *Coventry*; whereas His few Canon and Ammunition were still at *York*, being neither yet in an Equipage to march, though Sr *John Heyden*, his Majesty's faithful Lieutenant of the Ordnance, used all possible diligence to form and prepare it; neither were there Foot enough levy'd to guard it; and at *Nottingham*, besides some few of the Train'd-bands, which Sr *John Digby*, the active Sheriff of that County, drew into the old ruinous Castle there, there were not of Foot levy'd for the Service yet three hundred Men. So that they who were not over much given

The King's condition at Nottingham.

to fear, finding very many places in that great River, which was look'd upon as the only ſtrength and ſecurity of the Town, to be eaſily fordable, and nothing towards an Army for defence, but the Standard ſet up, begun ſadly to apprehend the danger of the King's own Perſon. Inſomuch that Sr *Jacob Aſhley*, his Serjeant-Major-General of his intended Army, told him, "That he could not give any aſſurance againſt his Ma-"jeſty's being taken out of his Bed, if the Rebels ſhould make "a briſk attempt to that purpoſe. And it was evident, all the Strength he had to depend upon was his Horſe, which were under the Command of Prince *Rupert* at *Leiceſter*, and were not at that time in Number above eight hundred, few better arm'd than with Swords; whilſt the Enemy had, within leſs than twenty Miles of that place, double the Number of Horſe excellenty arm'd and appointed, and a Body of five thouſand Foot well train'd and diſciplin'd; ſo that, no doubt, if they had advanced, they might at leaſt have diſperſed thoſe few Troops of the King's, and driven his Majeſty to a greater diſtance, and expoſed him to notable hazards and inconveniencies.

Portſmouth beſieg'd by the Parliaments Forces.

WHEN Men were almoſt confounded with this proſpect, his Majeſty receiv'd Intelligence, that *Portſmouth* was ſo ſtreightly beſieg'd by Sea and Land, that it would be reduced in very few days, except it were reliev'd. For the truth is, Colonel *Goring*, though he had ſufficient warning, and ſufficient ſupplies of Money to put that place into a poſture, had rely'd too much upon probable and caſual aſſiſtance, and neglected to do that Himſelf which a vigilant Officer would have done: and albeit his chief dependence was both for Money and Proviſions from the Iſle of *Wight*, yet he was careleſs to ſecure thoſe ſmall Caſtles and Block-houſes, that guarded the paſſage; which revolting to the Parliament aſſoon as he declared for the King, cut off all thoſe Dependences; ſo that he had neither Men enough to do ordinary Duty, nor Proviſions enough for thoſe few, for any conſiderable time. And at the ſame time with this news of *Portſmouth*, arriv'd certain Advertiſements, that the Marquis of *Hertford*, and all his Forces in the Weſt, from whom only the King hoped that *Portſmouth* ſhould be reliev'd, was driven out of *Somerſet-ſhire*, where his Power and Intereſt was believ'd unqueſtionable, into *Dorſet-ſhire*; and there beſieged in *Sherborne* Caſtle.

The Marquis of Hertford's Actions in Somerſet-ſhire, &c.

THE Marquis, after he left the King at *Beverley*, by ordinary Journies, and without making any long ſtay by the way, came to *Bath*, upon the very edge of *Somerſet-ſhire*, at the time when the General Aſſizes were there held; where, meeting all the conſiderable Gentlemen of that great County, and finding them well affected to the King's Service, except very few

few who were sufficiently known, he enter'd into consultation with them from whom he was to expect assistance, in what place he should most conveniently fix himself for the better disposing the Affections of the people, and to raise a strength for the resistance of any attempt which the Parliament might make, either against them, or to disturb the Peace of the Country by their Ordinance of the Militia, which was the first Power they were like to hear of. Some were of opinion, "That *Bristol* would be the fittest place, being a great, rich, "and populous, City; of which being once possessed, they "should be easily able to give the Law to *Somerset* and *Glo-* "*cester-shire*; and could not receive any Affront by a suddain "or tumultuary Insurrection of the People. And if this Advice had been follow'd, it would, probably, have proved very prosperous. But on the contrary, it was objected, "That it "was not evident, that his Lordship's reception into the City "would be such as was expected; Mr *Hollis* being Lieutenant "thereof, and having exercised the Militia there; and there "being visibly many disaffected People in it, and some of Emi- "nent Quality; and if he should attempt to go thither and be "disappointed, it would break the whole Design: Then that "it was out of the County of *Somerset*, and therefore that they "could not Legally draw that People thither; besides, that it "would look like fear and suspicion of their own Power, to "put themselves into a walled Town, as if they fear'd the "power of the other Party would be able to oppress them. "Whereas, except *Popham* and *Horner*, all the Gentlemen of "Eminent Quality and Fortune of *Somerset-shire*, were either "present with the Marquis, or presum'd not to be inclin'd to "the Parliament. And therefore they propos'd, "That *Wells*, "being a pleasant City, in the heart and near the center of "that County, might be chosen for his Lordship's residence. Which was accordingly agreed on, and thither the Marquis and his Train went, sending for the neareſt Train'd-bands to appear before him; and presuming that in little time, by the industry of the Gentlemen present, and his Lordship's Reputation, which was very great, the affections of the People would be so much wrought upon, and their understandings so well inform'd, that it would not be in the Power of the Parliament to pervert them, or to make ill impressions on them towards his Majesty's Service.

WHILST his Lordship in this gentle way endeavour'd to compose the fears and apprehensions of the People, and by doing all things in a peaceable way, and according to the Rules of the Known Laws, to convince all Men of the Justice and Integrity of his Majesty's proceedings and Royal intentions; the other Party, according to their usual confidence and activity,

activity, wrought under-hand to perſwade the People that the Marquis was come down to put the Commiſſion of Array in Execution, by which Commiſſion a great part of the Eſtate of every Farmer or ſubſtantial Yeoman ſhould be taken from them; alledging that ſome Lords had ſaid, "That twenty "pounds by the year was enough for every Peaſant to live on; and ſo, taking advantage of the Commiſſion's being in Latin, tranſlated it into what *Engliſh* they pleaſed; perſwading the ſubſtantial Yeomen and Freeholders, that at leaſt, two parts of their Eſtates would, by that Commiſſion, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer ſort of People, that they were to pay a Tax for one days labour in the week to the King; and that all ſhould be, upon the matter, no better than Slaves to the Lords, and that there was no way to free and preſerve themſelves from this inſupportable Tyranny, but by adhering to the Parliament, and ſubmitting to the Ordinance for the Militia; which was purpoſely prepar'd to enable them to reſiſt theſe horrid Invaſions of their Liberties.

IT cannot eaſily be believ'd, how theſe groſs Infuſions generally prevail'd. For though the Gentlemen of Ancient Families and Eſtates in that County were, for the moſt part, well affected to the King, and eaſily diſcern'd by what Faction the Parliament was govern'd; yet there were a People of an inferior degree, who, by good Husbandry, Clothing, and other thriving Arts, had gotten very great Fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themſelves into the Gentlemen's Eſtates, were angry that they found not themſelves in the ſame Eſteem and Reputation with thoſe whoſe Eſtates they had; and therefore, with more induſtry than the other, ſtudied all ways to make themſelves conſiderable. Theſe, from the beginning, were faſt Friends to the Parliament; and many of them were now entruſted by them as Deputy Lieutenants in their new Ordinance of the Militia, and having found when the People were ripe, gather'd them together, with a purpoſe on a ſuddain, before there ſhould be any ſuſpicion, to ſurround and ſurprize the Marquis at *Wells*. For they had always this advantage of the King's Party and his Counſels, that their Reſolutions were no ſooner publiſh'd, than they were ready to be executed, there being an abſolute implicite Obedience in the inferior ſort to thoſe who were to Command them; and their private Agents, with admirable induſtry and ſecrecy, preparing all Perſons and Things ready againſt a call: Whereas all the King's Counſels were, with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then with equal formality, and preciſe caution of the Law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice, that was contracted againſt the Court, but by the moſt barefaced publiſhing all concluſions, and fitting them

them to that apparent juſtice and reaſon, that might prevail over the moſt ordinary underſtandings.

WHEN the Marquis was thus in the midſt of an Enemy that almoſt cover'd the whole Kingdom, his whole ſtrength was a Troop of Horſe, raiſed by Mr *John Digby*, Son to the Earl of *Briſtol*, and another by Sr *Francis Hawley* (both which were levied in thoſe parts to attend the King in the North) and a Troop of Horſe and a ſmall Troop of Dragoons, raiſed and armed by Sr *Ralph Hopton* at his own charge; and about one hundred Foot gather'd up by Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lunsford* towards a Regiment, which were likewiſe to have march'd to the King. Theſe, with the Lord *Pawlet*, and the Gentlemen of the Country, which were about eight and twenty of the prime Quality there, with their Servants and Retinue made up the Marquis's force. Then their proceedings were with that exceeding caution, that upon advertiſement that the active Miniſters of the contrary party had appointed a general meeting at a Town within few Miles of *Wells*, Sr *Ralph Hopton* being adviſed with his ſmall Troop and ſome Voluntier Gentlemen to repair thither, and to diſappoint that Convention, and to take care that it might produce the leaſt prejudice to the King's Service; before he reach'd the place, thoſe Gentlemen who ſtay'd behind (and by whoſe advice the Marquis thought it neceſſary abſolutely to govern himſelf that they might ſee all poſſible warineſs was us'd in the entrance into a War, which being once enter'd into, he well knew muſt be carried on another way) ſent him word, "That he ſhould forbear any hoſtile Act, otherwiſe they would "diſclaim whatſoever he ſhould do. Whereas the Courage and Reſolution of thoſe few were ſuch, and the Cowardize of the undiſciplin'd ſeditious Rabble and their Leaders was ſo eminent, that it was very probable, if thoſe few Troops had been as actively employ'd as their Commanders deſir'd, they might have been able to have driven the Biggots out of the Country, before they had fully poſſeſſed the reſt with their own rancour: which may be reaſonably preſum'd by what follow'd ſhortly after, when Mr *Digby*, Sr *John Stawell* and his Sons, with ſome Voluntier Gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourſcore Horſe, and fourteen Dragoons, charged a greater Body of Horſe, and above ſix hundred Foot of the Rebels, led by a Member of the Houſe of Commons; and without the loſs of one Man, killed ſeven in the place, hurt very many, took their Chief Officers, and as many more Priſoners as they would; and ſo routed the whole Body, that ſix Men kept not together, they having all thrown down their Arms.

BUT this good Fortune abated only the Courage of thoſe who

who had run away, the others making use of this overthrow as an argument of the Marquis's bloody Purposes; and therefore, in few days, Sr *John Horner* and *Alexander Popham*, being the principal Men of Quality of that Party in that County, with the assistance of their Friends of *Dorset*, and *Devon*, and the City of *Bristol*, drew together a Body of above twelve thousand Men, Horse and Foot, with some pieces of Cannon, with which they appear'd on the top of the Hill over *Wells*; where the Marquis, in contempt of them, stay'd two days, having only Barricadoed the Town; but then, finding that the few Train'd-bands, which attended him there, were run away, either to their own Houses, or to their fellows, on the top of the Hill; and hearing that more Forces, or, at least, better Officers were coming from the Parliament against him, he retir'd in the noon day, and in the face of that Rebellious Herd from *Wells* to *Somerton*, and so to *Sherborne*, without any loss or trouble. Thither, within two days, came to his Lordship Sr *John Berkley*, Colonel *Ashburnham*, and some other good Officers, enough to have form'd a considerable Army, if there had been no other want. But they had not been long there (and it was not easy to resolve whither else to go, they having no reason to believe they should be any where more welcome than in *Somerset-shire*, from whence they had been now driven) when the Earl of *Bedford*, General of the Horse to the Parliament, with Mr *Hollis*, Sr *Walter Earl*, and other *Ephori*, and a compleat Body of seven thousand Foot at least, order'd by *Charles Essex*, their Serjeant-Major-General, a Soldier of good experience and reputation in the Low Countries, and eight full Troops of Horse, under the Command of Captain *Pretty*, with four pieces of Cannon, in a very splendid equipage came to *Wells*, and from thence to *Sherborne*. The Marquis, by this time having encreased his Foot to four hundred, with which that great Army was kept from entering that Town, and perswaded to encamp in the Field about three quarters of a Mile North from the Castle; where, for the present, we must leave the Marquis and his great-spirited little Army.

He retires to Sherborne.

The Earl of Bedford *comes against him.*

It could never be understood, why that Army did not then march directly to *Nottingham*; which if it had done, his Majesty's few Forces must immediately have been scatter'd, and himself fled, or put himself into their hands, which there were enough ready to have advis'd him to do; and if he had escap'd, he might have been pursued by one Regiment of Horse till he had quitted the Kingdom. But it pleased God, that they made not the least advance towards *Nottingham*. They about the King began now to wish that he had stay'd at *York*, and proposed his return thither; but that was not hearken'd to; and they who advised his stay there, and against the advance

to

to *Nottingham*, were more againſt his return thither, as an abſolute flight; but urged the advance of the Levies, and a little patience, till it might be diſcern'd what the Enemy did intend to do. In this great anxiety, ſome of the Lords deſired, "That his Majeſty would ſend a Meſſage to the Parliament, "with ſome overture to incline them to a Treaty; which propoſition was no ſooner made, but moſt concurr'd in it, and no one had the confidence to oppoſe it. The King himſelf was ſo offended at it, that he declared "He would never "yield to it, and broke up the Council, that it might be no longer urged. But the next day, when they met again, they renew'd the ſame advice with more earneſtneſs. The Earl of *Southampton*, a Perſon of great Prudence, and of a reputation at leaſt equal to any Man's, preſſed it, "As a thing that might "do good, and could do no harm: and the King's reaſons, with reference to the inſolence it would raiſe in the Rebels, and the diſhonour that would thereby reflect upon Himſelf, were anſwer'd, by ſaying "Their inſolence would be for the "King's advantage; and when they ſhould reject the offer of "Peace, which they believ'd they would do, they would make "themſelves the more odious to the People, who would be "thereby the more inclin'd to ſerve the King. So that they took it as granted, that the propoſition would be rejected; and therefore it ought to be made. It was farther ſaid, "That his "Majeſty was not able to make reſiſtance; that the Forces "before *Sherborne*, *Portſmouth*, and at *Northampton*, were "three ſeveral Armies, the leaſt of which would drive his "Majeſty out of his Dominions; that it was only in his power "to chooſe, whether, by making a fair offer himſelf, he would "ſeem to make Peace, which could not but render him very "gracious to the People, or ſuffer himſelf to be taken Pri-"ſoner (which he would not long be able to avoid) which "would give his Enemies Power, Reputation, and Authority "to proceed againſt his Majeſty, and, it might be, his Poſte-"rity, according to their own engaged Malice.

The King conſults at Nottingham of ſending a Meſſage for Peace.

YET this motive made no impreſſion in him. "For, he "ſaid, no misfortune, or ill ſucceſs that might attend his en-"deavour of defending himſelf, could expoſe him to more "inconveniencies than a Treaty at this time deſired by him, "where he muſt be underſtood to be willing to yield to what-"ſoever they would require of him; and how modeſt they "were like to be, might be judged by their Nineteen Propoſi-"tions, which were tender'd, when their power could not be "reaſonably underſtood to be like ſo much to exceed his Ma-"jeſty's, as at this time it was evident it did; and that having "now nothing to loſe but his honour, he could be only ex-"cuſable to the world, by uſing his induſtry to the laſt to op-

"pose the Torrent, which if it prevail'd, would overwhelm "him. This composed Courage and Magnanimity of his Ma- "jesty seem'd too Philosophical, and abstracted from the Policy of self Preservation, to which most others were passionately addicted: and that which was the King's greatest disadvantage, how many soever were of his mind (as some few, and but few there were;) no Man durst publickly avow that he was so; a Treaty for peace being so popular a thing that whosoever opposed it would be sure to be, by general consent, a declar'd Enemy to his Country.

THAT which prevail'd with his Majesty very reasonably then to yield (and indeed it proved equally advantageous to him afterwards) was, "That it was most probable (and his "whole fortune was to be submitted at best to probabilities) "that, out of their pride, and contempt of the King's weak- "ness and want of Power, the Parliament would refuse to "treat; which would be so unpopular a thing, that, as his "Majesty would highly oblige his People by making the of- "fer, so They would lose the hearts of them by rejecting it; "which alone would raise an Army for his Majesty. That if "they should embrace it, the King could not but be a gainer; "for by the Propositions which they should make to him, he "would be able to state the Quarrel so clearly, that it should "be more demonstrable to the Kingdom, than yet it was, that "the War, was, on his Majesty's part, purely defensive; since "he never had, and now would not deny any thing, which "they could in reason, or justice ask: That this very over- "ture would necessarily produce some pause, and delay in "their preparations, or motions of their Armies; for some "Debate it must needs have; and during that time, men's "minds would be in suspence; whereas his Majesty should be "so far from slackning his Preparations, that he might be more "vigorous in them, by hastning those Levies, for which his "Commissions were out. For these reasons, and almost the concurrent desire, and importunity of his Council, the King was prevailed with to send the Earls of *Southampton*, and *Dorset*, Sr *John Colepepper*, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and Sr *William Udall* (whom his Majesty gave leave under that pretence to intend the business of his own fortune) to the two Houses with this Message, which was sent the third day after his Standard was set up.

The King sends to the two Houses a Message for Peace by the Earl of Southampton, &c.

"WE have, with unspeakable grief of heart, long beheld "the distractions of this our Kingdom. Our very Soul is full "of Anguish, until We may find some remedy to prevent the "Miseries, which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation "by a Civil War. And though all our Endeavours, tending

"to

"to the compoſing of thoſe unhappy differences betwixt Us "and our two Houſes of Parliament (though purſued by Us "with all zeal and ſincerity) have been hitherto without that "ſucceſs We hoped for; yet ſuch is our conſtant and earneſt "care to preſerve the publick Peace, that We ſhall not be "diſcouraged from uſing any expedient, which, by the bleſſing "of the God of Mercy, may lay a firm foundation of Peace "and Happineſs to all our good Subjects. To this end, ob- "ſerving that many miſtakes have ariſen by the Meſſages, Pe- "titions, and Anſwers, betwixt Us and our two Houſes of "Parliament, which happily may be prevented by ſome other "way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be "more clearly underſtood, and more freely tranſacted; We "have thought fit to propound to you, that ſome fit Perſons "may be by You enabled to treat with the like number to be "Authoriſed by Us, in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch free- "dom of Debate, as may beſt tend to that happy concluſion "which all good Men deſire, the Peace of the Kingdom. "Wherein, as We promiſe, in the word of a King, all ſafety "and encouragement to ſuch as ſhall be ſent unto Us, if You "ſhall chooſe the place where We are, for the Treaty, which "We wholly leave to You, preſuming the like care of the "ſafety of thoſe We ſhall employ, if You ſhall name another "place; ſo We aſſure you, and all our good Subjects, that, "to the beſt of our underſtanding, nothing ſhall be therein "wanting on our part, which may advance the true Proteſtant "Religion, oppoſe Popery and Superſtition, ſecure the Law "of the Land (upon which is built as well our juſt Preroga- "tive, as the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm "all juſt Power and Privileges of Parliament, and render Us "and our People truly happy by a good underſtanding betwixt "Us and our two Houſes of Parliament. Bring with you as "firm Reſolutions to do your Duty; and let all our good "People joyn with us in our Prayers to Almighty God, for "his Bleſſing upon this work. If this Propoſition ſhall be re- "jected by you, We have done our duty ſo amply, that God "will abſolve Us from the Guilt of any of that Blood which "muſt be ſpilt; and what opinion ſoever other Men may have "of our Power, We aſſure you nothing but our Chriſtian and "Pious care to prevent the effuſion of Blood, hath begot this "motion; Our Proviſion of Men, Arms, and Money, being "ſuch as may ſecure Us from farther Violence, till it pleaſes "God to open the Eyes of Our People.

THIS Meſſage had the ſame reception his Majeſty believ'd it would have; and was indeed receiv'd with unheard of Inſolence and Contempt. For the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sr *How it was received by them.*

John Colepepper, desiring to appear themselves before any notice should arrive of their coming, made such haste, that they were at *Westminster* in the Morning shortly after the Houses met. The Earl of *Southampton* went into the House of Peers, where he was scarce sat down in his place, when, with great passion, he was called upon to withdraw; albeit he told them he had a Message to them from the King, and there could be no exception to his Lordship's sitting in the House upon their own grounds; he having had leave from the House to attend his Majesty. However he was compell'd to withdraw; and then they sent the Gentleman Usher of the House to him, to require his Message; which his Lordship said, he was by the King's Command to deliver himself, and refused therefore to send it, except the Lords made an Order that he should not deliver it himself; which they did; and thereupon he sent it to them; which they no sooner receiv'd, than they sent him word, "That he should, at his Peril, immediately depart the "Town, and that they would take care that their Answer to "the Message should be sent to him. And so the Earl of *Southampton* departed the Town, reposing himself at the House of a Noble Person seven or eight miles off. Whilst the Earl had this skirmish with the Lords, Sr *John Colepepper* attended the Commons, forbearing to go into the House without leave, because there had been an Order (which is mention'd before) that all the Members, who were not present at such a day, should not presume to sit there, till they had paid a hundred Pounds, and given the House satisfaction in the cause of their absence. But he sent word to the Speaker, "That "he had a Message from the King to them, and that he de- "sired to deliver it in his place in the House. After some debate (for there remain'd yet some, who thought it as unreasonable as irregular to deny a Member of the House, against whom there had not been the least publick objection, and a Privy Counsellor who had been in all times used there with great respect, leave to deliver a Message from the King in his own place as a Member) it was absolutely resolv'd, "That he "should not sit in the House, but that he should deliver his "Message at the Bar, and immediately withdraw; which he did accordingly.

THEN the two Houses met at a Conference, and read the King's Message with great superciliousness; and within two days, with less difficulty and opposition than can be believ'd, agreed upon their Answer. The King's Messengers, in the mean time, though of that Quality, did not receive ordinary civilities from any Members of either House; they who were very willing to have done it, not daring for their own safety to come near them; and the others, looking upon them, as

Servants

Servants to a Master whom they had, and meant farther to oppress. Private Conferences they had with some of the principal Governours; from whom they receiv'd no other advice, but that, if the King had any care of Himself or his Posterity, he should immediately come to *London*, throw himself into the Arms of his Parliament, and comply with whatsoever they proposed. The Answer which they return'd to the King was this.

The Answer of the Lords and Commons to his Majesty's Message of the 25th *of* August 1642.

"May it please your Majesty:

"THE Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, *Their Answer.* "having receiv'd your Majesty's Message of the 25th of *August*, do with much grief resent the dangerous and distracted "State of this Kingdom; which we have by all means endeavour'd to prevent, both by our several Advices and Petitions to your Majesty; which hath been not only without success, but there hath follow'd that which no ill Counsel in former Times hath produc'd, or any Age hath seen, namely those several Proclamations and Declarations against both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their Actions are declar'd Treasonable, and their Persons Traytors. And thereupon your Majesty hath set up your Standard against them, whereby you have put the two Houses of Parliament, and, in Them, this whole Kingdom, out of your Protection; so that until your Majesty shall recall those Proclamations and Declarations, whereby the Earl of *Essex*, and both Houses of Parliament, and their Adherents, and Assistants, and such as have obey'd and executed their Commands and Directions, according to their Duties, are declar'd Traytors or otherwise Delinquents: and until the Standard, set up in pursuance of the said Proclamation, be taken down, your Majesty hath put us into such a Condition, that whilst we so remain, we cannot, by the Fundamental Privileges of Parliament, the Publick Trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this Kingdom, give your Majesty any other Answer to this Message.

WHEN the King's Messengers return'd with this Answer to *Nottingham*, all Men saw to what they must trust; and the King believ'd, he should be no farther mov'd to make Addresses to them. And yet all hopes of an Army, or any ability to resist that violence, seem'd so desperate, that he was privately advised by some, whom he trusted as much as any, and those whose affections were as entire to him as any Mens, to give all

other thoughts over, and instantly to make all imaginable haste to *London*, and to appear in the Parliament House before they had any expectation of him. And they conceiv'd there would be more likelyhood for him to prevail that way, than by any Army he was like to raise. And it must be solely imputed to his Majesty's own Resolution, that he took not that course. However he was contented to make so much farther use of their Pride and Passion, as to give them occasion, by another Message, to publish more of it to the People; and therefore, within three days after the return of his Messengers, he sent the Lord *Falkland*, his Principal Secretary of State, with a Reply to their Answer in these words.

The King sends another Message to the two Houses.

"We will not repeat, what means we have used to pre- "vent the dangerous and distracted Estate of the Kingdom, "nor how those means have been interpreted; because, being "desirous to avoid the effusion of Blood, We are willing to de- "cline all memory of former bitterness, that might render our "offer of a Treaty less readily accepted. We never did de- "clare, nor ever intended to declare, both our Houses of Par- "liament Traytors, or set up our Standard against them; and "much less to put them and this Kingdom out of our Pro- "tection. We utterly profess against it before God, and the "World; and farther to remove all possible Scruples, which "may hinder the Treaty so much desir'd by us, We hereby "promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revo- "king of your Declarations against all Persons as Traytors, or "otherwise, for assisting us; We shall with all chearfulness, "upon the same day, recall Our Proclamations and Declara- "tions, and take down Our Standard. In which Treaty, We "shall be ready to grant any thing, that shall be really for "the good of our Subjects: Conjuring you to consider the "bleeding Condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous Condition "of *England*, in as high a degree, as by these Our offers We "have declar'd our Self to do. And assuring you, that our "chief desire in this World, is to beget a good understanding, "and mutual Confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houses "of Parliament.

This Message had no better effect, or reception than the former; their Principal Officers being sent down since the last Message to *Northampton* to put the Army into a readiness to march. And now they requir'd the Earl of *Essex* himself to make haste thither, that no more time might be lost, sending by the Lord *Falkland*, within two days, this Answer to the King.

To

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;

The humble Anſwer and Petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, unto the King's laſt Meſſage.

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

"IF We, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, *Their Anſwer.*
"ſhould repeat all the ways We have taken, the endeavours
"We have uſed, and the expreſſions We have made unto
"your Majeſty, to prevent thoſe diſtractions, and dangers,
"your Majeſty ſpeaks of, We ſhould too much enlarge this
"reply. Therefore, as We humbly, ſo ſhall We only let
"your Majeſty know, that We cannot recede from our for-
"mer Anſwer, for the reaſons therein expreſs'd. For that
"your Majeſty hath not taken down your Standard, recall'd
"your Proclamations and Declarations, whereby you have de-
"clar'd the Actions of both Houſes of Parliament to be Trea-
"ſonable, and their Perſons Traytors; and you have pub-
"liſhed the ſame ſince your Meſſage of the 25th of *Auguſt*, by
"your late Inſtructions ſent to your Commiſſioners of Ar-
"ray; which Standard being taken down, and the Declara-
"tions, Proclamations, and Inſtructions recall'd, if your Ma-
"jeſty ſhall then, upon this our humble Petition, leaving your
"Forces, return unto your Parliament, and receive their faith-
"ful Advice, your Majeſty will find ſuch expreſſions of our Fi-
"delities, and Duties, as ſhall aſſure you, that your Safety, Ho-
"nour, and Greatneſs, can only be found in the Affections of
"your People, and the ſincere Counſels of your Parliament;
"whoſe conſtant and undiſcouraged Endeavours and Conſul-
"tations have paſſed through difficulties unheard of, only to
"ſecure your Kingdoms from the violent miſchiefs and dan-
"gers now ready to fall upon them, and every part of them;
"who deſerve better of your Majeſty, and can never allow
"themſelves (repreſenting likewiſe your whole Kingdom)
"to be ballanced with thoſe Perſons, whoſe deſperate Diſpo-
"ſitions and Counſels prevail ſtill to interrupt all our endea-
"vours for the relieving of bleeding *Ireland*; as we may fear
"our Labours and vaſt Expences will be fruitleſs to that di-
"ſtreſſed Kingdom. As your Preſence is thus humbly deſir'd
"by Us, ſo it is in our hopes your Majeſty will in your rea-
"ſon believe, there is no other way than this, to make your
"Majeſty's ſelf happy, and your Kingdom ſafe.

AND leſt this Overture of a Treaty might be a means to allay and compoſe the diſtempers of the People, and that the hope and expectation of Peace might not diſhearten their

Party, in their preparations and contributions to the War, the same day they sent their last Answer to the King, they publish'd this Declaration to the Kingdom.

The two Houses Declaration to the Kingdom.

"WHEREAS his Majesty, in a Message receiv'd the fifth "of *September*, requires that the Parliament would revoke "their Declarations against such Persons, as have assisted his "Majesty in this unnatural War against his Kingdom; it is "this day order'd and declar'd by the Lords and Commons, "that the Arms, which they have been forced to take up, "and shall be forced to take up, for the preservation of the "Parliament, Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the King-"dom, shall not be laid down, until his Majesty shall with-"draw his Protection from such Persons as have been Voted "by both Houses to be Delinquents, or that shall by both "Houses be Voted to be Delinquents, and shall leave them to "the Justice of the Parliament to be proceeded with accord-"ing to their demerit; to the end that both this and succeed-"ing Generations may take warning, with what danger they "incur the like heinous Crimes: and also to the end that "those great Charges and Damages, wherewith all the Com-"mon-wealth hath been burthen'd in the premises, since his "Majesty's departure from the Parliament, may be born by "the Delinquents, and other Malignant and Disaffected Per-"sons: and that all his Majesty's good and well affected Sub-"jects, who by Loan of Monies, or otherwise at their Charge, "have assisted the Common-wealth, or shall in like manner "hereafter assist the Common-wealth in time of extreme "danger, may be repay'd all Sums of Money lent by them "for those purposes, and be satisfied their Charges so sustain'd, "out of the Estates of the said Delinquents, and of the Ma-"lignant and Disaffected Party in this Kingdom.

THIS Declaration did the King no harm; for besides that it was evident to all Men, that the King had done whatsoever was in his power, or could be expected from him, for the prevention of a Civil War, all Persons of Honour and Quality plainly discern'd that they had no safety but in the preservation of the Regal Power, since their Estates were already disposed of by them who could declare whom they would Delinquents, and would infallibly declare all such who had not concurr'd with them. And the Advantage the King receiv'd by those Overtures, and the pride, frowardness, and perverseness of the Rebels, is not imaginable; his Levies of Men, and all other preparations for the War, being incredibly advanced from the time of his first Message. Prince *Rupert* lay still with the Horse at *Leicester*; and though He, and some of

of the Principal Officers with him, were discontented to that degree, upon the King's first Message and desire of a Treaty, as likely not only to destroy all hopes of raising an Army, but to Sacrifice those who were raised, that they were not without some thoughts, at least discourses, of offering violence to the Principal Advisers of it, he now found his Numbers increased, and better resolv'd by it; and from *York-shire*, *Lincoln-shire*, and *Stafford-shire*, came very good recruits of Foot; so that his Cannon and Munition being likewise come up from *York*, within twenty days his Numbers began to look towards an Army; and there was another Air in all Men's Faces; yet *Nottingham* seem'd not a good Post for his Majesty to stay longer at; and therefore, about the middle of *September*, the Earl of *Essex* being then with his whole Army at *Northampton*, his Majesty march'd from *Nottingham* to *Derby*; being not then resolv'd whither to bend his course, to *Shrewsbury* or *Chester*, not well knowing the Temper of those Towns, in both which the Parliament Party had been very active; but resolving to sit down near the borders of *Wales*, where the Power of the Parliament had been least prevalent, and where some Regiments of Foot were Levying for his Service. Before his leaving *Nottingham*, as a farewell to his hopes of a Treaty, and to make the deeper sense and impression, in the Hearts of the People, of those who had so pertinaciously rejected it, his Majesty sent this Message to the Houses.

Another Message from the King to the two Houses, in reply to their Answer.

"WHO have taken most ways, used most endeavours, and "made most real expressions to prevent the present distra- "ctions and dangers; let all the World judge, as well by for- "mer passages, as by Our two last Messages, which have "been so fruitless, that, though We have descended to desire "and press it, not so much as a Treaty can be obtain'd; un- "less We would denude Our self of all force to defend Us "from a visible strength marching against us; and admit those "Persons as Traytors to us, who, according to their Duty, "their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appear'd in "defence of Us, their King and Liege Lord (whom We are "bound in Conscience and Honour to preserve) though We "disclaim'd all our Proclamations, and Declarations, and the "erecting of our Standard, as against our Parliament. All We "have now left in our Power, is to express the deep sense "We have of the Publick Misery of this Kingdom, in which "is involv'd that of Our distressed Protestants of *Ireland*; "and to apply our self to our necessary defence, wherein We "wholly rely upon the Providence of God, the Justice of "our Cause, and the Affection of our good People; so far "We are from putting them out of our Protection. When

"you

"you shall desire a Treaty of us, We shall piously remember, whose Blood is to be spilt in this Quarrel, and chearfully embrace it. And as no other reason induced us to "leave our City of *London*, but that, with Honour and Safety "We could not stay there; nor to raise any Force, but for "the necessary defence of our Person and the Law, against "Levies in opposition to both; so We shall suddainly and "most willingly return to the One, and disband the Other, "assoon as those Causes shall be remov'd. The God of Heaven "direct you, and in mercy divert those Judgments, which "hang over this Nation; and so deal with us, and our Po"sterity, as We desire the preservation, and advancement of "the true Protestant Religion; the Law, and the Liberty of "the Subject; the just Rights of Parliament, and the Peace of "the Kingdom.

The King removes to Derby.

WHEN the King came to *Derby*, he receiv'd clear information from the well affected Party in *Shrewsbury*, that the Town was at His devotion; and that the very Rumour of his Majesty's purpose of coming thither, had driven away all those who were most inclined to Sedition. And therefore, as well in regard of the strong and pleasant Situation of it (one side being defended by the *Severn*, the other having a secure passage into *Wales*, the Confines of *Montgomery-shire* extending very near the Town) as for the Correspondence with *Worcester*, of which City he hoped well, and that by his being at *Shrewsbury*, he should be as well able to secure *Chester*, as by carrying his whole Train so far North; besides that the other might give some apprehension of his going into *Ireland*, which had been formerly mention'd, his Majesty resolv'd for that Town, and, after one days stay at *Derby*, by easy marches he went thither, drawing his whole small Forces to a Rendezvous at *Wellington*, a days march short of *Shrewsbury*; and that being the first time that they were together, his Majesty then caused his Military Orders for the Discipline and Government of the Army, to be read at the Head of each Regiment; and then, which is not fit ever to be forgotten, putting himself in the middle, where he might be best heard, not much unlike the Emperor *Trajan*, who when he made *Sura* Great Marshal of the Empire, gave him a Sword, saying, "Re"ceive this Sword of me, and if I command as I ought, em"ploy it in my defence; If I do otherwise, draw it against "me, and take my Life from me, his Majesty made this Speech to his Soldiers.

The King's Speech and Protestation at the Head of his Forces, after the reading his Orders of War.

"GENTLEMEN, you have heard those Orders read: it "is your part, in your several places, to observe them ex"actly; the time cannot be long before We come to Action, "therefore

"therefore you have the more reason to be careful; and I "must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of "those, of what Condition soever, who transgress these In- "structions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; "your Conscience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither, "to Fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of "the Land. You shall meet with no Enemies but Traytors, "most of them *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Atheists*; such who "desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have al- "ready condemn'd You to ruine for being Loyal to Us. That "you may see what use I mean to make of your Valour if "it please God to bless it with success, I have thought fit "to publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation; which "when you have heard me make, you will believe you can- "not Fight in a better Quarrel; in which I promise to live and "die with you.

THE Protestation his Majesty was then pleased to make, was in these words.

"I do promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I "hope for his Blessing and Protection, that I will, to the ut- "most of my power, defend and maintain the true Reform'd "Protestant Religion, establish'd in the Church of *England*; "and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

"I desire to govern by all the known Laws of the Land, "and that the Liberty and Property of the Subject, may be "by them preserv'd with the same care, as my own just Rights. "And if it please God, by his Blessing upon this Army, raised "for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this Rebel- "lion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of "God, to maintain the just Privileges and Freedom of Par- "liament, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land to "my utmost Power; and particularly, to observe inviolably "the Laws consented to by me this Parliament. In the mean "while, if this time of War, and the great necessity, and "straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I "hope it shall be imputed by God and Men to the Authors of "this War, and not to Me; who have so earnestly labour'd "for the preservation of the Peace of this Kingdom.

"WHEN I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect "no aid or relief from any Man, or protection from Heaven. "But in this Resolution, I hope for the chearful assistance of "all good Men, and am confident of God's Blessing.

THIS Protestation, and the manner and solemnity of making it, gave not more life and encouragement to the little Army, than it did comfort and satisfaction to the Gentry and Inha-

Inhabitants of those parts; into whom the Parliament had infused, that, if his Majesty prevailed by Force, he would, with the same Power, abolish all those good Laws, which had been made this Parliament; so that they look'd upon this Protestation, as a more ample security for their enjoying the benefit of those Acts, than the Royal Assent he had before given. And a more general, and passionate expression of affections cannot be imagin'd, than he receiv'd by the People of those Counties of *Derby*, *Stafford*, and *Shrop-shire*, as he passed; or a better reception, than he found at *Shrewsbury*; into which Town he enter'd on *Tuesday* the 20th of *September*.

The King comes to Shrewsbury.

It will be, and was then, wonder'd at, that since the Parliament had a full and well form'd Army, before the King had one full Regiment, and the Earl of *Essex* was Himself come to *Northampton*, some days before his Majesty went from *Nottingham*, his Lordship neither disquieted the King whilst he stay'd there, nor gave him any disturbance in his March to *Shrewsbury*; which if he had done, he might either have taken him Prisoner, or so dispersed his small Power, that it would never have been possible for him to have gotten an Army together. But as the Earl had not yet receiv'd his Instructions, so they, upon whom he depended, avoided that expedition out of meer Pride, and Contempt of the King's Forces; and upon a presumption, that it would not be possible for him to raise such a Power, as would be able to look their Army in the face; but that, when he had in vain tried all other ways, and those, who not only follow'd him upon their own Charges, but supported those who were not able to bear their own (for his Army was maintain'd and paid by the Nobility and Gentry, who serv'd likewise in their own Persons) were grown weary and unable longer to bear that burden, his Majesty would be forced to put himself into Their Arms for Protection and Subsistence; and such a Victory without blood had crown'd all their designs. And if their Army, which they pretended to raise only for their defence, and for the safety of the King's Person, had been able to prevent the King's raising any, or if the King, in that Melancholick conjuncture at *Nottingham*, had return'd to *White-Hall*, he had justified all their Proceedings, and could never after have refused to yield to whatsoever they proposed.

And it is most certain, that the Common Soldiers of their Army were generally perswaded, that they should never be brought to Fight; but that the King was in truth little better than Imprison'd by evil Counsellors, Malignants, Delinquents, and Cavaliers (the terms applied to his whole Party) and would gladly come to his Parliament if he could break from that Company; which he would undoubtedly do, if their Army

my came once to such a distance, that his Majesty might make an escape to them. In this kind of discourse they were so sottish, that they were perswaded, that those Persons of whose Piety, Honour, and Integrity, they had receiv'd heretofore the greatest Testimony, were Now turn'd Papists; and that the small Army, and Forces the King had, consisted of no other than Papists. Insomuch as truly those of the King's Party, who promised themselves any support, but from the comfort of their own consciences, or relied upon any other means than from God Almighty, could hardly have made their expactations appear reasonable; for his Enemies were in a manner possessed of the whole Kingdom.

PORTSMOUTH, the strongest and best fortified Town then in the Kingdom, was surrender'd to them; Colonel *Goring*, about the beginning of *September*, though he had seem'd to be so long resolv'd, and prepared to expect a Siege, and had been supplied with Monies according to his own proposal, was brought so low, that he gave it up, only for liberty to transport Himself beyond Seas, and for his Officers to repair to the King. And it were to be wish'd that there might be no more occasion to mention him hereafter, after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and sagacity had not prevailed so far over those, who had been so often deceived by him, as to make it absolutely necessary to speak at large of him, more than once, before this discourse comes to an end.

Colonel Goring surrenders Portsmouth.

THE Marquis of *Hertford*, though he had so much discredited the Earl of *Bedford*'s Soldiery, and dishearten'd his great Army, that the Earl (after lying in the Field four or five Nights within less than Canon shot of the Castle, and Town, and after having refused to fight a duel with the Marquis, to which he provoked him by a Challenge) sent Sr *John Norcot*, under pretence of a Treaty, and the Godly care to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, in plain *English* to desire "That "he might fairly and peaceably draw off his Forces, and march "away; the which, how reasonable a requeſt soever it was, the Marquis refused; sending them word, "That as they came "thither upon their own Counsels, so they should get off as "they could: and at last they did draw off, and march above a dozen miles for repose; leaving the Marquis, for some weeks undisturb'd at *Sherborne*; yet when he heard of the loss of *Portsmouth*, the relief whereof was his principal business, and so that those Forces would probably be added to the Earl of *Bedford*, and by their success give much courage to his bashful Army, and that a good Regiment of Horse, which he expected (for Sr *John Byron* had sent him word from *Oxford*, that he would march towards him) was retired to the King;

The Marquis of Hertford's proceedings in the West.

King; and that the Committees were now so busy in the several Counties, that the People, in all places, declared for the Parliament; and more particularly some strong and populous Towns in *Somersetshire*; as *Taunton*, *Wellington*, and *Dunstar*-Castle; by reason whereof it would not be possible for him to increase his strength, he resolv'd to leave *Sherborne*, where his stay could no way advance the King's Service; and to try all ways to get to his Majesty. But when he came to *Minhead*, a Port Town, from whence he made no doubt he should be able to transport Himself, and his company into *Wales*, he found the People both of the Town and County so disaffected, that all the boats, of which there used always to be great store, by reason of the trade for Cattle and Corn with *Wales*, were industriously sent away, save only two; so that the Earl of *Bedford* having taken new heart, and being within four miles with his Army, his Lordship, with his small Cannon and few Foot, with the Lord *Pawlet*, Lord *Seymour*, and some Gentlemen of *Somersetshire*, transported himself into *Glamorganshire*; leaving S^r *Ralph Hopton*, S^r *John Berkley*, M^r *Digby*, and some other Officers with their Horse (consisting of about one hundred and twenty) to march into *Cornwal*, in hopes to find that County better prepared for their reception.

Thence transporteth himself into Glamorgan-shire.

On the other hand, the Earl of *Bedford*, thinking those few fugitives not worth his farther care, and that they would be easily apprehended by the Committee of the Militia, which was very powerful in *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, contented himself with having driven away the Marquis, and so expelled all hope of raising an Army for the King in the West; and retired with his Forces to the Earl of *Essex*, as S^r *William Waller* had done from *Portsmouth*; so that it was not expected, that the Forces about his Majesty could be able to defend him against so puissant an Army, so it was not imaginable that he could receive any addition of strength from any other parts. For wherever they found any Person of Quality inclined to the King, or but disinclined to Them, they immediately seised upon his Person, and sent him in great Triumph to the Parliament; who committed him to Prison, with all circumstances of cruelty and inhumanity.

Thus they took Prisoner the Lord *Montague* of *Boughton*, at his House in *Northampton-shire*, a Person of great reverence, being above fourscore years of age, and of unblemish'd Reputation, for declaring himself unsatisfied with their disobedient and undutiful proceedings against the King, and more expressly against their Ordinance for the Militia; and notwithstanding that he had a Brother of the House of Peers, the Lord Privy Seal, and a Nephew the Lord *Kimbolton*, who had as full a power in that Council as any Man, and a Son in the

House

House of Commons very unlike his Father; his Lordship was committed to the Tower a close Prisoner; and though he was afterwards remitted to more Air, he continued a Prisoner to his death.

THUS they took Prisoner in *Oxford-shire* the Earl of *Berkshire*, and three or four principal Gentlemen of that County; and committed them to the Tower, for no other reason but wishing well to the King; for they never appear'd in the least Action in his Service. And thus they took Prisoner the Earl of *Bath* in *Devonshire*, who neither had, or ever meant to do the King the least service; but only out of the morosity of his own Nature, had before, in the House, expres's'd himself not of their minds; and carried him, with many other Gentlemen of *Devon* and *Somerset*, with a strong Guard of Horse, to *London*; where, after they had been exposed to the rudeness and reproach of the Common People, who called them Traytors and Rebels to the Parliament, and pursued them with such usage as they use to the most infamous Malefactors, they were, without ever being examin'd, or charged with any particular crime, committed to several Prisons; so that not only all the Prisons about *London* were quickly fill'd with Persons of Honour, and great Reputation for sobriety and integrity to their Counties, but new Prisons were made for their reception; and, which was a new and barbarous invention, very many Persons of very good Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, were committed to Prison on board the Ships in the River of *Thames*; where they were kept under Decks, and no friend suffer'd to come to them, by which many lost their Lives. And that the loss of their Liberty might not be all their punishment, it was the usual course, and very few escaped it, after any Man was committed as a notorious Malignant (which was the brand) that his Estate and Goods were seised, or plunder'd by an order from the House of Commons, or some Committee, or the Soldiers, who in their march took the Goods of all Papists and eminent Malignants, as lawful prize; or by the Fury and Licence of the Common People, who were in all places grown to that barbarity and rage against the Nobility and Gentry (under the Style of Cavaliers) that it was not safe for any to live at their Houses, who were taken notice of as no Votaries to the Parliament.

SO the Common People (no doubt by the advice of their Superiors) in *Essex* on a suddain beset the House of Sr *John Lucas*, one of the best Gentlemen of that County, and of the most eminent affection to the King, being a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince of *Wales*; and upon pretence that he was going to the King, possess'd themselves of all his Horses and Arms, seised upon his Person, and used him with all

all possible indignities, not without some threats to murder him; and when the Mayor of *Colchester*, whither he was brought, with more humanity than the rest, offer'd to keep him Prisoner in his own House, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be farther known, they compell'd him, or he was willing to be compell'd, to send him to the Common Goal; where he remain'd, glad of that security, till the House of Commons remov'd him to another Prison (without ever charging him with any crime) having sent all his Horses to the Earl of *Essex*, to be used in the service of that Army.

At the same time the same Rabble enter'd the House of the Countess of *Rivers* near *Colchester*; for no other ground, than that she was a Papist; and in few hours disfurnish'd it of all the Goods, which had been many years with great curiosity providing, and were not of less value than forty thousand pounds sterling; the Countess her self hardly escaping, after great insolence had been used to her Person: And she could never receive any reparation from the Parliament. These and many other Instances of the same kind in *London* and the parts adjacent, gave sufficient evidence to all Men how little else They were to keep, who meant to preserve their Allegiance and Integrity in the full Vigour.

I Must not forget, though it cannot be remember'd without much horror, that this strange Wild-fire among the people, was not so much and so furiously kindled by the breath of the Parliament, as of their Clergy, who both administer'd fuel, and blow'd the Coals in the Houses too. These Men having creeped into, and at last driven all Learned and Orthodox Men from the Pulpits, had, as is before remember'd, from the beginning of this Parliament, under the Notion of Reformation and extirpating of Popery, infused seditious inclinations into the hearts of Men against the present Government of the Church, with many libellous invectives against the State too. But since the raising an Army, and rejecting the King's last overture of a Treaty, they contain'd themselves within no bounds; and as freely and without controul, inveighed against the Person of the King, as they had before against the worst Malignant; prophanely, and blasphemously applying whatsoever had been spoken and declared by God himself, or the Prophets, against the most wicked and impious Kings, to incense and stir up the People against their most Gracious Soveraign.

There are Monuments enough in the seditious Sermons at that time printed, and in the Memories of Men, of others not printed, of such wresting and perverting of Scripture, to the odious purposes of the Preacher, that pious Men will not look over without trembling. One takes his Text out of *Mo-*

ses's

ses's words in the 32d Chap. of *Exodus* and the 29th Verse. *Consecrate your selves to day to the Lord, even every Man upon his Son, and upon his Brother, that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day*: And from thence incites his Auditory to the utmost prosecution of those, under what relation soever of Blood, Neighbourhood, or Dependence, who concurred not in the Reformation proposed by the Parliament. Another makes as bold with *David*'s words, in the 1 *Chron.* Chap. 22. Vers. 16. *Arise therefore and be doing*: And from thence assures them, it was not enough to wish well to the Parliament; if they brought not their purse, as well as their prayers, and their hands, as well as their hearts to the assistance of it, the duty in the Text was not performed. There were more than Mr *Marshal*, who from the 23d Verse of the 25th Chap. of *Judges, Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord, Curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty*, presumed to enveigh against, and in plain terms to pronounce God's own curse against all those, who came not, with their utmost power and strength, to destroy and root out all the Malignants, who in any degree opposed the Parliament.

THERE was one, who from the 48th Chap. of the Prophet *Jeremiah* and the 10th Verse. *Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood*; reproved those who gave any quarter to the King's Soldiers. And another out of the 5th Verse of the 25th Chap. of *Proverbs. Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in righteousness*; made it no less a case of Conscience by force to remove the evil Counsellors from the King (with bold intimation what might be done to the King Himself, if he would not suffer them to be removed) than to perform any Christian duty that is enjoyn'd. It would fill a Volume to insert all the impious madness of this kind, so that the complaint of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, might most truly, and seasonably have been applied, *There is a conspiracy of her Prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring Lion ravening the Prey, they have devoured Souls, they have taken the Treasure, and precious things, they have made her many Widows in the midst thereof.* Ezek. xxii. ver. 27.

IT was the complaint of *Erasmus* of the Clergy in his time, that when Princes were inclinable to Wars, *alius è sacro suggesto promittit omnium admissorum condonationem, alius promittit certam victoriam, Prophetarum voces ad rem impiam detorquens. Tam bellaces conciones audivimus*, says he. And indeed no good Christian can, without horror think of those Ministers of the Church, who by their Function being Messengers of Peace, were the only Trumpets of War, and Incendaries towards Rebellion. How much more Christian was that *Athe-*

nian Nun in *Plutarch*, and how shall She rise up in Judgment against those Men, who, when *Alcibiades* was condemn'd by the publick Justice of the State, and a Decree made that all the Religious Priests and Women should ban and curse him, stoutly refused to perform that Office; answering, "That she "was professed Religious, to *pray* and to *bless*, not to *curse* "and to *ban*. And if the Person, and the Place can improve and aggravate the offence (as without doubt it doth, both before God and Man) methinks the Preaching Treason and Rebellion out of the Pulpits should be worse than the advancing it in the Market, as much as poysoning a Man at the Communion would be worse than murdering him at a Tavern. And it may be, in that Catalogue of Sins, which the Zeal of some Men have thought to be the Sin against the Holy Ghost, there may not any one be more reasonably thought to be such, than a Minister of Christ's turning Rebel against his Prince (which is a most notorious Apostacy against his Order) and his Preaching Rebellion, to the People, as the Doctrine of Christ; which adding blasphemy and pertinacy to his Apostacy, hath all the marks by which good men are taught to avoid that Sin against the Holy Ghost.

The Earl of Essex moves with his Army from Northampton.

WITHIN three or four days after the King's remove from *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Essex*, with his whole Army, removed from *Northampton*, and march'd towards *Worcester*; of which his Majesty had no sooner Intelligence, than he sent Prince *Rupert*, with the greatest part of the Horse, on the other side of the *Severn*, towards that City; as well to observe the motion of the Enemy, as to give all assistance to that place, which had declared good affections to him; at least to countenance and secure the retreat of those Gentlemen, who were there raising Forces for the King; but especially to joyn with Sr *John Byron*, whom his Majesty had sent, in the end of *August*, to *Oxford* to convey some Money, which had been secretly brought from *London* thither to his Majesty. And he, after some small disasters in his March, by the insurrection of the Country People, who were encouraged by the Agents of the Parliament, and seconded by the Officers of the Militia, came safe with his charge to *Worcester*; where he had been very few hours, when a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, being sent by the Earl of *Essex*, under the Command of *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, came to surprize the Town; which was open enough to have been enter'd in many places, though in some it had an old decayed wall; and, at the most usual and frequented entrances into the City, weak, and rotten Gates to be shut, but without either Lock or Bolt.

YET this Commander, coming early in the Morning, when the small Guard which had watched, conceiving all to be

be ſecure, were gone to reſt, and being within Muſquet ſhot of the Gate before he was diſcover'd, finding that weak Gate ſhut, or rather cloſed againſt him, and not that quick appearance of a Party within the Town, as he promiſed himſelf, without doing any harm, retired in great diſorder, and with ſo much haſte, that the wearied Horſe, ſent out preſently to attend him, could not overtake any of his Train; ſo that when Prince *Rupert* came thither, they did not conceive any conſiderable Party of the Enemy to be near. However his Highneſs reſolv'd to retire from thence, as ſoon as he ſhould receive perfect Intelligence of the motion of the Enemy, when on the ſuddain repoſing himſelf on the ground with Prince *Maurice* his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, and the principal Officers, in the field before the Town, ſome of his wearied Troops (for they had had a long March) being by, but the reſt and moſt of the Officers in the Town, he eſpied a fair Body of Horſe, conſiſting of near five hundred, marching in very good Order up a Lane within Muſquet ſhot of him. In this confuſion, they had ſcarce time to get upon their Horſes, and none to conſult of what was to be done, or to put themſelves into their ſeveral places of Command. And, it may be, it was well they had not; for if all thoſe Officers had been in the heads of their ſeveral Troops, it is not impoſſible it might have been worſe. But the Prince inſtantly declaring, "That he would "Charge; his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, Commiſſary General *Wilmot*, Sr *John Byron*, Sr *Lewis Dives*, and all thoſe Officers and Gentlemen, whoſe Troops were not preſent or ready, put themſelves next the Prince; the other wearied Troops coming in order after them.

A Rencounter between the Forces near Worceſter, where Prince Rupert gets the better.

In this manner the Prince Charg'd them, as ſoon as they came out of the Lane; and being ſeconded by his handful of good Men, though the Rebels being gallantly led by Colonel *Sandys* (a Gentleman of *Kent*, and the Son of a worthy Father) and compleatly arm'd both for Offence, and Defence, ſtood well; yet in a ſhort time, many of their beſt Men being kill'd, and Colonel *Sandys* Himſelf falling with his hurts, the whole Body was routed, fled, and was purſued by the Conquerors for the ſpace of above a mile. The number of the ſlain were not many, not above forty or fifty, and thoſe moſt Officers; for their Arms were ſo good, that in the charge they were not to be eaſily kill'd, and in the chaſe the goodneſs of their Horſe made it impoſſible. Colonel *Sandys* who died ſhortly after of his wounds, Captain *Wingate* who was the more known, by being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and taken notice of for having in that charge behaved himſelf ſtoutly, and two or three *Scotiſh* Officers, were taken Priſoners. Of the King's Party none of name was loſt: Commiſſary Ge-

neral *Wilmot* hurt with a Sword in the side, and Sr *Lewis Dives* in the shoulder, and two or three other Officers of Inferior Note; none miscarrying of their wounds, which was the more strange for that, by reason they expected not an encounter, there was not, on the Prince's side, a piece of Armour worn that day, and but few Pistols; so that most of the hurt that was done was by the Sword. Six or seven Cornets of the Enemies were taken, and many good Horses, and some Arms, for they who run away made themselves as light as they could.

This Rencounter proved of great advantage, and benefit to the King. For it being the first Action his Horse had been brought to, and that party of the Enemy being the most pick'd and choice Men, it gave his Troops great courage, and render'd the name of Prince *Rupert* very terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adversary; insomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their Horse, and their very Numbers were much lessen'd by it. For that whole party being routed, and the Chief Officers of Name and Reputation either kill'd, or taken, though the number lost upon the place was not considerable, there were very many more who never return'd to the service; and, which was worse, for their own excuse, in all places, talked aloud of the incredible, and unresistible courage of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horse. So that, from this time, the Parliament begun to be apprehensive that the business would not be as easily ended, as it was begun; and that the King would not be brought back to them with their bare Votes. Yet how faintly soever the private pulses beat (for no question many who had made greatest noise, wish'd they were again to choose their side) the two Houses were so far from any visible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any possible supposition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the King, or that they had any apprehension that the people would be less firm, and constant to them, they proceeded to bolder Acts to evince both, than they had yet done.

For to the first, to shew how secure they were against resentment from his Allies, as well as against his Majesty's own power, they caused the Capuchin Fryars, who, by the Articles of Marriage, were to have a safe reception and entertainment in the Queen's Family, and had, by her Majesty's care, and at her Charge, a small, but a convenient habitation, by her own Chappel, in her own House, in the *Strand*, and had continued there, without disturbance, from the time of the Marriage, after many insolencies and indignities offer'd to them by the rude Multitude, even within those Gates of her own House, to be taken from thence, and to be sent over into

into *France*, with Proteſtation "That if they were found again "in *England*, they ſhould be proceeded againſt as Traytors: and this in the face of the *French* Embaſſador, who notwithſtanding withdrew not from them his Courtſhip, and Application.

THEN, that the King might know how little they dreaded his Forces, they ſent down their Inſtructions to the Earl of *Eſſex* their General, who had long expected them; whereby among other things of form for the better diſcipline of the Army, "They requir'd him to march with ſuch Forces as "he thought fit, towards the Army raiſed, in his Majeſty's "Name againſt the Parliament and the Kingdom; and with "them, or any part of them, to Fight, at ſuch time and place "as he ſhould judge moſt to conduce to the Peace and Safety "of the Kingdom: and that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endea- "vour by battle, or otherwiſe, to reſcue his Majeſty's Per- "ſon, and the Perſons of the Prince, and Duke of *York*, out "of the hands of thoſe deſperate Perſons, who were then "about them. They directed him to take an opportunity, in "ſome ſafe and honourable way, to cauſe the Petition of "both Houſes of Parliament, then ſent to him, to be pre- "ſented to his Majeſty; and if his Majeſty ſhould thereupon "pleaſe to withdraw himſelf from the Forces then about him, "and to reſort to the Parliament, his Lordſhip ſhould cauſe "his Majeſty's Forces to disband, and ſhould ſerve and defend "his Majeſty with a ſufficient ſtrength in his return. They "requir'd his Lordſhip to publiſh and declare, that if any "who had been ſo ſeduced, by the falſe aſperſions caſt upon "the proceedings of the Parliament, as to aſſiſt the King in "acting of thoſe dangerous Counſels, ſhould willingly, with- "in ten days after ſuch publication in the Army, return to "their Duty, not doing any Hoſtile Act within the time li- "mited, and joyn themſelves with the Parliament in defence "of Religion, his Majeſty's Perſon, the Liberties, and Law "of the Kingdom, and Privileges of Parliament, with their "Perſons, and Eſtates, as the Members of both Houſes, and "the reſt of the Kingdom have done, that the Lords and "Commons would be ready, upon their ſubmiſſion, to receive "ſuch Perſons in ſuch a manner, as they ſhould have cauſe to "acknowledge they had been uſed with Clemency and Favour; "provided that That favour ſhould not extend to admit any "Man into either Houſe of Parliament, who ſtood ſuſpen- "ded, without giving ſatisfaction to the Houſe whereof he "ſhould be a Member; and except all Perſons who ſtood im- "peach'd, or particularly Voted againſt in either Houſe of "Parliament for any Delinquency whatſoever; excepting "likewiſe ſuch adherents of thoſe, who ſtood impeach'd in "Parliament of Treaſon, as had been eminent Perſons, and

The two Houſes Inſtructions to their General.

"chief Actors in those Treasons. And lest those clauses of exception (which no doubt comprehended all the King's Party, and if not, They were still to be judges of their own Clemency and Favour, which was all was promised to the humblest penitent) might invite those, whom they had no mind to receive on any terms, they vouchsafed a "Particular exce-"ption of the Earl of *Bristol*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Earl "of *New-Castle*, the Earl of *Rivers*, the Duke of *Richmond*, "the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Lord *Newark*, and the Lord "Viscount *Falkland* Principal Secretary of State to his Ma-"jesty, Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr *Endymion Porter*, Mr *Ed-"ward Hyde*; against not one of whom was there a Charge depending of any crime, and against very few of them so much as a Vote, which was no great matter of Delinquency.

It will be here necessary to insert the Petition, directed to be presented in some safe and honourable way to his Majesty; the rather for that the same was, upon the reasons hereafter mention'd, never presented; which was afterwards objected to his Majesty as a rejection of Peace on His part, when They desir'd it. The Petition was in these words.

The Petition of both Houses, to the King, sent to the General to be presented, but never delivered.

"We your Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Com-"mons in Parliament, cannot, without great grief, and ten-"derness of compassion, behold the pressing Miseries, the im-"minent Dangers, and the devouring calamities, which ex-"tremely threaten, and have partly seised upon both your "Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, by the practices of a "Party prevailing with your Majesty; who, by many wicked "Plots and Conspiracies have attempted the alteration of the "true Religion, and the ancient Government of this King-"dom, and the introducing of Popish Idolatry and Superstiti-"tion in the Church, and Tyranny and Confusion in the State; "and, for the compassing thereof, have long corrupted your "Majesty's Counsels, abused your Power, and by suddain and "untimely dissolving of former Parliaments, have often hin-"der'd the Reformation, and Prevention of those Mischiefs: "and being now disabled to avoid the endeavours of this Par-"liament, by any such means, have Trayterously attempted to "overawe the same by Force; and, in prosecution of their "wicked designs, have excited, encouraged, and foster'd an "unnatural Rebellion in *Ireland*; by which, in a most cruel "and outrageous manner, many thousands of your Majesty's "Subjects there, have been destroy'd; and, by false slanders "upon your Parliament, and malicious and unjust Accusa-"tions, have endeavour'd to begin the like Massacre Here; "and being, through God's blessing, therein disappointed, "have, as the most mischievous and bloody design of all, drawn

"your

"your Majesty to make War against your Parliament, and "good Subjects of this Kingdom, Leading in your Person an "Army against them, as if you intended, by Conquest, to "establish an absolute and unlimited Power over them; and "by your Power, and the countenance of your presence, have "ransack'd, spoil'd, impriſon'd, and murder'd divers of your "People; and, for their better assistance in their wicked de- "signs, do seek to bring over the Rebels of *Ireland*, and other "Forces, beyond the Seas, to joyn with them.

"And We, finding our selves utterly depriv'd of your "Majesty's Protection, and the Authors, Counsellors, and "Abettors of these mischiefs in greatest Power and Favour with "your Majesty, and defended by You against the Justice, and "Authority of your High Court of Parliament; whereby "they are grown to that height and insolence, as to manifest "their rage and malice against those of the Nobility, and others, "who are any whit inclinable to Peace, not without great "appearance of danger to your own Royal Person, if you "shall not in all things concur with their wicked and Tray- "terous courses; have, for the just and necessary defence of "the Protestant Religion, of your Majesty's Person, Crown, "and Dignity, of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, "and the Privileges and Power of Parliament, taken up "Arms, and appointed and authoriz'd *Robert* Earl of *Essex* "to be Captain General of all the Forces by us raised, and to "lead and conduct the same against these Rebels and Traytors, "and them to subdue, and bring to condign punishment; "and do most humbly beseech your Majesty to withdraw your "Royal Presence and Countenance from those wicked Per- "sons; and, if they shall stand out in defence of their Re- "bellious and unlawful attempts, that your Majesty will leave "them to be suppreſt by that Power, which We have sent "against them; and that your Majesty will not mix your own "dangers with theirs, but in Peace and Safety, without your "Forces, forthwith return to your Parliament; and by their "faithful Counsel and Advice, compose the present distem- "pers and confusions abounding in both your Kingdoms; and "provide for the Security and Honour of your self, and your "Royal Posterity, and the prosperous Estate of all your Sub- "jects; wherein if your Majesty please to yield to our most "humble, and earnest desires, We do, in the presence of Al- "mighty God, profess, that We will receive your Majesty "with all honour, yield you all due obedience, and subjection, "and faithfully endeavour to secure your Person and Estate "from all dangers; and, to the uttermost of our Power, to "procure and establish to your self, and to your People, all "the blessings of a Glorious and Happy Reign.

BESIDES this, that it might appear, they were nothing jealous or apprehenſive of the People's defection and revolt from them, whereas before they had made the general deſire of the Kingdom the ground, and argument for whatſoever they had done, and had only invited Men to contribute freely what they thought fit, to the charge in hand, without compelling any who were unwilling; they now took notice not only of thoſe who oppoſed their proceedings, or privately diſſwaded other Men from concurring with them, but of thoſe, who either out of fear, or covetouſneſs, or both, had neglected really to contribute; and therefore they boldly publiſh'd their Votes (which were Laws to the People, or of much more Authority) "That all ſuch Perſons, as ſhould not con- "tribute to the Charge of the Common-wealth, in that time "of eminent neceſſity, ſhould be diſarm'd and ſecur'd; and that this Vote might be the more terrible, they order'd, the ſame day, the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* "To ſearch the "Houſes, and ſeiſe the Arms belonging to ſome Aldermen, "and other principal ſubſtantial Citizens of *London*, whom they named in their Order; "For that it appear'd by the re- "port from their Committee, that they had not contributed, "as they ought, to the Charge of the Common-wealth.

Votes of both Houſes for raiſing and procuring Money.

BY this means the pooreſt, and loweſt of the People became Informers againſt the richeſt, and moſt ſubſtantial; and the reſult of ſearching the Houſes and ſeiſing the Arms was the taking away Plate, and things of the greateſt Value, and very frequently plundering whatſoever was worth the keeping. They further appointed, "That the Fines, Rents, and Profits, "of Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, and "of all Delinquents, who had taken up Arms againſt the "Parliament; or had been active in the Commiſſion of Array, "ſhould be Sequeſter'd for the uſe and benefit of the Com- "mon-wealth. And that the King might not fare better than his Adherents, they directed "All his Revenue, ariſing out "of Rents, Fines in Courts of Juſtice, Compoſition for Wards, "and the like, and all other his Revenue ſhould be brought "into the ſeveral Courts, and other places, where they ought "to be paid in, and not iſſued forth, or paid forth, until far- "ther Order ſhould be taken by both Houſes of Parliament, without ſo much as aſſigning him any part of his Own, towards the ſupport of his own Perſon.

THIS ſtout invaſion of the People's property, and compelling them to part with what was moſt precious to them, any part of their Eſtates, was thought by many an unpopular Act, in the morning of their Soveraignty, and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled their new Subjects to them. But the Conductors well underſtood, that their Empire already

ready depended more on the Fear, than Love of the People; and that as they could carry on the War only by having Money enough to pay the Soldiers, ſo, that whilſt they had That, probably they ſhould not want Men to recruit their Armies upon any miſadventure.

IT cannot be imagin'd, how great advantages the King receiv'd by the Parliament's rejecting the King's Meſſages for Peace, and their manner in doing it. All Men's mouths were open'd againſt them, the Meſſages and Anſwers being read in all Churches; they who could not ſerve him in their Perſons, contriv'd ways to ſupply him with Money. Some eminent Governours in the Univerſities gave him notice that all the Colleges were very plentifully ſupplied with Plate, which would amount to a good Value, and lay uſeleſs in their Treaſuries, there being enough beſides for their Common Uſe; and there was not the leaſt doubt, but that whenſoever his Majeſty ſhould think fit to require that Treaſure, it would all be ſent to him. Of this the King had long thought, and, when he was at *Nottingham*, in that Melancholick ſeaſon, two Gentlemen were diſpatch'd away to *Oxford*, and to *Cambridge* (Two to each) with Letters to the ſeveral Vice-Chancellors, that they ſhould move the Heads, and Principles of the ſeveral Colleges and Halls, that they would ſend their Plate to the King; private advertiſements being firſt ſent to ſome Truſty Perſons to prepare, and diſpoſe thoſe, without whoſe conſent the Service could not be perform'd.

THIS whole Affair was tranſacted with ſo great ſecrecy, and diſcretion, that the Meſſengers return'd from the two Univerſities, in as ſhort a time as ſuch a Journey could well be made; and brought with them all, or very near all their Plate, and a conſiderable Sum of Money, which was ſent as a Preſent to his Majeſty from ſeveral of the Heads of Colleges, out of their own particular Stores; ſome Scholars coming with it, and helping to procure Horſes and Carts for the Service; all which came ſafe to *Nottingham*, at the time when there appear'd no more expectation of a Treaty, and contributed much to raiſing the dejected Spirits of the place. The Plate was preſently weighed out, and deliver'd to the ſeveral Officers, who were entruſted to make Levies of Horſe and Foot, and who receiv'd it as Money, the reſt was carefully preſerv'd to be carried with the King, when he ſhould remove from thence; ſecret Orders being ſent to the Officers of the Mint, to be ready to come to his Majeſty aſſoon as he ſhould require them, which he meant to do, aſſoon as he ſhould find himſelf in a place convenient. There was now no more complaining or murmuring. Some Gentlemen undertook to make Levies upon their Credit, and Intereſt, and others ſent Money to the King upon their own Inclinations.

The two Univerſities contributed their Money and Plate to the King.

THERE

THERE was a pleasant Story, then much spoken of in the Court, which administer'd some Mirth. There were two great Men who liv'd near *Nottingham*, both Men of great Fortunes and of great Parsimony, and known to have much Money lying by them. To the former the Lord *Capel* was sent, to the latter, *John Ashburnham* of the Bed Chamber, and of entire Confidence with his Master; each of them with a Letter, all written with the King's hand, to borrow of each ten or five thousand pounds. *Capel* was very civilly receiv'd by One, and entertain'd as well as the ill Accommodations in his House, and his manner of living would admit. He expres's'd with wonderful civil professions of Duty, "The great "trouble he sustain'd, in not being able to comply with his "Majesty's Commands: He said, "All Men knew that he "neither had, nor could have Money, because he had every "year, of ten or a dozen which were past, purchased a thou-"sand pounds Land a year; and therefore he could not be "imagin'd to have any Money lying by him, which he never "lov'd to have. But, he said, he had a Neigbour, who liv'd "within few Miles of him, who was good for nothing, and "liv'd like a Hog, not allowing himself Necessaries, and who "could not have so little as twenty thousand pounds in the "Scurvy House in which he liv'd; and advised, "He might "be sent to, who could not deny the having of Money; and concluded with great duty to the King, and detestation of the Parliament, and as if he meant to consider farther of the thing, and to endeavour to get some Money for him, which though he did not remember to send, his affections were good, and he was afterwards kill'd in the King's Service.

ASHBURNHAM got no more Money, nor half so many good words. That Lord had so little Correspondence with the Court, that he had never heard his Name, and when he had read the King's Letter, he ask'd from whom it was; and when he told him, "He saw it was from the King, he replied, "That he was not such a fool as to believe it. That he had re-"ceiv'd Letters both from the King and his Father; and hastily running out of the Room, return'd with half a dozen Letters in his hand; saying, "That those were all the King's "Letters, and that they always begun with *Right Trusty and* "*Well beloved*, and the King's Name was ever at the Top; "but this Letter begun with his own Name, and ended with "your loving Friend *C. R.* which he said, he was sure could "not be the King's hand. His other treatment was according to this, and after an ill Supper he was shew'd an indifferent Bed; the Lord telling him, "That he would confer more of "the matter in the morning; he having sent a Servant with a Letter to the Lord *Falkland*, who was his Wifes Nephew,

and

and who had ſcarce ever ſeen his Uncle. The Man came to *Nottingham* about Midnight, and found my Lord *Falkland* in his Bed. The Letter was to tell him, "That one *Aſhburnham* "was with him, who brought him a Letter, which he ſaid was "from the King; but he knew that could not be; and there- "fore he deſir'd to know, who this Man was, whom he kept "in his Houſe till the Meſſenger ſhould return. In ſpight of the Laughter, which could not be forborne, the Lord *Falkland* made haſte to inform him of the Condition and Quality of the Perſon, and that the Letter was writ with the King's own hand, which he ſeldom vouchſafed to do. And the Meſſenger returning early the next morning, his Lordſhip treated Mr *Aſhburnham* with ſo different a reſpect, that he, who knew nothing of the cauſe, believ'd, that he ſhould return with all the Money that was deſir'd. But it was not long before he was undeceiv'd. The Lord with as chearful a Countenance as His could be, for he had a very unuſual and unpleaſant Face, told him, "That though he had no Money Himſelf, but was "in extreme want of it, he would tell him where he might "have Money enough; that he had a Neighbour, who liv'd "within four or five Miles, that never did good to any body, "and lov'd no body but himſelf, who had a world of Money, "and could furniſh the King with as much as he had need of, "and if he ſhould deny that he had Money when the King "ſent to him, he knew where he had one Trunk full, and "would diſcover it; and that he was ſo ill belov'd and had ſo "few Friends, that no body would care how the King uſed "him. This good Counſel was all Mr *Aſhburnham* could make of him: and yet this wretched Man was ſo far from wiſhing well to the Parliament, that when they had prevail'd, and were poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom, as well as of *Nottinghamſhire*, he would not give them one penny; nor compound for his Delinquency, as they made the having liv'd in the King's Quarters to be; but ſuffer'd his whole Eſtate to be Sequeſter'd and liv'd in a very miſerable faſhion, only by what he could raviſh from his Tenants; who, though they paid their Rents to the Parliament, were forced by his rage and threats to part with ſo much as kept him, till he died, in that Condition he choſe to live in: His Conſcience being powerful enough to deny Himſelf, though it could not diſpoſe him to grant to the King. And thus the two Meſſengers return'd to the King, ſo near the ſame time, that he who came firſt, had not given his account to the King, before the other enter'd into his Preſence.

THE ſame day, a Gentleman in thoſe parts known to be very rich, being preſſed to lend the King five hundred pounds, ſent him a preſent of one hundred pieces in Gold; which, he ſaid,

said "He had procur'd with great difficulty; and protested, "with many execrable imprecations, that he had never in his "life seen five hundred pounds of his own together; when, within one Month after the King's departure, the Parliament Troops, which borrow'd in another style, took five thousand pounds from him, which was lodg'd with him, in the Chamber in which he lay. Which is therefore mention'd in this place, that upon this occasion it may be seen, that the unthrifty retention of their Money, which possessed the Spirits of those, who did really wish the King all the success he wish'd for himself, was one unhappy cause of all his misfortunes: and if they had, in the beginning, but lent the King the fifth part of what, after infinite losses, they found necessary to sacrifice to his Enemies, in the Conclusion, to preserve themselves from total ruin, his Majesty had been able, with God's blessing, to have preserv'd Them, and to have destroy'd all his Enemies.

THE News of the important advantage before *Worcester* found the King at *Chester*, whither his Majesty thought necessary to make a Journey himself, assoon as he came to *Shrewsbury*, both to assure that City to his Service, which was the Key to *Ireland*, and to countenance the Lord *Strange* (who, by the death of his Father, became Earl of *Derby*) against some opposition he met with, on the behalf of the Parliament. Here *Crane*, sent by Prince *Rupert*, gave his Majesty an Account of that Action; and presented him with the Ensigns, which had been taken; and inform'd him of the Earl of *Essex*'s being in *Worcester*; which made the King return sooner to *Shrewsbury* than he intended, and before the Earl of *Derby* was possessed of that Power, which a little longer stay would have given him.

PRINCE *Rupert* the same Night, after his Victory, finding the gross of the Rebels Army to be within five or six Miles, against which that City was in no degree Tenable, though all the King's Foot had been there, retir'd from *Worcester* on the *Welsh* side of the River, without any disturbance, into his Quarters near *Shrewsbury*, and with all his Prisoners, Colonel *Sandys* only excepted, whom he left to dye of his wounds there; the Earl of *Essex* being so much startled with this late Defeat, that he advanced not in two days after; and then being surely inform'd, that he should find no resistance, he enter'd with his Army into *Worcester*; using great severity to those Citizens, who had been Eminently inclin'd to the King's Service, and sending the principal of them Prisoners to *London*.

The King comes to Shrewsbury.

UPON the King's coming to *Shrewsbury*, there was a very great conflux of the Gentry there, and the Neighbouring Counties, which were generally well affected, and made great

great profeſſions of Duty to his Majeſty: ſome of them undertook to make Levies of Horſe and Foot, and perform'd it at their own Charge. The Town was very Commodious in all reſpects, ſtrong in it's Situation; and in reſpect of it's Neighbourhood to North *Wales*, and the uſe of the *Severn*, yielded excellent Proviſions of all kinds; ſo that both Court and Army were very well accommodated, only the incurable diſeaſe of want of Money could not be aſſwaged in either. Yet whilſt they ſat ſtill, it was not very ſenſible, much leſs importunate. The Soldiers behaved themſelves orderly, and the People were not inclin'd, or provoked to complain of their new Gueſts; and the remainder of the Plate, which was brought from the Univerſities, together with the ſmall preſents in Money, which were made to the King by many particular Perſons, ſupplied the preſent neceſſary Expences very conveniently. But it was eaſily diſcern'd, that, when the Army ſhould move, which the King reſolv'd it ſhould do with all poſſible Expedition, the neceſſity of Money would be very great, and the Train of Artillery, which is commonly a Spunge that can hardly be fill'd, was deſtitute of all things neceſſary for motion. Nor was there any hope that it could march, till a good Sum of Money were aſſign'd to it; ſome Carriage-Horſes, and Waggons, which were prepar'd for the Service of *Ireland*, and lay ready at *Cheſter*, to be tranſported with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lieutenant of that Kingdom, were brought to *Shrewsbury*, by his Majeſty's Order, for his own Train: and the Earls paſſionate labouring to prevent, or remedy that Application, with ſome other reaſons, hinder'd the Earl himſelf from purſuing that Journey; and in the end, depriv'd him of that Province. But this ſeaſonable addition to the Train encreaſed the neceſſity of Money, there being more uſe of it thereby.

Two Expedients were found to make ſuch a competent proviſion for all wants, that they were at laſt broken through. Some Perſon of that inclination had inſinuated to the King, that, "If the Roman Catholicks, which that, and the adja-"cent Counties were well inhabited by, were ſecretly treated "with, a conſiderable Sum of Money might be raiſed among "them; but it muſt be carried with great privacy, that no "notice might be taken of it, the Parliament having declared "ſo great Animoſities againſt them; nor did it in that conjuncture concern the King leſs that it ſhould be very ſecret, to avoid the ſcandal of a cloſe conjunction with the Papiſts, which was every day imputed to Him. Upon many Conſultations how, and in what method to carry on this Deſign, the King was inform'd, "That if he would depute a Perſon, "much truſted by Him, to that Service, the Roman Catho-"licks

"licks would truſt him, and aſſign one or two of their Body "to confer with him, and by this means the work might be "carried on. Hereupon the King ſent for that Perſon, and told him this whole matter, as is here ſet down, and required him to conſult with ſuch a Perſon, whom he would ſend to him the next Morning. The next Morning a Perſon of Quality very much truſted by all that Party, came to him to confer upon that Subject; and ſhewed a liſt of the Names of all the Gentlemen of Quality and Fortune of that Religion, who were all Convict Recuſants, and liv'd within thoſe Counties of *Shrop-ſhire* and *Stafford*. They appear'd to be a good Number of very valuable Men, on whoſe behalf he had only Authority to conclude, though he believ'd that the method, they agreed on there, would be ſubmitted to, and confirm'd by that Party in all other places. He ſaid "They "would by no means hearken to any motion of the Loan of "Money, for which they had paid ſo dear, upon their ſerving "the King in that manner, in his firſt Expedition againſt the "*Scots*. It was in the end agreed upon, that the King ſhould write to every one of them to pay him an advance of two, or three Years of ſuch Rent, as they were every Year oblig'd to pay him, upon the compoſition they had made with him for their Eſtates; which would amount to a conſiderable Sum of Money. And theſe Letters were accordingly writ, and within ten or twelve days, between four and five thouſand pounds were return'd to his Majeſty; which was a ſeaſonable ſupply for his Affairs.

At his return to *Shrewsbury*, the King found as much done towards his March, as he expected. And then the other Expedient (which was hinted before) for Money offer'd it ſelf. There was a Gentleman of a very good Extraction, and of the beſt Eſtate of any Gentleman of that Country, who liv'd within four or five miles of *Shrewsbury*, and was look'd upon as a very prudent Man, and had a very powerful Influence upon that People, and was of undoubted Affections and Loyalty to the King, and to the Government both in Church, and State: his Eldeſt Son was a young Gentleman of great Expectation, and of excellent Parts, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who had behaved himſelf there very well. This Gentleman intimated to a friend of his, "That, if his Father might be "made a Baron, he did believe he might be prevail'd with, to "preſent his Majeſty with a good Sum of Money. It was propoſed to the King, who had no mind to embrace the propoſition, his Majeſty taking occaſion often to ſpeak againſt "making Merchandize of Honour; how much the Crown "ſuffer'd at preſent by the Licence of that kind, which had "been uſed during the Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*; "and that he had not taken a firmer Reſolution againſt many

"things,

"things, than againſt this Particular Expedient for raiſing "Money. However, after he return'd from *Cheſter*, and found by the increaſe of his Levies, and the good diſpoſition all things were in, that he might in a ſhort time be able to March, and in ſo good a Condition, that he ſhould rather ſeek the Rebels, than decline meeting with them, if the indiſpenſable want of Money did not make his motion impoſſible; the Merit and Ability of the Perſon, and the fair expectation from his Poſterity, he having two Sons, both very hopeful, prevail'd with his Majeſty to reſume the ſame overture; and in few days it was perfected, and the Gentleman was made a Baron; who preſented the Sum of Six thouſand pounds to his Majeſty; whereupon all preparations for the Army were proſecuted with effect.

ASSOON as the King came to *Shrewsbury*, he had diſpatched his Letters and Agents into *Wales*, *Cheſhire*, and *Lancaſhire*, to quicken the Levies of Men which were making there, and return'd from *Cheſter* through the North part of *Wales* (where he found the People Cordial to him, and Arming themſelves for him) to *Shrewsbury*. The King's cuſtom was in all Counties, through which he paſſed, to cauſe the High Sheriff to draw all the Gentlemen, and the moſt ſubſtantial Inhabitants of thoſe parts together, to whom (beſides his careſſing the principal Gentlemen ſeverally, familiarly, and very obligingly) he always ſpoke ſomething publickly (which was afterwards Printed) telling them,

The ſubſtance of the King's Speeches to the Gentry and Commonalty of the ſeveral Counties through which he paſſed.

"THAT it was a benefit to him from the Inſolencies and "Misfortunes, which had driven him about, that they had "brought him to ſo good a part of his Kingdom, and to ſo "faithful a part of his People. He hoped, neither They, nor "He ſhould repent their coming together. He would do his "part, that they might not; and of Them he was confident "before he came. He told them, "The Reſidence of an Army "was not uſually pleaſant to any place; and His might carry "more fear with it, ſince it might be thought (being robbed "and ſpoiled of all his own, and ſuch Terror uſed to fright "and keep all Men from ſupplying him) he muſt only live "upon the Aid and Relief of his People. But he bid them "not be afraid; and ſaid, "He wiſhed to God, his poor Sub-"jects ſuffer'd no more by the Inſolence, and Violence of that "Army raiſed againſt him, though they had made themſelves "wanton with Plenty, than they ſhould do by His; and yet "he feared he ſhould not be able to prevent all Diſorders; "he would do his beſt; and promiſed them, no Man ſhould "be a loſer by him if he could help it. He ſaid "He had "ſent for a Mint, and would melt down all his own Plate, "and expoſe all his Land to ſale, or mortgage, that he might "bring

"bring the leaſt preſſure upon them. However, he invited them "To do that for him, and themſelves, for the mainte-"nance of their Religion, and the Law of the Land (by "which they enjoyed all that they had) which other Men "did againſt them; he deſired them, "Not to ſuffer ſo good "a Cauſe to be loſt, for want of ſupplying him with that, "which would be taken from them, by thoſe who purſued "his Majeſty with that Violence. And whilſt thoſe ill Men "ſacrificed their Money, Plate, and utmoſt Induſtry, to de-"ſtroy the Common-wealth, They would be no leſs liberal "to preſerve it. He bid them aſſure themſelves, if it pleaſed "God to bleſs him with Succeſs, he would remember the "Aſſiſtance every particular Man gave him to his advantage. "However it would hereafter (how furiouſly ſoever the minds "of ſome Men were now poſſeſſed) be Honour and Com-"fort to them, that with ſome charge and trouble to them-"ſelves, they had done Their part to Support their King and "Preſerve the Kingdom.

His Majeſty always took notice of any particular reports, which, either with reference to the publick, or their private concerns, might make impreſſion upon that People, and gave clear Anſwers to them. With this gracious and Princely demeanour, it is hardly credible how much he won upon the People; ſo that not only his Army daily increaſed by Volunteers (for there was not a Man preſſed) but ſuch proporons of Plate, and Money, were voluntarily brought in, that the Army was fully and conſtantly paid: the King having erected a Mint at *Shrewsbury*, more for reputation than uſe. (For, for want of Work men, and Inſtruments, they could not Coyn a thouſand pounds a week) and cauſing all his own Plate, for the Service of his Houſhold, to be deliver'd there, made other Men think, theirs was the leſs worth the preſerving.

Shortly after the Earl of *Eſſex* came to *Worceſter*, he ſent a Gentleman (*Fleetwood*, the ſame who had afterwards ſo great power in the Army, but then a Trooper in his Guards) to *Shrewsbury*, without a Trumpet, or any other ceremony than a Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*; in which he ſaid, "He "was appointed by the Parliament, to cauſe a Petition, then "in his hands to be preſented to his Majeſty; and therefore "deſired his Lordſhip to know his Majeſty's pleaſure, when "he would be pleaſed to receive it from ſuch Perſons, as he "ſhould ſend over with it. The Earl of *Dorſet* (by his Majeſty's command, after it had been debated in Council what Anſwer to return) ſent him word in writing, "That the King "had always been, and would be ſtill ready to receive any "Petition from his two Houſes of Parliament; and if the "Earl had any ſuch to be preſented, if he ſent it by any Per-"ſons,

"fons, who ſtood not Perſonally accuſed by his Majeſty of "High Treaſon, and excepted ſpecially in all offers of Par- "don made by him, the Perſons who brought it ſhould be "welcome; and the King would return ſuch an Anſwer to "it, as ſhould be agreeable to Honour, and Juſtice. Whether this limitation as to Meſſengers diſpleaſed them (as it was afterwards ſaid, that the Meſſengers appointed to have delivered it were the Lord *Mandevil*, and Mr *Hambden*, who, they thought, would have skill to make infuſions into many Perſons then about his Majeſty; and the hopes of that acceſs being barred by that limitation, and exception, they would not ſend any other) or what other reaſon ſoever there was, the King heard no more of this Petition, nor any addreſs of that Nature, till he found, by ſome new Printed Votes, and Declarations, "That he was guilty of another breach of the "Privilege of Parliament, for having refuſed to receive their "Petition, except it were preſented in ſuch a manner as He "preſcribed: Whereas they alone were Judges in what man- "ner, and by what Perſons their own Petitions ſhould be de- "liver'd, and he ought ſo to receive them. So that Petition which is before ſet down in the very terms it paſs'd both Houſes, was never deliver'd to his Majeſty.

The ſtrength of the King's Army at Shrewſbury.

THERE cannot be too often mention of the wonderful Providence of God, that from that low deſpiſed condition the King was in at *Nottingham*, after the ſetting up his Standard, he ſhould be able to get Men, Money, or Arms, ſo that, within twenty days after his coming to *Shrewsbury*, he reſolv'd to march, in deſpight of the Enemy, even towards *London*; his Foot by this time, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand; and his Horſe of two thouſand; his Train in very good Order, commanded by Sr *John Heydon*. And though this ſtrength was much inferior to the Enemy, yet as it was greater than any Man thought poſſible to be raiſed, ſo all thought it ſufficient to encounter the Rebels. Beſides that it was confidently believ'd (and not without ſome grounds, upon correſpondence with ſome Officers in the other Army) that, as ſoon as the Armies came within any reaſonable diſtance of each other, very many Soldiers would leave their Colours, and come to the King; which expectation was confirm'd by divers Soldiers, who every day dropped in from thoſe Forces; and, to make themſelves welcome, told many Stories of Their Fellows reſolutions, whom they had left behind.

AND this muſt be confeſs'd, that either by the care and diligence of the Officers, or by the good inclinations, and temper of the Soldiers themſelves, the Army was in ſo good order and diſcipline, that, during the King's ſtay at *Shrewsbury*, there was not any remarkable diſorder; the Country being very

very kind to the Soldiers, and the Soldiers juſt, and regardful to the Country. And by the free Loans and Contributions of the Gentlemen, and Subſtantial Inhabitants, but eſpecially by the aſſiſtance of the Nobility, who attended, the Army was ſo well paid, that there was not the leaſt mutiny or diſcontent for want of pay; nor was there any cauſe; for they ſeldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid.

THE greateſt difficulty was to provide Arms; of which indeed there was a wonderful ſcarcity, the King being exceedingly diſappointed in his expectation of Arms from *Holland*; a Veſſel or two having been taken by his own Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; ſo that, except eight hundred Muſquets, five hundred pair of Piſtols, and two hundred Swords, which came with the Powder, landed in *York-Shire*, as is before mention'd, the King had none in his Magazine; ſo that he was compell'd to begin at *Nottingham*, and ſo in all places as he paſſed, to borrow the Arms from the Train'd-bands; which was done with ſo much warineſs and caution (albeit it was known that thoſe Arms would, being left in thoſe hands, be employed againſt him, or at leaſt be of no uſe to him) that it was done rather with their conſent, than by any conſtraint, and always with the full approbation of their Commanders. And therefore in *Yorkſhire*, and *Shrop-ſhire*, where the Gentlemen very unskilfully, though with good meaning, deſired that the Arms might ſtill be left in the Country Men's hands, there was none of that kind of borrowing. But, in all places, the Noblemen, and Gentlemen of Quality, ſent the King ſuch ſupplies of Arms, out of their own Armories (which were very mean) ſo that by all thoſe Means together, the Foot, all but three or four hundred, who marched without any Weapon but a Cudgel, were Arm'd with Muſquets, and Bags for their Powder, and Pikes; but, in the whole Body, there was not a Pikeman, had a Corſlet, and very few Muſqueteers who had Swords. Among the Horſe, the Officers had their full deſire, if they were able to procure old Backs, and Breaſts, and Pots with Piſtols, or Carabines, for their two or three firſt Ranks, and Swords for the reſt; themſelves (and ſome Soldiers by their examples) having gotten, beſides their Piſtols and Swords, a ſhort Pole-Ax.

THE Foot were divided into three Brigades; the firſt commanded by Sr *Nicholas Byron*, the ſecond by Colonel *Harry Wentworth*, the third by Colonel *Richard Fielding*, Sr *Jacob Aſtley*, being Major General, and commanding the Foot immediately under the General. For, though General *Ruthen*, who came to the King ſome few days before he left *Shrewsbury*, was made Field Marſhal, yet he kept wholly with the Horſe

to

to assist Prince *Rupert*: and Sr *Arthur Aston*, of whose Soldiery there was a very great esteem, was made Colonel General of the Dragoons; which at that time, though consisting of two or three Regiments, were not above eight hundred, or a thousand at the most. Most of the Persons of Quality, except those whose attendance was near the King's own Person, put themselves into the King's Troop of Guards, commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stewart*; and made indeed so gallant a Body, that, upon very modest computation, the Estate, and Revenue of that single Troop, it was thought, might justly be valued at least equal to all theirs, who then Voted in both Houses, under the Name of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, which made and maintain'd that War. Their Servants, under the command of Sr *William Killigrew*, made another full Troop, and always marched with their Lords and Masters.

The King having form'd an Army, marches from Shrewsbury towards London.

In this equipage the King marched from *Shrewsbury* on the 12th of *October* to *Bridgenorth*, never less baggage attending a Royal Army, there being not one Tent, and very few Waggons belonging to the whole Train; having in his whole Army not one Officer of the Field who was a Papist, except Sr *Arthur Aston*, if he were one; and very few common Soldiers of that Religion. However the Parliament, in all their Declarations, and their Clergy much more in their Sermons, assured the People, "That the King's Army consisted "only of Papists, whilst themselves entertain'd all of that Religion, that they could get; and very many, both Officers and Soldiers, of that Religion engaged with them; whether it was that they really believ'd, that That Army did desire Liberty of Conscience for all Religions, as some of the chief of them pretended, or that they desired to divide themselves for communication of Intelligence, and Interest. And here it is not fit to forget one particular, that when the Committee of Parliament appointed to advance the service upon the Proposition for Plate, and Horses, in the County of *Suffolk*, sent word to the House of Commons, "That some Papists offer'd "to lend Money upon those Propositions, and desired advice "whether they should accept of it; it was Answer'd, "That if "they offer'd any considerable Sum, whereby it might be con-"ceiv'd to proceed from a real affection to the Parliament, "and not out of Policy to bring themselves within their Pro-"tection, and so to excuse their Delinquency, it should be "accepted of.

When the King was ready for his march, there was some difference of opinion which way he should take; many were of opinion that he should march towards *Worcester*, where the Earl of *Essex* still remain'd; those Countries were thought well

well affected to the King; where his Army would be supplied with provisions, and encreased in Numbers; and that no time should be lost in coming to a Battle; because the longer it was deferred, the stronger the Earl would grow, by the supplies which were every day sent to him from *London*; and he had store of Arms with him to supply all defects of that kind. However it was thought more counselable to march directly towards *London*, it being morally sure, that the Earl of *Essex* would put himself in their way. The King had much confidence in his Horse (his Nephew Prince *Rupert* being in the head of them) which were flesh'd by their success at *Worcester*; and if he had made his march that way, he would have been entangled in the inclosures, where his Horse would have been less useful; whereas there were many open grounds near the other way, much fitter for an Engagement. And so, about the middle of *October*, the King march'd from *Shrewsbury*, and quarter'd that night at *Bridgenorth*, ten Miles from the other place, where there was a Rendezvous of the whole Army, which appear'd very chearful; and thence to *Wolverhampton*, *Bromicham*, and *Killingworth*, a House of the King's, and a very noble Seat, where the King rested one day; where the Lord Chief Justice *Heath*, who was made Chief Justice for that purpose (*Bramston*, a Man of great Learning and Integrity, being, without any purpose of disfavour, removed from that Office, because he stood bound by Recognizance to attend the Parliament, upon an accusation depending there against him) begun to sit upon a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, to attaint the Earl of *Essex*, and many other Persons who were in Rebellion, of High-Treason.

Some days had passed without any notice of that Army; some reporting that it remain'd still at *Worcester*, others, that they were march'd the direct way from thence towards *London*. But intelligence came from *London*, "That very many "Officers of Name, and Command in the Parliament Army, "had undergone that service with a full resolution to come to "the King, as soon as they were within any distance; and it "was wish'd, that the King would send a Proclamation into "the Army it self, and to offer pardon to all who would re-"turn to their obedience. A Proclamation was prepared accordingly, and all circumstances resolv'd upon, that a Herald should be sent to proclaim it in the Head of the Earl's Army, when it should be drawn up in Battle. But, that and many other particulars, prepared and resolved upon, were forgotten, or omitted at the time appointed, which would not admit any of those formalities.

When the whole Army marched together, there was quickly

quickly discover'd an unhappy jealousy, and division between the principal Officers, which grew quickly into a perfect Faction between the Foot and the Horse. The Earl of *Lindsey* was General of the whole Army by his Commission, and thought very equal to it. But when Prince *Rupert* came to the King, which was after the Standard was set up, and receiv'd a Commission to be General of the Horse, which, all Men knew, was design'd for him, there was a clause inserted into it, exempting him from receiving Orders from any Body but from the King himself; which, upon the matter, separated all the Horse from any dependence upon the General, and had other ill consequences in it: for when the King at Midnight, being in his Bed, and receiving Intelligence of the Enemies motion, commanded the Lord *Falkland*, his principal Secretary of State, to direct Prince *Rupert*, what he should do, his Highness took it very ill, and expostulated with the Lord *Falkland*, for giving him Orders. He could not have directed his passion against any Man, who would feel or regard it less. He told him, "That it was his Office to signify "what the King bid him; which he should always do; and "that his Highness, in neglecting it, neglected the King; who did neither the Prince, nor his own Service any good, by complying in the beginnnig with his rough Nature. But the King was so indulgent to him, that he took his advice in all things relating to the Army, and upon the deliberation of their march, and the figure of the Battle they resolv'd to fight in with the Enemy, he concurr'd entirely with Prince *Rupert*'s advice, rejecting the opinion of the General, who preferr'd the Order he had learned under Prince *Maurice*, and Prince *Harry*, with whom he had serv'd at the same time, when the Earl of *Essex* an he, both of them, had Regiments. The reservedness of the Prince's Nature, and the little Education he then had in Courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the Lords, who were thereby likewise discouraged from applying themselves to Him; whilst some Officers of the Horse were well pleased to observe that strangeness, and fomented it; believing their Credit would be the greater with the Prince, and desiring that no other Person should have any Credit with the King. So the War was scarce begun when there appear'd such Faction and Designs in the Army, which Wise Men look'd upon as a very evil presage; and the inconveniencies, which flow'd from thence, gave the King great trouble in a short time after.

Faction begun in the King's Army.

WITHIN two days after the King march'd from *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Essex* moved from *Worcester* to attend him, with an Army far Superior in Number to the King's; the Horse and Foot being compleatly Arm'd, and the Men very

The Earl of Essex marches after the King.

well Exercised, and the whole Equipage (being supplied out of the King's Magazines) suitable to an Army set forth at the charge of a Kingdom. The Earl of *Bedford* had the Name of General of the Horse, though that Command principally depended upon Sr *William Balfour*. Of the Nobility he had with him the Lords *Kimbolton*, *Saint-John*, *Wharton*, *Roberts*, and the Lords *Rochford*, and *Fielding* (whose Fathers, the Earls of *Dover*, and *Denbigh*, charg'd as Voluntiers in the King's Guard of Horse) and many Gentlemen of Quality; but his Train was so very great, that he could move but in slow marches. So that the two Armies, though they were but twenty Miles asunder, when they first set forth, and both march'd the same way, gave not the least disquiet in ten days march to each other; and in truth, as it appear'd afterwards, neither Army knew where the other was.

THE King by quick marches, having seldom rested a day in any place, came on *Saturday* the 22d of *October*, to *Edgcot* a Village in *Northampton-shire*, within four Miles of *Banbury*, in which the Rebels had a Garrison. Assoon as he came thither he call'd a Council of War, and having no Intelligence that the Earl of *Essex* was within any distance, it was resolv'd "the King and the Army should rest in those Quarters the "next day, only that Sr *Nicholas Byron* should march with his "Brigade and attempt the taking in of *Banbury*. With this Resolution the Council broke up, and all Men went to their Quarters, which were at a great distance, without any apprehension of an Enemy. But that night about twelve of the Clock, Prince *Rupert* sent the King word, "That the Body of "the Rebel's Army was within seven or Eight Miles, and "that the head Quarter was at a Village call'd *Keinton* on "the Edge of *Warwick-shire*; and that it would be in his "Majesty's power, if he thought fit, to fight a Battle the next "day; which his Majesty liked well, and therefore immediately dispatched Orders to cross the design for *Banbury*, "And "that the whole Army should draw to a Rendezvous on the "top of *Edge-Hill*; which was a high Hill about two Miles from *Keinton*, where the head Quarter of the Earl was, which had a clear prospect of all that Valley.

The Battle of Keinton *or* Edge-hill.

IN the morning being *Sunday* the 23d of *October*, when the Rebels were beginning their March (for they suspected not the King's Forces to be near) they perceiv'd a fair Body of Horse on the top of that Hill, and easily concluded their March was not then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly surprised, having never had any other Confidence of their Men, than by the disparity they concluded would be still between their Numbers, and the King's, the which they found themselves now deceiv'd in. For two of their strongest

and

and beſt Regiments of Foot, and one Regiment of Horſe, was a days march behind with their Ammunition. So that, though they were ſtill ſuperior in number, yet that difference was not ſo great as they promiſed themſelves. However it cannot be denied that the Earl, with great dexterity, perform'd whatſoever could be expected from a Wiſe General. He choſe that ground which beſt liked him. There was between the Hill and the Town a fair Campaign, ſave that near the Town it was narrower, and on the right hand ſome Hedges, and Incloſures: ſo that there he placed Muſqueteers, and not above two Regiments of Horſe, where the ground was narroweſt; but on his left Wing he placed a Body of a thouſand Horſe, Commanded by one *Ramſey* a *Scots*-man; the Reſerve of Horſe, which was a good one, was Commanded by the Earl of *Bedford*, General of their Horſe, and Sr *William Balfour* with him. The General Himſelf was with the Foot, which were order'd as much to advantage as might be. And in this poſture they ſtood from eight of the Clock in the morning.

On the other ſide, though Prince *Rupert* was early in the morning with the greateſt part of the Horſe on the top of the Hill, which gave the Enemy the firſt Alarm of the neceſſity of fighting, yet the Foot were quarter'd at ſo great a diſtance, that many Regiments march'd ſeven or eight Miles to the Rendezvous, ſo that it was paſt one of the Clock, before the King's Forces march'd down the Hill; the General himſelf alighted at the head of his own Regiment of Foot, his Son the Lord *Willoughby* being next to him, with the King's Regiment of Guards, in which was the King's Standard carried by Sr *Edmund Verney* Knight Marſhal. The King's right Wing of Horſe was commanded by Prince *Rupert*, the left Wing by Mr *Wilmot* Commiſſary General of the Horſe, who was aſſiſted by Sr *Arthur Aſton* with moſt of the Dragoons, becauſe that left Wing was oppoſed to the Enemies right, which had the ſhelter of ſome Hedges lin'd with Muſqueteers: and the Reſerve was committed to Sr *John Byron*, and conſiſted indeed only of his own Regiment. At the entrance into the Field, the King's Troop of Guards, either provoked by ſome unſeaſonable Scoffs among the Soldiery, or out of deſire of Glory, or both, beſought the King, "That he would "give them leave to be abſent that day from his Perſon, and "to Charge in the Front among the Horſe, the which his Majeſty conſented to. They deſir'd Prince *Rupert* "To give "them that Honour which belonged to them; who accordingly aſſign'd them the firſt place; which, though they perform'd their parts with admirable Courage, may well be reckon'd among the overſights of that day.

It was near three of the Clock in the Afternoon, before the Battle begun; which, at that time of the year, was so late, that some were of opinion, "That the business should be de-"ferr'd till the next day. But against that there were many objections, "The King's Numbers could not increase, the "Enemies might; for they had not only their Garrisons, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Banbury* within distance, but all that Country so devoted to them, that they had all Provisions brought to them, without the least Trouble; whereas, on the other side, the People were so disaffected to the King's Party, that they had carried away, or hid all their Provisions, insomuch as there was neither Meat for Man, or Horse; and the very Smiths hid themselves, that they might not be compell'd to shoe Horses, of which in those stony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical Malice, or disaffection to the King's Cause, or his Person, though it is true, that circuit in which this Battle was fought, being very much in the Interest of the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brooke*, was the most eminently corrupted of any County in *England*; but by the reports, and infusions which the other very diligent Party had wrought into the People's belief; "That the Cavaliers "were of a Fierce, Bloody, and Licentious disposition, and that "they committed all manner of Cruelty upon the Inhabitants "of those places where they came, of which, Robbery was the "least: so that the poor People thought there was no other way to preserve their Goods, than by hiding them out of the way; which was confessed by them, when they found how much that information had wronged them, by making them so injurious to their Friends. And therefore where the Army rested a day they found much better Entertainment at parting, than when they came; for it will not be denied, that there was no Person of Honour or Quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what they had; and there was not the least violence or disorder among the Common Soldiers in their march, which scaped exemplary punishment, so that at *Bromicham*, a Town so generally wicked, that it had risen upon small Parties of the King's, and kill'd, or taken them Prisoners, and sent them to *Coventry*, declaring a more peremptory Malice to his Majesty than any other place, two Soldiers were executed, for having taken some small trifle of no value out of a House, whose owner was at that time in the Rebel's Army. So strict was the discipline in this Army; when the other, without controul, practised all the dissoluteness imaginable. But the march was so fast, that the leaving a good Reputation behind them, was no Harbinger to provide for their better Reception in the next Quarters. So that their wants were so great, at the time when they came to *Edge-hill*,

Edge-Hill, that there were very many Companies of the Common Soldiers, who had ſcarce eaten Bread in eight and forty hours before. The only way to cure this was a Victory; and therefore the King gave the Word, though it was late, the Enemy keeping their ground to receive him without Advancing at all.

In this hurry, there was an omiſſion of ſomewhat, which the King intended to have executed before the beginning of the Battle. He had cauſed many Proclamations to be Printed of Pardon to all thoſe Soldiers who would lay down their Arms, which he reſolv'd, as is ſaid before, to have ſent by a Herald to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and to have found ways to have ſcatter'd, and diſperſed them in that Army, aſſoon as he underſtood they were within any diſtance of him. But all Men were now ſo much otherwiſe buſied, that it was not ſoon enough remember'd; and when it was, the Proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good effect. For as the right Wing of the King's Horſe advanced to Charge the left Wing, which was the groſs of the Enemy's Horſe, Sr *Faithful Forteſcue* (who, having his Fortune and Intereſt in *Ireland*, was come out of that Kingdom to haſten ſupplies thither, and had a Troop of Horſe raiſed for him for that Service, but as many other of thoſe Forces were, ſo his Troop was likewiſe diſpoſed into that Army, and he was now Major to Sr *William Waller*; He) with his whole Troop advanced from the groſs of their Horſe, and diſcharging all their Piſtols on the ground, within little more than Carabine ſhot of his own Body, preſented Himſelf, and his Troop to Prince *Rupert*; and immediately, with his Highneſs, charg'd the Enemy. Whether this ſuddain Accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the ſame mind, each Man looking upon his Companion with the ſame apprehenſion as upon the Enemy, or whether the terror of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horſe, or all together, with their own evil Conſciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole Wing, having unskilfully diſcharg'd their Carabines and Piſtols into the Air, wheel'd about, the King's Horſe charging in the flank and rear, and having thus abſolutely routed them, purſued them flying; and had the execution of them above two Miles.

The left Wing, Commanded by Mr *Wilmot*, had as good ſucceſs, though they were to charge in worſe ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lin'd with Muſqueteers. But Sr *Arthur Aſton*, with great Courage and Dexterity, beat off thoſe Muſqueteers with his Dragoons; and then the right Wing of their Horſe was as eaſily routed and

and diſperſed as their left, and thoſe follow'd the Chaſe as furiouſly as the other. The Reſerve ſeeing none of the Enemy's Horſe left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to purſue thoſe that fled; and could not be contain'd by their Commanders; but with Spurs and looſe Reigns follow'd the Chaſe, which their left Wing had led them. And by this means, whilſt moſt Men thought the Victory unqueſtionable, the King was in danger of the ſame Fate which his Predeceſſor *Henry* the Third had at the Battle of *Lewes* againſt his Barons; when his Son the Prince, having routed their Horſe, follow'd the Chaſe ſo far, that, before his return to the Field, his Father was taken Priſoner; and ſo his Victory ſerv'd only to make the misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the King's Horſe having thus left the Field, many of them only following the Execution, others intending the Spoil in the Town of *Keinton*, where all the Baggage was, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s own Coach, which was taken, and brought away; their Reſerve, Commanded by Sr *William Balfour*, moved up and down the Field in good Order, and marching towards the King's Foot pretended to be Friends, till obſerving no Horſe to be in readineſs to charge them, they brake in upon the Foot, and did great Execution. Then was the General the Earl of *Lindſey*, in the head of his Regiment, being on Foot, ſhot in the Thigh; with which he fell, and was preſently encompaſs'd with the Enemy; and his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, piouſly endeavouring the Reſcue of his Father, taken Priſoner with him. Then was the Standard taken (Sr *Edmond Verney*, who bore it, being kill'd) but Reſcued again by Captain *John Smith*, an Officer of the Lord *Grandiſon*'s Regiment of Horſe, and by him brought off. And if thoſe Horſe had beſtirr'd themſelves, they might with little difficulty have deſtroy'd, or taken Priſoner the King Himſelf, and his two Sons, the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, being with fewer than one hundred Horſe, and thoſe without Officer or Command, within half Muſquet ſhot of that Body, before he ſuſpected them to be Enemies.

When Prince *Rupert* return'd from the Chaſe, he found this great alteration in the Field, and his Majeſty himſelf with few Noblemen, and a ſmall Retinue about him, and the hope of ſo Glorious a Day quite vaniſh'd. For though moſt of the Officers of Horſe were return'd, and that part of the Field cover'd again with the looſe Troops, yet they could not be perſwaded, or drawn to charge either the Enemies Reſerve of Horſe, which alone kept the Field, or the Body of their Foot, which only kept their ground. The Officers pretending, "That their Soldiers were ſo diſperſed, that there "were not ten of any Troop together; and the Soldiers,

"that

"that their Horſes were ſo tired, that they could not charge. But the truth is, where many Soldiers of one Troop of Regiment were rallied together, there the Officers were wanting; and where the Officers were ready, there the Soldiers were not together; and neither Officers, nor Soldiers deſired to move without thoſe who properly belonged to them. Things had now ſo ill an aſpect, that many were of an opinion, that the King ſhould leave the Field, though it was not eaſy to adviſe whither he ſhould have gone; which if he had done, he had left an abſolute Victory to thoſe, who even at this time thought themſelves overcome. But the King was poſitive againſt this advice, well knowing, that as that Army was raiſed by his Perſon and Preſence only, ſo it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it Unprincely, to forſake Them who had forſaken all they had to ſerve him: beſides, he obſerv'd the other ſide looked not as if they thought themſelves Conquerors; for that Reſerve, which did ſo much miſchief before, ſince the return of his Horſe, betook themſelves to a fixt ſtation between their Foot, which at beſt could but be thought to ſtand their ground, which two Brigades of the King's did with equal Courage, and gave equal Vollies; and therefore he try'd all poſſible ways to get the Horſe to charge again; eaſily diſcerning, by ſome little attempts which were made, what a notable impreſſion a brisk one would have made upon the Enemy. And when he ſaw it was not to be done, he was content with their only ſtanding ſtill. Without doubt, if either Party had known the Conſtitution of the other, they had not parted ſo fairly; and, very probably, which ſoever had made a bold offer, had compaſs'd his end upon his Enemy. This made many believe, though the Horſe vaunted themſelves aloud to have done their part, that the good Fortune of the firſt part of the day, which well managed would have ſecured the reſt, was to be imputed rather to the Enemy's want of Courage, than to their own Virtue (which after ſo great a Victory, could not ſo ſoon have forſaken them) and to the ſuddain and unexpected revolt of Sr *Faithful Forteſcue* with a whole Troop, no doubt much to the conſternation of thoſe he left; though they had not ſo good Fortune as they deſerv'd; for by the negligence of not throwing away their Orange Tawny Scarfs, which they all wore as the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Colours, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than ſeventeen or eighteen, were ſuddainly kill'd by thoſe to whom they joyn'd themſelves.

In this doubt of all ſides, the Night, the Common Friend to weary'd and diſmay'd Armies, parted them; and then the King cauſed his Cannon, which were neareſt the Enemies, to

be drawn off; and with his whole Forces himself spent the Night in the Field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolv'd what to do the Next Morning; many reporting, "That the "Enemy was gone; but when the Day appear'd, the contrary was discover'd: for then they were seen standing in the same posture and place in which they fought, from whence the Earl of *Essex*, wisely, never suffer'd them to stir all that Night; presuming reasonably, that if they were drawn off never so little from that place, their Numbers would lessen, and that many would run away; and therefore he caused all manner of Provisions, with which the Country supplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their refreshment, and reposed himself with them in the place; besides, that Night he receiv'd a great addition of strength, not only by Rallying those Horse, and Foot, which had run out of the Field in the Battle, but by the Arrival of Colonel *Hambden*, and Colonel *Grantham*, with two thousand fresh Foot (which were reckon'd among the best of the Army) and five hundred Horse, which marched a Day behind the Army for the Guard of their Ammunition, and a great part of their Train, not supposing there would have been any Action that would have requir'd their presence. All the advantage this seasonable Recruit brought them, was to give their old Men so much Courage as to keep the Field, which it was otherwise believ'd, they would hardly have been perswaded to have done. In the other Army, after a very cold Night spent in the Field, without any refreshment of Victual, or Provision for the Soldiers (for the Country was so disaffected, that it not only not sent in Provisions, but Soldiers, who straggled into the Villages for relief, were knocked in the head by the Common People.) The King found his Troops very thin; for though by Conference with the Officers, he might reasonably conclude, that there were not many slain in the Battle, yet a third part of his Foot were not upon the place, and of the Horse many missing; and they that were in the Field were so tired with Duty, and weaken'd with want of Meat, and shrunk up with the cruel Cold of the Night (for it was a terrible Frost, and there was no shelter of either Tree or Hedge) that though they had reason to believe, by the standing still of the Enemy, whilst a small Party of the King's Horse, in the moring, took away four Pieces of their Cannon very near them, that any offer towards a charge, or but marching towards them, would have made a notable impression in them, yet there was so visible an averseness from it in most Officers as well as Soldiers, that the King thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himself to keep his

Men

Men in Order, the Body of Horſe facing the Enemy upon the Field where they had fought.

TOWARDS Noon the King Reſolv'd to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and ſent Sr *William le Neve* Clarencieux King at Arms, to the Enemy, with his Proclamation of Pardon to ſuch as would lay down Arms; believing though he expected then little benefit by the Proclamation, that he ſhould, by that means, receive ſome advertiſement of the condition of the Army, and what Priſoners they had taken (for many Perſons of Command and Quality were wanting) giving him order likewiſe to deſire to ſpeak with the Earl of *Lindſey*, who was known to be in their hands. Before Sr *William* came to the Army, he was receiv'd by the out Guards, and Conducted, with ſtrictneſs (that he might ſay, or publiſh nothing among the Soldiers) to the Earl of *Eſſex*; who, when he offer'd to read the Proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by thoſe who were preſent, rebuked him, with ſome roughneſs, and charged him, "As he lov'd his life, not to preſume "to ſpeak a word to the Soldiers; and after ſome few queſtions, ſent him preſently back well guarded through the Army, without any anſwer at all. At his return he had ſo great and feeling a ſenſe of the danger he had paſſed, that he made little Obſervation of the Poſture or Numbers of the Enemy. Only he ſeem'd to have ſeen, or apprehended ſo much trouble and diſorder in the faces of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the principal Officers about him, and ſo much dejection in the Common Soldiers, that they looked like Men who had no farther Ambition, than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the Earl of *Lindſey*; who, being carried out of the Field a Priſoner, into a Barn of the next Village, for want of a Surgeon, and ſuch Accommodations as were neceſſary, within few hours died with the loſs of blood, his wound not being otherwiſe Mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the Inhumanity of the Earl of *Eſſex*, as if he had purpoſely neglected, or inhibited the performing any neceſſary Offices to him, out of the Inſolence of his Nature, and in Revenge of ſome former unkindneſſes, which had paſs'd between them. But, I preſume, it may be with more juſtice attributed to the hurry, and diſtraction of that ſeaſon, when, being ſo unſecure of their Friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their Enemies. For it is not to be deny'd at the time when the Earl of *Lindſey* was taken Priſoner, the Earl of *Eſſex* thought himſelf in more danger; and among his faults, want of Civility and Courteſy was none.

THE Number of the ſlain, by the Teſtimony of the Miniſters, and others of the next Pariſh, who took care of the Burying

Burying of the Dead, and which was the only Computation that could be made, amounted to above five thousand; whereof two parts were conceiv'd to be of those of the Parliament Party, and not above a third part of the King's. Indeed the loss of both sides was so great, and so little of Triumph appear'd in either, that the Victory could scarce be imputed to the One or the Other. Yet the King's keeping the Field, and having the Spoil of it, by which many Persons of Quality, who had lain wounded in the Field were preserv'd, his pursuing afterwards the same design he had when he was diverted to the Battle, and succeeding in it (which shall be touch'd anon) were greater Ensigns of Victory on that side, than taking the General Prisoner, and the taking the Standard, which was likewise recover'd, were on the other. Of the King's the principal Persons, who were lost, were the Earl of *Lindsey*, General of the Army, the Lord *Stewart*, Lord *Aubigney* Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Sr *Edmund Verney*, Knight Marshal of the King's Horse, and Standard Bearer, and some others of less Name, though of great Virtue, and good Quality.

A Character of the Earl of Lindsey, the King's General.

THE Earl of *Lindsey* was a Man of very noble Extraction, and Inherited a great Fortune from his Ancestors; which though he did not manage with so great care, as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair Condition to his Family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a Man of great Honour, and spent his Youth and Vigour of his Age in Military Actions and Commands abroad: and albeit he indulged to himself great Liberties of Life, yet he still preserv'd a very good Reputation with all Men, and a very great Interest in his Country, as appear'd by the Supplies he, and his Son, brought to the King's Army; the several Companies of his own Regiment of Foot, being Commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of *Lincoln-shire*, who engaged themselves in the Service principally out of their Personal Affection to Him. He was of a very generous Nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by the Commission granted to Prince *Rupert*, and by the King's preferring the Prince's Opinion, in all matters relating to the War, before His. Nor did he conceal his Resentment: the day before the Battle, he said to some Friends, with whom he had used freedom, "That he did not look upon himself as General; and there-"fore he was resolv'd, when the day of Battle should come, "that he would be in the head of his Regiment as a private "Colonel, where he would dye. He was carried out of the Field

Field to the next Village, and if he could then have procured Surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as soon as the other Army was composed by the coming on of the Night, the Earl of *Essex*, about midnight, sent Sr *William Balfour*, and some other Officers to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw in a poor House, where they had laid him in his Blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no Surgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "He was sorry to see so many Gentlemen, some whereof were "his old Friends, engaged in so foul a Rebellion; and principally directed his discourse to Sr *William Balfour*, whom he put in mind of "The great obligations he had to the King; "how much his Majesty had disobliged the whole *English* Na- "tion by putting him into the Command of the Tower; and "that it was the most odious ingratitude in Him to make him "that return. He wish'd them to tell my Lord *Essex*, That "he ought to cast himself at the King's feet to beg his pardon, "which if he did not speedily do, his Memory would be odious "to the Nation; and continued this kind of discourse with so much vehemence, that the Officers by degrees withdrew themselves, and prevented the Visit the Earl of *Essex* intended him, who only sent the best Surgeons to him, but in the very opening of his wounds he dyed before the morning, only upon the loss of Blood. He had very many Friends, and very few Enemies; and died generally lamented.

THE Lord *Aubigney* was a Gentleman of great hopes, of a gentle and winning disposition, and of very clear Courage: he was kill'd in the first charge with the Horse; where, there being so little resistance, gave occasion to suspect that it was done by his own Lieutenant, who was a *Dutch*-man, and had not been so punctual in his duty, but that he receiv'd some reprehension from his Captain, which he murmur'd at. His Body was brought off, and buried at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*; his two younger Brothers, the Lord *John* and the Lord *Bernard Stewart*, were in the same Battle, and were afterwards both kill'd in the War, and his only Son is now Duke of *Richmond*. Sr *Edmond Verney* hath been mention'd before; he was a Person of great Honour and Courage, and lost his Life in that charge, when *Balfour*, with that Reserve of Horse, which had been so long undiscern'd, broke into those Regiments; but his body was not found.

ON the Parliament Party that perished, the Lord *Saint-John* of *Bletnezo*, and *Charles Essex*, were of the best Quality. The last had been bred up a Page under the Earl of *Essex*, who afterwards, at his charge, preferr'd him to a Command

mand in *Holland*; where he liv'd with very good reputation, and preserv'd the credit of his decay'd Family: and as soon as the Earl unfortunately accepted this Command, he thought his gratitude obliged him to run the fortune of his Patron, and out of pure kindness to the Person of the Earl, as many other Gentlemen did, engaged himself against the King without any Malice or Rebellion in his heart towards the Crown. He had the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and was esteem'd the best and most expert Officer of the Army, and was kill'd by a Musquet shot in the beginning of the Battle. The Lord *Saint-John* was eldest Son to the Earl of *Bullingbrooke*, and got himself so well belov'd by the reputation of his Courtesy and Civility, which he express'd towards all Men, that though his parts of understanding were very ordinary at best, and his course of life licentious and very much depraved, he got credit enough, by engaging the principal Gentlemen of *Bedfordshire* and *Hertfordshire* to be bound for him, to contract a debt of fifty or threescore thousand pounds; for the payment whereof the fortune of the Family was not engaged, nor in his power to engage. So that the clamour of his debts growing importunate, some years before the Rebellion, he left the Kingdom and fled into *France*; leaving his vast debt to be paid by his Sureties, to the utter ruin of many Families, and the notable impairing of others. In the beginning of the Parliament, the King was prevailed with to call him to the House of Peers, his Father being then alive, upon an assurance, "That "by his presence and liberty, which could by no other way "be secured, means would be found out to pay his debts, "and free so many worthy Persons from their engagements: "Besides that the times being like to be troublesome, the King "might be sure of a faithful Servant, who would always ad- "vance his service in that House. But the King had very ill fortune in conferring those graces, nor was his service more passionately, and insolently opposed by any Men in that House, than by those, who upon those professions were advanced by him from the condition of Commoners. And this Gentleman, from the first hour of his sitting in that House by the King's so extraordinary grace, was never known to concur in any one Vote for the King's Service, that receiv'd any opposition: and, as soon as it was in his power, he receiv'd a Commission with the first to Command a Troop of Horse against him, in which he behaved himself so ill, that he receiv'd some wounds in running away; and being taken Prisoner died before the next morning, without any other signs of repentance, than the canting words, "That he did not intend to be "against the King, but wish'd him all happiness: so great an influence the first seeds of his birth had upon his Nature, that

how

how long soever they were conceal'd, and seem'd even buried in a very different breeding and conversation, they sprung up, and bore the same fruit upon the first occasion. And it was an observation of that time, that the Men of most licentious lives, who appear'd to be without any sense of Religion, or reverence to virtue, and the most unrestrain'd by any obligations of conscience, betook themselves to that Party, and pretended an impulse of Religion out of fear of Popery; and on the other side, very many Persons of Quality, both of the Clergy and Laiety, who had suffer'd under the imputation of Puritanism, and did very much dislike the proceedings of the Court, and opposed them upon all occasions, were yet so much scandalized at the very approaches to Rebellion, that they renounced all their old Friends, and applied themselves with great Resolution, Courage, and Constancy to the King's Service, and continued in it to the end, with all the disadvantages it was liable to.

PRISONERS taken by the Enemy were, the Lord *Willoughby*, hastily and piously endeavouring the rescue of his Father; Sr *Thomas Lunsford*, and Sr *Edward Stradling*, both Colonels; and Sr *William Vavasour*; who commanded the King's Regiment of Guards under the Lord *Willoughby*; and some other inferior Commanders. There were hurt, Sr *Jacob Astley*, and Sr *Nicholas Byron*, and more dangerously Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, who, being shot in the thigh, was brought off the field without any hopes of life, but recover'd to act a great part afterwards in the War; Sr *George Strode*, and some other Gentlemen who serv'd among the Foot; for of the Horse there was not an Officer of Name, who receiv'd a Wound, the Lord *Aubigney* only excepted; so little resistance did that part of the Enemy make. Of the Rebels there were slain, besides the Lord *Saint-John*, Colonel *Charles Essex*, the Soldier of whom they had the best opinion, and who had always, till this last Action, preserved a good reputation in the world, which was now the Worse, over and above the Guilt of Rebellion, by his having sworn to the Queen of *Bohemia*, by whose intercession he procured leave from the Prince of *Orange* to go into *England*, "That he would never serve against "the King: And many other of obscure Names, though Officers of good Command. There were a good Number of their Officers, especially of Horse, taken Prisoners, but (save that some of them were Parliament Men) of mean Quality in the world, except only Sr *William Essex* the Father of the Colonel, whose wants, from having wasted a very great Fortune, and his Son's invitation, led him into that Company; where he was a private Captain of his Regiment.

WHEN the Armies had thus only look'd one upon another,

the whole day, and it being discern'd that the Enemy had drawn off his Carriages, the King directed all his Army to retire into their old Quarters, presuming (as it prov'd) that many of those who were wanting would be found there. And so himself with his two Sons went to *Edgecot*, where he lay the night before the Battle, resolving to rest the next day, both for the refreshing his wearied, and even tired Men, and to be inform'd of the motion and condition of the Enemy, upon which some Troops of the King's Horse attended. The Earl of *Essex* retired with His to *Warwick*-Castle, whither he had sent all his Prisoners; so that, on the *Tuesday* morning, the King was inform'd, that the Enemy was gone, and that some of his Horse had attended the rear of the Enemy almost to *Warwick*, and that they had left many of their Carriages, and very many of their wounded Soldiers at the Village next to the Field; by which it appear'd that their remove was in haste, and not without apprehension.

After the Horse had march'd almost to *Warwick*, and found the Coast clear from the Enemy, they return'd to the Field to view the dead Bodies, many going to enquire after their Friends who were missing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, but lying stripp'd among the dead; among whom, with others, young Mr *Scroop* brought off his Father, Sr *Gervas Scroop*; who, being an old Gentleman of great fortune in *Lincoln-shire*, had raised a Foot Company among his Tenants, and brought them in to the Earl of *Lindsey*'s Regiment, out of devotion and respect to his Lordship, as well as duty to the King; and had, about the time that the General was taken, fal'n with sixteen wounds in his body and head; and had lain stripp'd among the dead, from that time, which was about three in the afternoon on *Sunday*, all that cold night, all *Monday*, and *Monday* night, and till *Tuesday* evening, for it was so late before his Son found him; whom with great piety he carried to a warm Lodging, and afterwards to *Oxford*, where he wonderfully recover'd. The next morning after, being *Wednesday*, there was another Gentleman one *Bellingham*, of an ancient extraction, and the only Son of his Father, found among the dead, and brought off by his Friends, with twenty wounds; who, after ten days, died at *Oxford*, by the negligence of his Surgeons, who left a wound in his thigh, of it self not dangerous, undiscern'd, and so by festering destroyed a body very hopefully recover'd of those which were only thought Mortal. The Surgeons were of opinion, that both these Gentlemen owed their lives to the inhumanity of those who stripp'd them, and to the coldness of the nights, which stopp'd their blood, better than all their skill, and Medicaments could have done, and that if they had been

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brought off within any reasonable distance of time after their wounds, they had undoubtedly perished.

On *Wednesday* Morning, the King drew his Army to a Rendezvous, where he found his Numbers greater than he expected; for, in the night after the Battle, very many of the Common Soldiers out of cold, and hunger, had found their old Quarters. So that it was really believ'd upon this view, when this little rest had recover'd a strange chearfulness into all Men, that there were not in that Battle lost above three hundred Men at most. There the King declar'd General *Ruthen* General of his Army in the place of the Earl of *Lindsey*; and then marched to *Ayno*, a little Village two Miles distant from *Banbury*, of which his Majesty that day took a View, and meant to attempt it the next day following. There was at that time in *Banbury* Castle a Regiment of eight hundred Foot, and a Troop of Horse, which, with Spirits proportionable, had been enough to have kept so strong a place from an Army better prepar'd to have assaulted it, than the King's then was, and at a season of the year more commodious for a Siege. And therefore many were of opinion, that the King should have march'd by it, without taking notice of it, and that the engaging before it, might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevail'd with him to stay there, besides the Courage of his Soldiers, who had again recover'd their appetite to Action, was, that he could not well resolve whither to go; for till he was inform'd what the Earl of *Essex* did, he knew not how to direct his march; and if the Enemy advanced upon him, he could not Fight in a place of more advantage. And therefore, having sent a Trumpet to summon the Castle, and having first taken the Lord *Say*'s House at *Broughton*, where there was some shew of resistance, and in it a Troop of Horse, and some good Arms, the Canon were planted against the Castle, and the Army drawn out before it; but, upon the first shot made, the Castle sent to treat, and upon leave to go away without their Arms, they fairly and kindly deliver'd the place; and half the Common Soldiers at the least readily took Conditions, and put themselves into the King's Army, the rest of the Arms came very seasonably to supply many Soldiers of every Regiment, who either never had any before, or had lost them in the Battle.

Banbury Castle surrender'd to the King.

This last success declared where the Victory was before at *Edge-hill*; for though the routing of their Horse, the having kill'd more upon the place, and taken more Prisoners, the number of the Colours won from the Enemy (which were near forty in number) without the loss of above three or four, and lastly the taking four pieces of their Cannon the next morning after the Battle, were so many Arguments that the

Victory inclined to the King: On the other side, the loss of the General himself, and so many Men of Name either kill'd or taken Prisoners, who were generally known over the Kingdom (whereas, besides the Lord *Saint-John*, and Colonel *Essex*, the names of the rest of that Party were so obscure, that neither the one side seem'd to be gainers by having taken or kill'd them, nor the other side to be losers by being without them) the having kept the Field last, were sufficient testimonies at the least that they were not overcome. But now the taking of *Banbury*, which was the more signal, by the circumstances of that part of the Armies being, before the Battle, design'd for that Service, then recall'd to the Field, and after that Field fought, and the Retreat of the Enemy, the readvancing upon it, and taking it, was so undeniable an Argument that the Earl of *Essex* was more broken and scatter'd than at first he appear'd to be, that the King's Army was look'd upon as Victorious. A Garrison was put into *Banbury*, and the Command thereof committed to the Earl of *Northampton*, and then the King march'd to his own House at *Woodstock*; and the next day with the whole Army to *Oxford*, which was the only City of *England* that he could say was entirely at his devotion; where he was receiv'd by the University, to whom the Integrity and Fidelity of that Place is to be imputed, with all joy and acclamation.

The Condition of the Earl of Essex's Army after the Fight.

THE Earl of *Essex* continued still at *Warwick*, repairing his broken Regiments and Troops, which every day lessen'd and impair'd; for the number of his slain Men was greater than it was reported to be, there being very many kill'd in the Chase, and many who died of their wounds after they were carried off, and, of those, who run away in the beginning, more staid away than return'd; and which was more, they who run fartheſt and fastest told such lamentable Stories of the defeat, and many of them shew'd such hurts, that the terror thereof was even ready to make the People revolt to their Allegiance in all places. Many of those who had stood their ground, and behav'd themselves well in the Battle, either with remorse of Conscience, horror of what they had done, and seen, or weariness of the Duty and Danger, withdrew themselves from their Colours, and some from their Commands. And it is certain many engaged themselves first in that Service, out of an opinion, that an Army would procure a Peace without Fighting; others out of a desire to serve the King, and resolving to go away themselves, and to carry others with them, assoon as they should find themselves within a secure distance to do it; both these being, contrary to their expectation, brought to Fight, the latter not knowing how to get to the King's Army in the Battle, discharged themselves of the Service assoon

as

as they came to *Warwick*; some with leave, and some without. But that which no doubt most troubled his Excellency, was the Temper and Constitutions of his new Masters; who, he knew, expected no less from him than a Victory compleat, by his bringing the Person of the King alive or dead to them; and would consider what was now fallen out, as it was so much less than they look'd for, not as it was more than any body else could have done for them. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had passed, and made as if his stay at *Warwick* were rather to receive new Orders and Commands from them, than out of any weakness or inability to pursue the old, and that he attended the King's motion as well as if he had been within seven Miles of him.

It is certain the consternation was very great at *London*, and in the two Houses, from the time that they heard, that the King march'd from *Shrewsbury* with a form'd Army, and that he was resolv'd to Fight, assoon as he could meet with Theirs. However, they endeavour'd to keep up confidently the ridiculous opinion among the Common People, that the King did not Command, but was carried about in that Army of the Cavaliers, and was desirous to escape from them; which they hoped the Earl of *Essex* would give him opportunity to do. The first news they heard of the Armies being engaged, was by those who fled upon the first Charge; who made marvellous haste from the place of danger, and thought not themselves safe, till they were gotten out of any possible distance of being pursued. It is certain, though it was past two of the Clock before the Battle begun, many of the Soldiers, and some Commanders of no mean Name, were at St *Albans*, which was near thirty Miles from the Field, before it was dark. These Men, as all Runaways do for their own excuse, reported all for lost, and the King's Army to be so terrible, that it could not be encounter'd. Some of them, that they might not be thought to come away before there was cause, or whilst there was any hope, reported the progress of the Battle, and presented all those lamentable things, and the circumstances by which every part of the Army was defeated, which their terrified fancies had suggested to them whilst they run away; some had seen the Earl of *Essex* slain, and heard his dying words; "That every one should shift for "himself, for all resistance was to no purpose: So that the whole City was, the *Monday*, full of the defeat; and though there was an Express, from the Earl of *Essex* himself, of the contrary, there was not Courage enough left to believe it, and every hour produced somewhat to contradict the reports of the last. *Monday* in the afternoon, the Earl of *Holland* produced a Letter in the House of Peers, which was written the

night before by the Earl of *Essex*, in which all particulars of the day were set down, and "The impression which had in the "beginning been made upon his Horse, but that the conclu- "sion was prosperous. Whilst this was reading, and every Man greedily digested the good news, the Lord *Hastings*, who had a Command of Horse in the Service, enter'd the House with frighted and ghastly looks, and positively declar'd "all to be lost, against whatsoever they believ'd or flatter'd "themselves with. And though it was evident enough that he had run away from the beginning, and only lost his way thither, most Men look'd upon him as the last Messenger, and even shut their Ears against any possible comfort; so that without doubt very many, in the horror and consternation of eight and forty hours, paid and underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes, and insolence of three Months before. At the last, on *Wednesday* morning, the Lord *Wharton*, and Mr *William Strode*, the one a Member of the House of Lords, the other of the Commons, arriv'd from the Army, and made so full a relation of the Battle, "Of the great Numbers slain on "the King's part, without any considerable loss on their side, "of the miserable and weak Condition the King's Army was "in, and of the Earl of *Essex*'s Resolution to pursue him, That they were not now content to be Savers, but Voted, "That "their Army had the Victory; and appointed a day for a Solemn Thanksgiving to God for the same; and that so great a Joy might not be enjoy'd only within those Walls, they appointed those two trusty Messengers to communicate the whole relation with all circumstances to the City; which was conven'd together at the *Guild-Hall* to receive the same. But by this time, so many Persons, who were present at the Action, came to the Town of both sides (for there was yet a free intercourse with all Quarters) and some discourses were publish'd how little either of these two Messengers had seen themselves of that days business, that the City seem'd not so much exalted at their Relations, as the Houses had been; the King's taking *Banbury*, and marching afterwards to *Oxford*, and the reports from those parts of his Power, with the Earl of *Essex*'s lying still at *Warwick*, gave great Argument of discourse; which grew the greater by the commitment of several Persons, for reporting "That the King had the better of the Field; which Men thought would not have been, if the success had been contrary; and therefore there was nothing so generally spoken of, or wish'd for, as Peace.

THEY who were really well affected to the King, and from the beginning opposed all the extravagances, for of such there were many in both Houses, who could not yet find in their Hearts to leave the Company, spake now aloud "That an "humble

"humble Addreſs to the King for the removal of all miſun-
"derſtandings, was both in Duty neceſſary, and in Policy
"convenient. The half-hearted, and half witted People,
which made much the Major part of both Houſes, plainly di-
ſcern'd there muſt be a War, and that the King at leaſt would
be able to make reſiſtance, which they had been promiſed he
could not do, and ſo were equally paſſionate to make any
Overtures for Accommodation. They only who had contriv'd
the miſchief, and already had digeſted a full change and alte-
ration of Government, and knew well, that all their Arts
would be diſcover'd, and their Perſons odious, though they
might be ſecured, violently oppoſed all motions of this kind.
Theſe Men preſs'd earneſtly "To ſend an Expreſs to their
"Brethren of *Scotland*, to invite, and conjure them to come to
"their Aſſiſtance, and to leave no way unthought of, for ſup-
"preſſing, and totally deſtroying all thoſe who had preſum'd
"to ſide with the King. This overture of calling the *Scots* in
again was as Unpopular a thing, as could be mention'd; be-
ſides that it implied a great and abſolute diffidence in their
own ſtrength, and an acknowledgment that the People of
England ſtood not ſo generally affected to their deſires, which
they had hitherto publiſh'd, and urged, as the beſt Argument
to juſtify thoſe deſires. Therefore the wiſe Managers of that
Party, by whoſe conduct they had been principally govern'd,
ſeem'd fully to concur with thoſe who deſir'd Peace, "And
"to ſend an humble Addreſs to the King, which they con-
"feſſed to be due from them as Subjects, and the only way
"to procure happineſs for the Kingdom. And having here-
by render'd themſelves gracious, and gained credit, they ad-
viſed them "So to endeavour Peace, that they might not be
"diſappointed of it, and wiſh'd them "To conſider that the
"King's Party were high upon the ſucceſs of having an Army
"(of which they had reaſonably before deſpair'd) though
"not upon any thing that Army had yet done. That it
"was apparent, the King had Miniſters ſtirring for him in
"the North, and in the Weſt, though hitherto with little ef-
"fect; and therefore if they ſhould make ſuch an Applica-
"tion for Peace, as might imply the giving over the thoughts
"of War, they muſt expect ſuch a Peace, as the mercy of
"thoſe whom they had provoked would conſent to. But if
"they would ſteddily purſue thoſe Counſels as would make
"their ſtrength formidable, they might then expect ſuch mo-
"derate Conditions, as they might, with their Own, and the
"Kingdom's Safety, ſecurely ſubmit to. That therefore the
"Propoſition of ſending into *Scotland* was very ſeaſonable;
"not that it could be hoped, or was deſir'd, that they ſhould
"bring an Army into *England* of which there was not like

"to be any need; but that That Kingdom might make such a "declaration of their Affections, and readiness to assist the "Parliament, that the King might look upon them with the "more consideration, as a Body not easily to be oppressed, if "he should insist upon too high Conditions.

By this Artifice, whilst they who pressed a Treaty thought, that That being once consented to, a Peace would inevitably be concluded, the same day that a Committee was appointed "To prepare heads of an humble Address unto his Majesty, "for composing the present Differences, and Distractions, and "settling the Peace of the Kingdom (which was a great condescension) they made no scruple to declare "That the pre-"parations of Forces, and all other necessary means for de-"fence, should be prosecuted with all Vigour; and there-upon requir'd "All those Officers and Soldiers, who had left "their General, of which the Town was then full, upon "pain of Death, to return to him; and for his better recruit, solemnly declar'd, "That in such times of Common danger "and necessity, the Interest of Private Persons, ought to give "way to the Publick; and therefore they ordain'd, that such

Apprentices invited by the Parliament to take Arms.

"Apprentices, as would be Lifted to serve as Soldiers for the "defence of the Kingdom, the Parliament, and City (with "their other usual expressions of Religion, and the King's "Person) their Sureties, and such as stood engaged for them, "should be secured against their Masters; and that their Ma-"sters should receive them again at the end of their Service, "without imputing any loss of time to them, but the same "should be reckon'd as well spent, according to their Inden-"tures, as if they had been still in their Shops. And by this means many Children were engag'd in that Service, not only against the Consent, but against the Persons of their Fathers, and the Earl receiv'd a notable supply thereby.

Then, in return for their Consent that a formal and perfunctory Message should be sent to his Majesty, thereby they thought a Treaty would be enter'd upon, they procur'd at the same time, and as an Expedient for Peace, this material and full Declaration of both Houses to the Subjects of *Scotland*, which they caus'd with all expedition to be sent into that Kingdom.

The two Houses Declaration to the Subjects of Scotland.

"We the Lords and Commons, assembled in the Parlia-"ment of *England*, considering with what Wisdom and Pub-"lick Affection, Our Brethren of the Kingdom of *Scotland* "did concur with the endeavours of this Parliament, and the "desires of the whole Kingdom in procuring, and establish-"ing a firm Peace and Amity between the two Nations, and "how lovingly they have since invited Us to a nearer, and

"higher

"higher degree of Union in matters concerning Religion, "and Church Government, which We have moſt willingly "and affectionately embraced, and intend to purſue, cannot "doubt but they will, with as much forwardneſs and affe- "ction, concur with Us in ſettling Peace in this Kingdom, "and preſerving it in their Own; that ſo We may mutually "reap the benefit of that Amity and Alliance, ſo happily "made, and ſtrongly confirm'd betwixt the two Nations. "Wherefore, as We did about a year ſince, in the firſt ap- "pearance of Trouble then beginning among them, actually "declare, that in our ſenſe and apprehenſion of the National "Alliance betwixt Us, We were thereby bound to apply the "Authority of Parliament, and Power of this Kingdom to the "preſervation, and maintenance of their Peace: And, ſeeing "now that the Troubles of this Kingdom are grown to a "greater height, and the ſubtle practices of the Common Ene- "mies of the Religion, and Liberty of both Nations, do ap- "pear with more evident ſtrength, and danger than they "did at that time, We hold it neceſſary to declare, that, in "Our Judgment, the ſame obligation lies upon Our Brethren, "by the aforemention'd Act, with the Power and force of "that Kingdom, to aſſiſt Us in repreſſing thoſe among Us, "who are now in Arms, and make War, not only without "conſent of Parliament, but even againſt the Parliament, and "for the deſtruction thereof.

"WHEREFORE We have thought good to make known "unto Our Brethren, that his Majeſty hath given Commiſſion "to divers eminent and known Papiſts, to raiſe Forces, and "to compoſe an Army in the North, and other parts of this "Kingdom, which is to joyn with divers Forreign Forces, "intended to be Tranſported from beyond the Seas, for the "deſtruction of this Parliament, and of the Religion, and Li- "berty of the Kingdom: and that the principal part of the "Clergy and their Adherents, have likewiſe invited his Ma- "jeſty to raiſe another Army, which in his own Perſon, he "doth conduct againſt the Parliament, and the City of *Lon- "don*, Plundering and Robbing ſundry well affected Towns "within their power; and in proſecution of their Malice, they "were ſo preſumptuous, and predominant of his Majeſty's "Reſolutions, that they forbear not thoſe Outrages in places "to which his Majeſty hath given his Royal Word and Pro- "tection; a great cauſe and incentive of which Malice, pro- "ceeds from the deſign they have to hinder the Reforma- "tion of Eccleſiaſtical Government in this Kingdom, ſo "much longed for by all the true Lovers of the Proteſtant "Religion.

"AND hereupon We farther deſire Our Brethren of the "Nation

"Nation of *Scotland*, to raise such Forces as they shall think "sufficient for securing the Peace of their own Borders, against "the ill affected Persons there, and likewise to assist Us in sup- "pressing the Army of Papists, and Forreigners; which, as "We expect, will shortly be on foot here, and if they be not "timely prevented, may prove as mischievous and destructive "to that Kingdom, as to our selves. And though We seek "nothing from his Majesty that may diminish his just Autho- "rity, or Honour, and have by many humble Petitions, en- "deavour'd to put an end to this unnatural War and Com- "bustion in the Kingdom, and to procure his Majesty's Pro- "tection, and Security for our Religion, Liberty, and Per- "sons (according to that great Trust which his Majesty is "bound to by the Laws of the Land) and shall still continue "to renew our Petitions in that kind; yet, to our great grief, "We see the Papistical and Malignant Council so prevalent "with his Majesty, and his Person so engaged to their power, "that We have little hope of better success of our Petitions "than We formerly had; and are thereby necessitated to "stand upon our just Defence, and to seek this speedy and "powerful Assistance of our Brethren of *Scotland*, accord- "ing to that Act agreed upon in the Parliament of both King- "doms, the Common Duty of Christianity, and the particu- "lar Interests of their own Kingdom: To which We hope "God will give such a blessing, that it may produce the pre- "servation of Religion, the Honour, Safety, and Peace of his "Majesty, and all his Subjects, and a more strict conjunction "of the Counsels, Designs, and Endeavours of both Nations, "for the comfort and relief of the Reform'd Churches be- "yond Sea.

The condition, and inclinations of the Kingdom of Scotland at that time.

It will not be here unseasonable to take some short Survey of the Affections and Inclinations of *Scotland*; the ordering and well disposing whereof, either side sufficiently understood, would be of moment, and extraordinary importance in the growing Contention. From the time of the King's being last there, when he had so fully comply'd with all they had desir'd, both for the publick Government, and their private Advancements, that Kingdom within it self enjoy'd as much Quiet and Tranquility as they could desire; having the convenience of disburdening themselves of their late Army into *Ireland*, whither their old General *Leslie*, then made Earl of *Leven*, was imploy'd in his full Command by the King and the two Houses, at the charge of *England*. So that many believ'd they had been so abundantly satisfied with what they had already gotten from *England*, that they had no farther projects upon this Kingdom, but meant to make their Fortune by

by a new Conqueſt in *Ireland*, where they had a very great part of the Province of *Ulſter* planted by their own Nation. So that, according to their rules of good Husbandry, they might expect whatſoever they got from the Rebels to keep for themſelves. And the King himſelf was ſo confident that the Affections of that People could not be ſo corrupted towards him, as to make a farther attempt upon him, that he believ'd them, to a degree, ſenſible of their former breach of Duty, and willing to repair it by any Service. *Leſlie* himſelf had made great acknowledgments, and great profeſſions to him, and had told him, "That it was nothing to promiſe "him, that he would never more bear Arms againſt him, "but he promiſed he would ſerve his Majeſty upon any Sum- "mons without asking the Cauſe. The Earl of *Lowden*, and all the reſt, who had miſled the People, were poſſeſs'd of whatſoever they could deſire, and the future Fortune of That Nation ſeem'd to depend wholly upon the keeping up the King's full Power in This.

His Majeſty had, from time to time, given his Council of that Kingdom full relations of all his differences with his Parliament, and had carefully ſent them the Declarations, and publick Paſſages of both ſides, and they had always return'd very ample expreſſions of their Affections and Duty, and expreſs'd a great ſenſe of the Parliaments proceedings towards him. And ſince the time of his being at *York*, the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, in whoſe Integrity and Loyalty he was leaſt ſecure, had been with him; and ſeem'd ſo well ſatisfied with the Juſtice and Honour of his Majeſty's carriage towards the Parliament, that he writ to the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners at *London*, in the name, and as by the direction of the Lords of the Secret Council of that Kingdom, "That they ſhould preſent "to the two Houſes the deep ſenſe they had of the Injuries "and Indignities, which were offer'd to the King, whoſe juſt "Rights they were bound to defend; and that they ſhould "conjure them, to bind up thoſe wounds which were made, "and not to widen them by ſharpneſs of Language; and to "give his Majeſty ſuch real ſecurity for his Safety among "them, by an effectual declaring againſt Tumults, and ſuch "other Actions as were juſtly offenſive to his Majeſty, that he "might be induced to reſide nearer to them, and comply "with them in ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be reaſonably made; with many ſuch expreſſions, as together with his return into *Scotland* without coming to *London*, where he was expected, gave them ſo much offence and jealouſy, that they never communicated that Letter to the Houſes, and took all poſſible care to conceal it from the People.

The Marquis *Hamilton* had been likewiſe with his Majeſty

jesty at *York*, and finding the Eyes of all Men directed towards him with more than ordinary jealousy, he offer'd the King to go into *Scotland*, with many Assurances and undertakings, confident "That he would at least keep that People from do-"ing any thing, that might seem to countenance the carriage "of the Parliament. Upon which promises, and to be rid of him at *York*, where he was by all Men look'd upon with marvellous prejudice, the King suffer'd him to go, with full Assurance that he would, and he was sure he could, do him very good Service there; as, on the other side, in his own Court he was so great an offence, that the whole Gentry of *York-shire*, who no doubt had infusions to that purpose from others, had a design to have Petition'd the King, that the Marquis might be sequester'd from all Councils, and presence at Court, as a Man too much trusted by them who would not trust his Majesty.

Lastly, the King had many of the Nobility of *Scotland* then attending, and among those the Earl of *Calander*, who had been Lieutenant General of the *Scotish* Army, when it Invaded *England*, and had freely confess'd to his Majesty, upon what errors and mistakes he had been corrupted, and by whom, and pretended so deep a sense of what he had done amiss, that it was believ'd, he would have taken Command in the King's Army; which he declin'd, as if it might have been penal to him in *Scotland* by some clause in the Act of the Pacification, but especially upon pretence it would disable him from doing him greater Service in that Kingdom: whither, shortly after the Standard was set up, he repair'd, with all solemn Vows of asserting, and improving his Majesty's Interest in those parts.

The Parliament on the other hand assur'd themselves, that That Nation was entirely Theirs, having their Commissioners residing with them at *London*; and the chief Managers and Governours in the first War, by their late intercourse, and communication of Guilt, having a firm Correspondence with the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Lowden*, and that Party, who being not able to excuse themselves, thought the King could never in his heart forgive them, when it should be in his Power to bring them to Justice. And they undertook that when there should be need of that Nation (which the other thought there would never be) they should be as forward to second them as they had been; in the mean time return'd as fair, and respective Answers to all their Messages, and upon their Declarations, which were constantly sent to them, as they did to the King; assisting them in their design against the Church, which was not yet grown Popular even in the two Houses, by declaring "That the People of that Nation "could

"could never be engaged on any other ground, than the Re-
"formation of Religion. And therefore, about the begin-
ning of *Auguſt*, the Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* publiſh'd
a Declaration; "How exceedingly griev'd they were and
"made heavy, that in ſo long a time, againſt the profeſſions
"both of King and Parliament, and contrary to the joynt de-
"ſires and prayers of the Godly in both Kingdoms, to whom
"it was more dear and precious, than what was deareſt to
"them in the world, the Reformation of Religion had moved
"ſo ſlowly, and ſuffer'd ſo great interruption.

THE ground of which reproach was this; in the late Trea-
ty of Peace, the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* had expreſs'd a
deſire or wiſh warily couched in words, rather than a Propo-
ſition, "That there were ſuch an Unity of Religion, and Uni-
"formity of Church Government agreed on, as might be a
"ſpecial means for conſerving of Peace betwixt the two King-
"doms: To which there had been a general inclination to re-
turn a rough Anſwer, and reproof for their intermedling in
any thing that related to the Laws of *England*. But, by the
extraordinary induſtry, and ſubtlety of thoſe, who ſaw that
buſineſs was not yet ripe, and who alledg'd, that it was only
wiſh'd, not propoſed, and therefore that a ſharp reply was
not merited, this gentle Anſwer, againſt the minds of very
many, was return'd,

"THAT his Majeſty, with the advice of both Houſes of
"Parliament, did approve of the Affection of his Subjects of
"*Scotland*, in their deſire of having Conformity of Church
"Government between the two Nations; and as the Parlia-
"ment had already taken into conſideration the Reformation
"of Church Government, ſo they would proceed therein
"in due time, as ſhould beſt conduce to the glory of God, the
"Peace of the Church, and of both Kingdoms.

WHICH was conſented to by moſt, as a civil Anſwer,
ſignifying, or concluding nothing; by others, becauſe it ad-
mitted an interpretatton of reducing the Government of the
Church in *Scotland* to this of *England*, as much as the con-
trary. But it might have been well diſcern'd, that thoſe Men
asked nothing without a farther deſign than the words natu-
rally imported, nor ever reſted ſatisfied with a general for-
mal Anſwer, except they found, that they ſhould hereafter
make uſe, and receive benefit by ſuch Anſwer. So they now
urged the matter of this Anſwer, as a ſufficient Title to de-
mand the extirpation of Prelacy in *England*, and demoliſhing
the whole Fabrick of that glorious Church; urging his Maje-
ſty's late practice, while he was in Perſon in *Scotland*, in re-
ſorting frequently to their exerciſes of publick Worſhip; and
his Royal Actions, in eſtabliſhing the Worſhip and Govern-
ment

ment of that Kirk in Parliament. And therefore they desired the Parliament "To begin their work of Reformation at the "Uniformity of Kirk Government; for that there could be "no hope of Unity in Religion, of one Confession of Faith, "one Form of Worship, and one Catechism, till there were "first one Form of Church Government; and that the King-"dom, and Kirk of *Scotland*, could have no hope of a firm "and durable Peace, till Prelacy, which had been the main "cause of their miseries and troubles, first and last, were "pluck'd up root and branch, as a plant which God had not "planted, and from which no better fruits could be expected, "than such sour Grapes, as at that day set on edge the King-"dom of *England*.

WHICH Declaration the Lords of the secret Council, finding, as they said, "The reasons therein express'd to be very "pregnant, and the particulars desired, much to conduce to "the glory of God, the advancement of the true Christian "Faith, his Majesty's Honour, and the Peace, and Union of "his Dominions, well approv'd of; and concurred in their earnest desires to the two Houses of Parliament, "To take to "their serious considerations those particulars, and to give fa-"vourable hearing to such desires and overtures, as should be "found most conducible to the promoting so great, and so "good a work.

THIS being sent to the Parliament at the time they were forming their Army, and when the King was preparing for his defence, they who, from the beginning, had principally intended this confusion in the Church, insinuated "How ne-"cessary it was, speedily to return a very affectionate, and "satisfactory reply to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; not only to "preserve the reputation of unity, and consent between them, "which at that time, was very useful to them, but to hinder "the operations of the disaffected in that Kingdom; who, "upon infusions that the Parliament only aim'd at taking his "Majesty's Regal rights from him, to the prejudice of Mo-"narchique Government, without any thought of reforming "Religion, endeavour'd to pervert the Affections of that Peo-"ple towards the Parliament. Whereas if they were once "assured there was a purpose to reform Religion, they should "be sure to have their Hearts; and, if occasion required, "their Hands too; which possibly might be seduced for the "King, if that purpose were not manifested. Therefore, for "the present, they should do well to return their hearty "thanks for, and their Brotherly acceptance and approbation "of the desires, and advice of that Christian Assembly, and "of the Lords of the Council; and that though, for the pre-"sent, by reason of the King's distance from the Parliament

"they

"they could not settle any conclusion in that matter, yet for "Their parts they were resolv'd to endeavour it.

By this Artifice and Invention, they procured a Declaration from the two Houses of Parliament, of wonderful kindness, and confession of many inconveniencies, and mischiefs the Kingdom had sustain'd by Bishops; and therefore they declared, "That That Hierarchical Government was evil, and "justly offensive, and burdensome to the Kingdom; a great "impediment to Reformation and growth of Religion; ve-"ry prejudicial to the State and Government of the Kingdom; "and that they were resolv'd that the same should be taken "away; and that their purpose was to consult with Godly, "and Learned Divines, that they might not only remove "That, but settle such a Government, as might be most agree-"able to God's holy word; most apt to procure, and conserve "the Peace of the Church at home, and happy Union with "the Church of *Scotland*, and other Reform'd Churches "abroad; and to establish the same by a Law, which they in-"tended to frame for that purpose, to be presented to his Ma-"jesty for his Royal Assent; and in the mean time to beseech "him, that a Bill for the Assembly might be passed in time "convenient for their meeting; the two Houses having extra-judicially and extravagantly nominated their own Divines to that purpose, as is before remember'd.

It was then believ'd by many, and the King was perswaded to believe the same, that all those Importunities from *Scotland* concerning the Government of the Church, were used only to preserve themselves from being pressed by the Parliament, to joyn with them against the King; imagining that this Kingdom would never have consented to such an alteration; and they again pretending, that no other obligation could unite that People in their Service. But it is most certain, this last Declaration was procured by perswading Men, "That it was for the present necessary, and that it was only "an Engagement to do their best to perswade his Majesty, "who they concluded would be inexorable in the point (which they seem'd not to be sorry for) "And that a receding "from such a conclusion would be a means to gratify his "Majesty in a Treaty. At worst, they all knew, that there would be room enough, when any Bill should be brought in, to oppose what they had, for this reason of State, seem'd generally to consent to. And so by these Stratagems, thinking to be too hard for each other, they grew all so entangled, that they still wound themselves deeper into those Labyrinths, in which the Major part meant not to be involv'd. And what effect that Declaration of the two Houses, after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which is mention'd before, wrought, will very shortly appear.

The

The King at Oxford recruits his Army.

THE King found himself in good ease at *Oxford*, where care was taken for providing for the sick, and wounded Soldiers, and for the Accommodation of the Army, which was, in a short time recruited there in a good measure; and the several Colleges presented his Majesty with all the Money they had in their Treasuries, which amounted to a good Sum, and was a very seasonable supply, as they had formerly sent him all their Plate. It had been very happy, if the King had continued his resolution of sitting still during the Winter without making farther attempts; for his reputation was now great, and his Army believ'd to be much greater than it was, by the Victory they had obtain'd, and the Parliament grew more divided into factions, and dislike of what they had done, and the City appear'd fuller of discontent, and less inclin'd to be impos'd upon than they had been: so that on all hands nothing was press'd, but that some address might be made to the King for an accommodation; which temper and disposition might have been cultivated, as many Men thought, to great effects, if no farther approaches had been made to *London*, to shew them how little cause they had for their great fear. But the Weather growing fair again, as it often is about *All-hollantide*, and a good party of Horse having been sent out from *Abingdon*, where the head Quarter of the Horse was, they advanced farther than they had order to do, and upon their approach to *Reading*, where *Harry Martin* was Governour for the Parliament, there was a great terror seised upon them, insomuch as Governour and Garrison fled to *London*, and left the place to the Party of Horse; which gave advertisement to the King, "That all fled before them; that the Earl of *Essex* "remain'd still at *Warwick*, having no Army to March; and "that there was so great divisions in the Parliament, that, "upon his Majesty's approach, they would all fly; and that "nothing could interrupt him from going to *White-Hall*. How-"ever *Reading* it self was so good a Post, that if the King "should find it necessary to make his own Residence in *Ox-"ford*, it would be much the better by having a Garrison at "*Reading*.

The Garrison of the Parliament at Reading quitting it, the King marches thither.

UPON these and other motives, besides the natural credulity in Men, in believing all they wish'd to be true, the King was prevail'd with to march with his Army to *Reading*. This Alarm quickly came to *London*, and was receiv'd with the deepest horror: they now unbeliev'd all which had been told them from their own Army; that Army which, they were told, was well beaten, and scatter'd, was now advanced within thirty Miles of *London*; and the Earl of *Essex*, who pretended to the Victory, and who they supposed was watching the King, that he might not escape from him, could not be heard

heard of, and continued ſtill at *Warwick*. Whilſt the King was at *Nottingham*, and *Shrewsbury*, they gave orders Magiſterially for the War, but now it was come to their own doors, they took not that delight in it.

BEFORE they were reſolv'd what to ſay, they diſpatch'd a Meſſenger, who found the King at *Reading*, only to deſire "A ſafe conduct from his Majeſty for a Committee of Lords "and Commons, to attend his Majeſty with an humble Peti- "tion from his Parliament. The King preſently return'd his Anſwer, "That he had always been, and was ſtill ready to "receive any Petition from them; that their Committee ſhould "be Welcome, provided it conſiſted of Perſons, who had not "been by name declar'd Traytors by his Majeſty, and ex- "cepted as ſuch in his Declarations, or Proclamations. The cauſe of this limitation was as well the former Rule his Majeſty had ſet down at *Shrewsbury* (from whence he thought not fit now to recede, after a Battle) as that he might prevent the Lord *Say*'s being ſent to him, from whom he could expect no entire, and upright dealing.

THE next day another Letter came from the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers to the Lord *Falkland*, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries, to deſire "A ſafe conduct for the Earls "of *Northumberland*, and *Pembroke*, and four Members of "the Houſe of Commons, to attend his Majeſty with their "Petition; which ſafe conduct was immediately ſign'd by his Majeſty, excepting only for Sr *John Evelyn*, who was by name excepted in his Majeſty's Proclamation of Pardon to the County of *Wilts*; which Proclamation was then ſent to them with a ſignification, "That if they would ſend any other Per- "ſon in his place, not ſubject to the ſame exception, he ſhould "be receiv'd as if his name were in the ſafe conduct. Though this was no more than they had cauſe to look for, yet it gave them opportunity for a time to lay aſide the thought of Petitioning, as if his Majeſty had rejected all overtures of Peace: "For he might every day proclaim as many of their Members "Traytors, and except them from Pardon, as he pleaſed, and "therefore it was to no purpoſe to prepare Petitions, and "appoint Meſſengers to preſent them, when it was poſſible "thoſe Meſſengers might, the hour before, be proclaim'd "Traytors: that to ſubmit to ſuch a limitation of the King's "was, upon the matter, to conſent to, and approve the higheſt "breach of Privilege, that had been yet offer'd to them.

SO that for ſome days, all diſcourſe of Peace was waved, and all poſſible preparations for defence and reſiſtance made; for which they had a ſtronger Argument than either of the other, the advancing of their General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was now on his march towards *London*; and a great fame

came before him of the ſtrength and courage of his Army; though in truth it was not anſwerable to the report: However it ſerv'd to encourage, and inflame thoſe whoſe fear only inclin'd them to Peace, and to awe the reſt. The King, who had every night an account of what was tranſacted in the Houſes all day (what the cloſe Committee did, who guided all private deſigns, was not ſo ſoon known) reſolv'd to quicken them; and advanc'd with his whole Army to *Colebrook*. This indeed exalted their appetite to Peace; for the clamour of the People was importunate, and ſomewhat humbled their Style; for at *Colebrook*, the 11th of *November*, his Majeſty was met by the two Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Pembroke*, with thoſe three of the Houſe of Commons whoſe names were in the ſafe conduct; they ſatisfying themſelves, that the leaving Sr *John Evelyn* behind them, without bringing another in his room, was no Submiſſion to the King's exception: and this Petition was by them preſented to him.

The King advances to Colebrook.

A Petition preſented to the King from both Houſes.

"We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, the Lords and "Commons in Parliament aſſembled, being affected with a "deep and piercing ſenſe of the miſeries of this Kingdom, and "of the dangers to your Majeſty's Perſon, as the preſent af-"fairs now ſtand; and much quicken'd therein with the ſad "conſideration of the great effuſion of Blood at the late Bat-"tle, and of the loſs of ſo many eminent Perſons; and far-"ther weighing the addition of Loſs, Miſery, and Danger "to your Majeſty, and your Kingdom, which muſt enſue, if "both Armies ſhould again joyn in another Battle, as without "God's eſpecial Bleſſing, and your Majeſty's concurrence with "Your Houſes of Parliament will not probably be avoided: "We cannot but believe that a ſuitable impreſſion of tender-"neſs, and compaſſion, is wrought in your Majeſty's Royal "heart, being your ſelf an Eye Witneſs of the bloody and "ſorrowful deſtruction of ſo many of your Subjects; and that "your Majeſty doth apprehend what diminution of your own "power and greatneſs will follow, and that all your King-"doms will thereby be ſo weaken'd as to become ſubject to "the Attempts of any ill affected to this State.

"In all which reſpects We aſſure our ſelves, that your Ma-"jeſty will be inclined graciouſly to accept this our humble "Petition; that the miſery, and deſolation of this Kingdom "may be ſpeedily remov'd, and prevented. For the effecting "whereof, We humbly beſeech your Majeſty to appoint ſome "convenient place, not far from the City of *London*, where "your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reſide, until Committees of "both Houſes of Parliament may attend your Majeſty with "ſome Propoſitions for the removal of theſe bloody diſtem-

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"pers and distractions, and settling the State of the Kingdom, "in such a manner as may conduce to the preservation of "God's true Religion, your Majesty's Honour, Safety, and "Prosperity; and to the Peace, Comfort, and Security of all "your People.

THE King, within two or three hours after the receipt of this Petition, deliver'd to the same Messengers, this ensuing Answer, with which they return'd the same Night to *London*.

The King Answer.

WE take God to Witness, how deeply We are affected "with the miseries of this Kingdom, which heretofore We "have stroven, as much as in Us lay to prevent; it being suf- "ficiently known to all the World that, as We were not the "first that took up Arms, so, We have shewed Our readi- "ness of composing all things in a fair way, by our several "offers of Treaty, and shall be glad now at length to find any "such inclinations in others. The same tenderness to avoid "the destruction of our Subjects (whom We know to be our "greatest strength) which would always make our greatest "Victories bitter to us, shall make us willingly hearken to "such Propositions, whereby these bloody distempers may "be stopp'd, and the great distractions of this Kingdom set- "tled to God's glory, Our Honour, and the Welfare, and "Flourishing of Our People: And to that end shall reside at "our own Castle at *Windsor* (if the Forces there shall be re- "mov'd) till Committees may have time to attend us with "the same (which, to prevent the Inconveniences that will "intervene, We wish be hasten'd) and shall be ready there, "or, if that be refus'd us, at any place where We shall be, "to receive such Propositions as aforesaid, from both our "Houses of Parliament. Do you Your Duty, We will not "be wanting in ours. God of his mercy give a blessing.

IT was then believ'd by many, that if the King had, as soon as the Messengers return'd to *London*, retir'd with his Army to *Reading*, and there expected the Parliament's Answer, they would immediately have withdrawn their Garrison from *Windsor*, and deliver'd that Castle to his Majesty for his accom- modation to have treated in: And without doubt those Lords who had been with the Petition, and some others who thought themselves as much over-shadow'd by the greatness of the Earl of *Essex*, and the Chief Officers of the Army, as they could be by the glory of any Favourite, or power of any Counsellors, were resolv'd to merit as much as they could of the King, by advancing an honourable Peace; and had it in their purpose to endeavour the giving up of *Windsor* to the

King; but whether they would have been able to have prevail'd that so considerable a strength, in so considerable a place, should have been quitted, whilst there was only hope of a Peace, I much doubt. But certainly the King's Army carried great terror with it; and all those reports, which publish'd the weakness of it, grew to be peremptorily disbeliev'd. For, besides that every days experience disprov'd somewhat which was so confidently reported, and it was evident great industry was us'd to apply such Intelligence to the People as was most like to make impression upon the passions, and affections of the Vulgar-spirited, it could not be believ'd that a handful of Men could have given Battle to their formidable Army, and after taking two or three of their Garrisons, presume to march within fifteen Miles of *London*; so that, if from thence the King had drawn back again to *Reading*, relying upon a Treaty for the rest, it is probable his power would have been more valued, and consequently his grace the more magnified. And sure the King resolv'd to have done so, or at least to have stayed at *Colebrook* till he heard again from the Parliament. But Prince *Rupert*, exalted with the terror he heard his Name gave to the Enemy, trusting too much to the Vulgar Intelligence every Man receiv'd from his Friends at *London*, who according to their own Passions and the Affections of those with whom they corresponded, concluded that the King had so great a Party in *London*, that, if his Army drew near, no resistance would be made; without any direction from the King, the very next morning after the Committee return'd to *London*, advanced with the Horse and Dragoons to *Hounslow*, and then sent to the King to desire him that the Army might march after; which was, in that case, of absolute necessity; for the Earl of *Essex* had a part of his Army at *Brentford*, and the rest at *Acton*, and *Kingston*. So that if the King had not advanced with his Body, those who were before might very easily have been compass'd in, and their Retreat made very difficult.

The King marches towards Brentford.

So the King march'd with his whole Army towards *Brentford*, where were Two Regiments of their best Foot (for so they were accounted, being those who had eminently behav'd themselves at *Edge-hill*) having Barricadoed the narrow Avenues to the Town, and cast up some little Breast Works at the most convenient places. Here a *Welsh* Regiment of the King's, which had been faulty at *Edge-hill*, recover'd it's Honour, and assaulted the Works, and forced the Barricadoes well defended by the Enemy. Then the King's Forces enter'd the Town after a very warm Service, the chief Officers, and many Soldiers of the other side being kill'd; and they took there above five hundred Prisoners, eleven Colours,

Colours, and fifteen Pieces of Cannon, and good ſtore of Ammunition. But this Victory (for conſidering the place it might well be call'd ſo) prov'd not at all fortunate to his Majeſty.

THE two Houſes were ſo well ſatisfied with the Anſwer their Committee had brought from the King, and with the report they made of his Majeſty's Clemency, and gracious "Reception of them, that they had ſent Order to their Forces, "That they ſhould not exerciſe any Act of Hoſtility towards "the King's Forces; and, at the ſame time, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger, to acquaint his Majeſty therewith, and to deſire "That "there might be the like forbearance on His part. The Meſſenger found both Parties engaged at *Brentford*, and ſo return'd without attending his Majeſty, who had no apprehenſion that they intended any Ceſſation; ſince thoſe Forces were advanced to *Brentford*, *Acton*, and *Kingſton*, after their Committee were ſent to *Colebrook*. However they look'd upon this entring of *Brentford* as a ſurpriſe contrary to Faith, and the betraying their Forces to a Maſſacre, under the ſpecious pretence of a Treaty for Peace. The Alarm came to *London*, with the ſame Terror as if the Army were enter'd their Gates, and the King accuſed "Of Treachery, Perfidy, "and Blood; and that he had given the Spoil and Wealth of "the City as Pillage to his Army, which advanced with no "other purpoſe.

THEY who believ'd nothing of thoſe Calumnies, were not yet willing the King ſhould enter the City with an Army, which, they knew, would not be Govern'd in ſo Rich Quarters; and therefore, with unſpeakable Expedition, the Army under the Earl of *Eſſex* was not only drawn together, but all the Train'd-bands of *London* led out in their brighteſt Equipage upon the Heath next *Brentford*: where they had indeed a full Army of Horſe and Foot, fit to have decided the Title of a Crown with an equal Adverſary. The View and Proſpect of this ſtrength, which nothing but that ſuddain Exigent could have brought together, extremely puffed them up; not only as it was an ample Security againſt the preſent Danger, but as it look'd like a Safe Power to encounter any other. They had now before their Eyes the King's little handful of Men, and then begun to wonder and bluſh at their own Fears; and all this might be without exceſs of Courage; for without doubt their numbers then, without the advantage of Equipage (which to Soldiers is a great addition of Mettle) were five times greater than the King's Harraſſed, Weather-beaten, and Half-ſtarv'd Troops.

The Earl of Eſſex's Army, and the City Train'd-bands oppoſed against them.

I HAVE heard many knowing Men, and ſome who were then in the City Regiments, ſay, "That if the King had

"Advanced, and Charged that Maſſive Body, it had preſently "given ground; and that the King had ſo great a Party in "every Regiment, that they would have made no reſiſtance. But it had been madneſs, which no ſucceſs could have vindicated, to have made that attempt: and the King eaſily diſcern'd that He had brought himſelf into ſtreights and difficulties, which would be hardly maſter'd; and expoſed his Victorious Army to view, at too near a diſtance off his two Enemies, the Parliament and the City. Yet he ſtood all that day in Battalia to receive them, who only play'd upon him with their Cannon, to the loſs only of four or five Horſes, and not one Man. The conſtitution of their Forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the Company they were in, being a good argument to Them not to Charge the King, which had been an ill one to Him to Charge Them.

The King's Army drawn off to Kingſton:

When the Evening drew on, and it appear'd that great Body ſtood only for the defence of the City, the King appointed his Army to draw off to *Kingſton*, which the Rebels had kindly quitted; which they did without the loſs of a Man, and himſelf went to his own Houſe at *Hampton-Court*; where he reſted the next day, as well to refreſh his Army, even tir'd with Watching and Faſting, as to expect ſome Propoſitions from the Houſes. For, upon his advance to *Brentford*, he had ſent a Servant of his own, one Mr *White*, with a Meſſage to the Parliament, containing the reaſons of that motion (there being no Ceſſation offer'd on Their part) and deſiring "The Propoſitions might be diſpatch'd to him with all ſpeed. But his Meſſenger being carried to the Earl of *Eſſex*, was by him uſed very roughly, and by the Houſes committed to the Gate-houſe, not without the motion of ſome Men, "That "he might be executed as a Spy.

After a days ſtay at *Hampton-Court*, the King remov'd himſelf to his Houſe at *Oatlands*, leaving the groſs of his Army ſtill at *Kingſton*, and thereabouts; but being then inform'd of the high imputations they had laid upon him; "Of breach of Faith, by his march to *Brentford*; and that "the City was really inflamed with an Opinion, that he meant "to have ſurpriſed them, and to have ſack'd the Town; "that they were ſo poſſeſs'd with that fear, and apprehenſion, "that their care and preparation for their Safety would at "leaſt keep off all Propoſitions for Peace, whilſt the Army "lay ſo near *London*: He gave directions for all his Forces to retire to *Reading*; firſt diſcharging all the Common Soldiers, who had been taken Priſoners at *Brentford* (except ſuch who voluntarily offer'd to ſerve Him) upon their Oaths that they would no more bear Arms againſt his Majeſty.

Thence to Reading.

The

THE King then sent a Message to the Houses, in which "He took notice of those unjust and unreasonable imputations raised on him; told them again of the reasons and circumstances of his motion towards *Brentford*; of the Earl of *Essex*'s drawing out his Forces towards him, and possessing those Quarters about him, and almost hemming him in, after the time that the Commissioners were sent to him with the Petition; that he had never heard of the least Overture of the forbearing all Acts of Hostility, but saw the contrary practiced by them by that Advance; that he had not the least thought or intention of mastering the City by Force, or carrying his Army thither: That he wonder'd to hear his Soldiers charged with thirsting after Blood, when they took above five hundred Prisoners in the very heat of the Fight. He told them such were most apt, and likely to maintain their Power by Blood and Rapine, who had only got it by Oppression and Injustice; that his was vested in him by the Law, and by that only (if the destructive Counsels of others did not hinder such a Peace, in which that might once again be the universal rule, and in which only Religion and Justice could flourish) he desir'd to maintain it: That he intended to march to such a distance from his City of *London*, as might take away all pretence of apprehension from his Army, that might hinder them from preparing their Propositions, in all security, to be presented to him; and there he would be ready to receive them, or, if that expedient pleased them not, to end the Pressures and Miseries, which his Subjects, to his great grief, suffer'd through this War, by a present Battle.

The King sends a Message to the Houses.

BUT as the Army's being so near *London* was an Argument against a present Treaty, so it's remove to *Reading* was a greater with very many not to desire any. The danger which they had brought themselves for some days together to look upon at their Gates, was now to be contemn'd at the distance of thirty Miles; and this Retreat imputed only to the fear of the Power, not to the inclinations to Peace. And therefore they, who during the time that the Major part did really desire a good Peace, and whilst Overtures were preparing to that purpose, had the skill to intermingle Acts more destructive to it, than any Propositions could be contributary (as the inviting the *Scots* to their Assistance by that Declaration, which is before mention'd; and the publishing a Declaration at the same time, which had lain long by them, in reply to one set forth by the King long before in Answer to theirs of the 26th of *May*, in which they used both his Person and his Power with more irreverence than they had ever done before) now only insisted on the surprise, as they call'd it,

it, of *Brentford*; and publish'd, by the Authority of both Houses, a relation of the carriage of the King's Soldiers in that Town after their Victory (which they fram'd upon the discourses of the Country People, who possibly, as it could not be otherwise, had receiv'd damage by their Licence then) to make the King and his Army odious to the Kingdom; "as affecting nothing but Blood and Rapine; and concluding, "that there could not be reasonably expected any Good Con- "ditions of a tolerable Peace from the King, whilst he was "in such Company; and therefore that all particular Propo- "sitions were to be resolv'd into that one, of inviting his Ma- "jesty to come to them; and got a Vote from the Major part of both Houses, "That no other measure for Accommoda- "tion or Treaty should be thought on.

THEIR Trusty Lord Mayor of *London*, *Isaac Pennington*, who was again chosen to serve another year, so bestir'd himself, having to assist him two Sheriffs, *Langham* and *Andrews*, as they could wish, that there was not only no more importunity or interposition from the City for Peace; but, instead thereof, an Overture and Declaration from divers, under the style of well affected Persons, "That they would advance "a considerable number of Soldiers, for the supply and recruit "of the Parliament Forces; and would Arm, Maintain, and "Pay them for several Months, or during the times of danger, "and distractions; provided that they might have the pub- "lick Faith of the Kingdom for repayment of all such Sums "of Money, which they should so advance by way of Loan. This wonderful kind of Proposition was presently declar'd "To be an acceptable Service to the King, Parliament, and "Kingdom, and necessarily tending to the preservation of "them; and therefore an Ordinance, as they call it, was framed and passed both Houses:

An Ordinance for raising Money upon the Publick Faith.

"THAT all such as should furnish Men, Money, Horse, "or Arms for that Service, should have the same fully repaid "again, with Interest for the forbearance thereof, from the "times disbursed. And for the true payment thereof, they "did thereby engage to all, and every such Person, and Per- "sons, the Publick Faith of the Kingdom. And order'd the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of *London*, by themselves, or such Sub-Committees as they should appoint, to take Subscriptions, and to intend the advancement of that Service. Upon this voluntary, General Proposition, made by a few obscure Men, probably such who were not able to supply much Money, was this Ordinance made; and from this Ordinance the active Mayor, and Sheriffs, appointed a Committee of such Persons whose inclinations they well knew, to press all kind of People, especially those who were not forward, to new Sub- scriptions;

ſcriptions; and, by degrees, from this unconſider'd paſſage, grew the Monthly Tax of ſix thouſand pounds to be ſet upon the City for the payment of the Army.

As they provided, with this notable circumſpection, to raiſe Men and Money; ſo they took not leſs care, nor uſed leſs Art, and Induſtry, to raiſe their General; and leſt he might ſuppoſe himſelf fallen in their good grace, and confidence by bringing an Army back ſhatter'd, poor, and diſcomforted, which he had carried out in full Numbers, and glorious Equipage, they uſed him with greater reverence and ſubmiſſion than ever. They had before appointed another diſtinct Army to be raiſed under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, and not ſubject to the Power of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and of this, ſeveral Regiments and Troops were raiſed; theſe they ſent to the old Army, and the Earl of *Warwick* gave up his Commiſſion, upon reſolution "That there ſhould be only one General, and He, the Earl of *Eſſex*. Then the two Houſes paſſed and preſented, with great ſolemnity, this Declaration to his Excellency, the ſame day that their Committee went to the King with their Petition:

A Declaration of both Houſes concerning their General's acceptable Service.

"THAT, as they had, upon mature deliberation, and aſ-
"ſur'd confidence in his Wiſdom, Courage, and Fidelity,
"choſen, and appointed Him their Captain General; ſo they
"did find, that the ſaid Earl had managed that Service, of ſo
"high importance, with ſo much care, valour, and dexterity,
"as well by the extremeſt hazard of his Life, in a bloody Bat-
"tle near *Keinton* in *Warwick-ſhire*, as by all the Actions of
"a Moſt excellent and expert Commander, in the whole
"courſe of that Imployment, as did deſerve their beſt ac-
"knowledgment: And they did therefore declare, and pub-
"liſh, to the laſting Honour of the ſaid Earl, the great and
"acceptable Service, which he had therein done to the Com-
"mon-wealth; and ſhould be willing and ready, upon all oc-
"caſions, to expreſs the due ſenſe they had of his Merits, by
"aſſuring and protecting Him, and all others imploy'd under
"his Command in that Service, with their Lives and For-
"tunes, to the uttermoſt of their Power: that Teſtimony and
"Declaration to remain upon record, in both Houſes of Par-
"liament, for a mark of Honour to his Perſon, Name, and
"Family, and for a Monument of his ſingular Virtue to Po-
"ſterity.

WHEN they had thus compoſed their Army and their General, they ſent this Petition to the King to *Reading*, who ſtay'd ſtill there in expectation of their Propoſitions.

"May

"May it please your Majesty:

The Houses Petition to the King, Nov. 24.

"It is humbly desir'd by both Houses of Parliament, "that your Majesty will be pleased to return to your Parlia- "ment, with your Royal, not your Martial, Attendance; "to the end that Religion, Laws, and Liberties, may be "settled and secured by their Advice; finding by a sad, and "late accident, that your Majesty is environ'd by some such "Councils, as do rather perswade a desperate division, than a "joyning and a good agreement with your Parliament and "People: And We shall be ready to give your Majesty As- "surance of such security, as may be for your Honour, and "the Safety of your Royal Person.

The Substance of the King's Answer.

ASSOON as the King receiv'd this strange Address, he return'd them by the same Messenger a sharp Answer to this effect; He told them, "He hoped all his good Subjects would "look upon that Message with Indignation, as intended, by "the Contrivers thereof, as a scorn to him; and thereby de- "sign'd by that Malignant Party (of whom he had so often "complain'd, whose Safety and Ambition was built upon the "Divisions and Ruins of the Kingdom, and who had too "great an influence upon their Actions) for a Wall of sepa- "ration betwixt his Majesty and his People. He said, he "had often told them the reasons, why he departed from "*London*; how he was chased thence, and by whom; and "as often complain'd, that the greatest part of his Peers, and "of the Members of the House of Commons, could not, with "safety to their Honours and Persons, continue, and Vote "freely among them; but by violence, and cunning practices "were debarr'd of those Privileges, which their Birth-rights "and the trust reposed in them by their Countries, gave them "That the whole Kingdom knew that an Army was raised "under pretence of orders of both Houses (an usurpation ne- "ver before heard of in any Age) which Army had pursue "his Majesty in his own Kingdom; given him Battle at *Kein- "ton*; and now, those Rebels, being recruited, and possesse "of the City of *London*, he was courteously invited to retur "to his Parliament there, that is, to the power of that Army

"THAT, he said, could signify nothing but that, since th "Trayterous endeavours of those desperate Men could no "snatch the Crown from his Head, it being defended by th "Providence of God, and the Affections and Loyalty of hi "good Subjects, he should now tamely come up, and give "them; and put Himself, his Life, and the Lives, Liberties "and Fortunes of all his good Subjects into their Mercifu "Hands. He said, he thought not fit to give any other An

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"fwer to that part of their Petition: But as he imputed not "that affront to both his Houſes of Parliament, nor to the "Major part of thoſe who were then preſent there, but to that "dangerous Party his Majeſty and the Kingdom muſt ſtill cry "out upon; ſo he would not (for his good Subjects ſake, "and out of his moſt tender ſenſe of their Miſeries, and the "general Calamities of the Kingdom, which muſt, if the War "continued, ſpeedily overwhelm the whole Nation) take "advantage of it: But if they would really purſue the courſe "they ſeem'd, by their Petition at *Colebrook*, to be inclin'd "to, he ſhould make good all he then promiſed; whereby "the hearts of his diſtreſſed Subjects might be raiſed with the "hopes of Peace; without which, Religion, the Laws, and "Liberties, could by no ways be ſettled and ſecured.

"FOR the late, and ſad Accident they mention'd, if they "intended that of *Brentford*, he deſir'd them once again to "deal ingenuouſly with the People, and to let them ſee his "laſt Meſſage to them, and his Declaration, concerning the "ſame (both which his Majeſty had ſent to his Preſs at *London*, but were taken away from his Meſſenger, and not ſuffer'd to be publiſh'd) "And then he doubted not, but they would "be ſoon undeceiv'd, and eaſily find out thoſe Councils, which "did rather perſwade a deſperate diviſion, than a good agree-"ment betwixt his Majeſty, his two Houſes, and People.

THIS Anſwer being deliver'd, without any farther conſi-deration whether the ſame were reaſonable, or not reaſonable, they declar'd "The King had no mind to Peace; and there-upon laid aſide all farther Debates to that purpoſe; and or-der'd their General to march to *Windſor* with the Army, to be ſo much nearer the King's Forces; for the better recruiting whereof, two of their moſt Eminent Chaplains, Dr *Downing* and Mr *Marſhal*, publickly avow'd, "That the Soldiers lately "taken Priſoners at *Brentford*, and diſcharged, and releaſed "by the King upon their Oaths that they would never again "bear Arms againſt him, were not obliged by that Oath; but, by Their Power, abſolv'd them thereof, and ſo engaged again thoſe miſerable Wretches in the ſecond Rebellion.

WHEN the King diſcern'd clearly that the Enemies to Peace had the better of him, and that there was now no far-ther thought of preparing Propoſitions to be ſent to him; after he had ſeen a Line drawn about *Reading*, which he reſolv'd to keep as a Garriſon, and the works in a reaſonable forward-neſs, he left Sr *Arthur Aſton*, whom he had lately made Com-miſſary General of the Horſe (Mr *Wilmot* being at the ſame time conſtituted Lieutenant General) Governour thereof, with a Garriſon of above two thouſand Foot, and a good Re-giment of Horſe: and Himſelf with the reſt of his Army march'd

The King having Garrison'd Reading, *and* Wallingford, *and some other Places, marches to* Oxford.

march'd to *Oxford*, where he resolv'd to rest that Winter, settling at the same time a good Garrison at *Wallingford*, a place of great importance within eight Miles of *Oxford*; another at the *Brill* upon the Edge of *Buckingham-shire*; a third being before settled at *Banbury*; *Abingdon* being the head Quarters for his Horse; and by this means he had all *Oxford-shire* entire, all *Berk-shire*, but that barren division about *Windsor*; and from the *Brill*, and *Banbury*, a good influence upon *Buckingham-shire*, and *Northampton-shire*.

Malborough Garrison'd by the Parliament.

THE King was hardly settled in his Quarters, when he heard that the Parliament was fixing a Garrison at *Malborough* in *Wilt-shire*, a Town the most notoriously disaffected of all that County; otherwise, saving the obstinacy and malice of the Inhabitants, in the Situation of it very unfit for a Garrison. Thither the Earl of *Essex* had sent one *Ramsey* (a *Scots*-man, as very many of their Officers were of that Nation) to be Governour; who, with the help of the Factious People there, had quickly drawn together five or six hundred Men. This place, the King saw, would soon prove an ill Neighbour to him; not only as it was in the heart of a Rich County, and so would streighten, and even infest his Quarters (for it was within twenty Miles of *Oxford*) but as it did cut off his Line of Communication with the West: And therefore, though it was *December*, a season when his tired, and almost naked Soldiers might expect rest, he sent a strong Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, under the Command of Mr *Wilmot* the Lieutenant General of his Horse, to visit that Town; who coming thither on a *Saturday*, found the place strongly mann'd: for, besides the Garrison, it being Market day, very many Country People came thither to buy and sell, and were all compell'd to stay and take Arms for the defence of the place; which for the most part, they were willing to do, and the People peremptory to defend it. Though there was no Line about it, yet there were some places of great advantage, upon which they had raised Batteries, and planted Cannon, and so Barricadoed all the Avenues, which were through deep narrow Lanes, that the Horse could do little Service.

WHEN the Lieutenant General was, with his Party, near the Town, he apprehended a Fellow, who confessed upon Examination, "That he was a Spy, and sent by the Governour "to bring intelligence of their strength and motion. When all Men thought, and the poor Fellow himself fear'd, he should be executed; the Lieutenant General caused his whole Party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the Fellow look well upon them, and observe them, and then bid him return to the Town, and tell those that sent him what he had seen, and withal that he should acquaint the

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Magistrates of the Town, "That they should do well to treat "with the Garrison, to give them leave to submit to the King; "that if they did so, the Town should not receive the least "prejudice; but if they compell'd him to make his way, and "enter the Town by force, it would not be in his power to "keep his Soldiers from taking that which they should win "with their Blood: and so dismiss'd him. This generous Act prov'd of some advantage; for the Fellow, transported with having his Life given him; and the Numbers of the Men he had seen, besides his no Experience in such sights, being multiplied by his fear, made notable relations of the Strength, Gallantry, and Resolution of the Enemy, and of the impossibility of resisting them; which, though it prevailed not with those in Authority to yield, yet it strangely abated the hopes, and courage of the People. So that when the King's Soldiers fell on, after a Volley or two, in which much Execution was done, they threw down their Arms, and run into the Town; so that the Foot had time to make room for the Horse, who were now enter'd at both ends of the Town, yet were not so near an end as they expected; for the Streets were in many places Barricadoed, which were obstinately defended by some Soldiers and Towns-men, who kill'd many Men out of the Windows of the Houses; so that, it may be, if they had trusted only to their own strength, without compelling the Country Men to encrease their Number, and who being first frighted, and weary, dishearten'd their Companions, that place might have cost more blood. *Ramsey* the Governour was himself retir'd into the Church with some Officers, and from thence did some hurt; upon this, there being so many kill'd out of Windows, fire was put to the next Houses, so that a good part of the Town was burn'd, and then the Soldiers enter'd, doing less Execution than could reasonably be expected; but, what they spared in Blood, they took in Pillage, the Soldiers enquiring little who were Friends or Foes.

Marlborough taken by the King's Forces under Lieutenant General Wilmot.

THIS was the first Garrison taken on either side; for *Farnham* Castle in *Surrey*, whither some Gentlemen who were willing to appear for the King had repair'd, and were taken with less resistance than was fit, by Sr *William Waller*, some few days before, deserv'd not the name of a Garrison. In this of *Marlborough* were taken, besides the Governour, and other Officers, who yielded upon Quarter, above one thousand Prisoners; great stores of Arms, four Pieces of Cannon, and a good quantity of Ammunition, with all which the Lieutenant General return'd safe to *Oxford*: Though this Success was a little shadow'd, by the unfortunate loss of a very good Regiment of Horse within a few days after; for the

the Lord *Grandison*, by the miscarriage of Orders, was exposed, at too great a distance from the Army, with his single Regiment of Horse consisting of three hundred, and a Regiment of two hundred Dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a Party of the Enemy of five thousand Horse and Dragoons; and so was Himself, after a Retreat made to *Winchester*, there taken with all his Party; which was the first loss of that kind the King sustain'd; but without the least fault of the Commander; and the misfortune was much lessen'd by his making an escape himself with two or three of his principal Officers, who were very welcome to *Oxford*.

THE first thing the King apply'd himself to consult upon, after he was settled in his Winter Quarters, and despair'd of any honest Overtures for a Peace, was, how to apply some Antidote to that Poyson, which was sent into *Scotland*, in that Declaration We mention'd before; the which he had not only seen, as an Act communicated abroad and in many hands, but the *Scotish* Earl of *Lindsey*, who was then a Commissioner Leiger at *London* for *Scotland*, had presented it to him. And there was every day some motion in the House of Commons to press the *Scots*, to invade the Kingdom for their assistance, upon the growth of the Earl of *New-Castle*'s power in the North. And therefore, after full thoughts, the King writ to his Privy Council of *Scotland* (who, by the Laws enacted when he was last there, had the Absolute, indeed Regal, Power of that Kingdom) and took notice of that Declaration, which had been sent to them, earnestly inviting, and in a manner challenging an Assistance from that his Native Kingdom of Men and Arms, for making a War against him, and making claim to that Assistance by virtue of the late Act of Pacification.

The Substance of the King's Message to the Privy Council of Scotland, upon occasion of the two Houses Declaration to that Kingdom.

HE told them, "That, as he was at his Soul afflicted, that "it had been in the power of any factious, ambitious, "and malicious Persons, so far to possess the hearts of many "of his Subjects of *England*, as to raise this miserable distem-"per and distraction in this Kingdom against all his real en-"deavours and actions to the contrary; so he was glad that "That rage and fury had so far transported them, that they "applied themselves, in so gross a manner, to his Subjects of "*Scotland*; whose experience of his Religion, Justice, and "Love of his People, would not suffer them to believe those "horrid Scandals, laid upon his Majesty: and their Affection "Loyalty, and Jealousy of his Honour, would disdain to be "made Instruments to oppress their native Soveraign, by as-"sisting an odious Rebellion. He remember'd them, "That "he had from time to time acquainted his Subjects of that

"Kingdom

"Kingdom with the Accidents, and Circumſtances which had "diſquieted This; how, after all the Acts of Juſtice, Grace, "and Favour, perform'd on His part, which were or could be "deſir'd to make a People compleatly happy, he was driven, "by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous Aſſem-"blies, from his City of *London*, and his Houſes of Parlia-"ment; how attempts had been made to impoſe Laws upon "his Subjects, without his conſent, and contrary to the foun-"dation and conſtitution of the Kingdom; how his Forts, "Goods, and Navy, had been ſeized, and taken from him by "force, and imploy'd againſt him; his Revenue, and ordi-"nary Subſiſtence, wreſted from him: How he had been pur-"ſued with ſcandalous and reproachfull Language; bold, falſe, "and ſeditious Paſquils, and Libels, publickly allow'd againſt "him; and had been told that he might, without want of "Modeſty and Duty, be depos'd: That after all this, before "any force raiſed by Him, an Army was rais'd, and a Gene-"ral appointed to lead that Army againſt his Majeſty, with a "Commiſſion to kill, ſlay, and deſtroy all ſuch who ſhould be "faithful to him: That when he had been, by theſe means, "compell'd, with the Aſſiſtance of his good Subjects, to raiſe "an Army for his neceſſary defence, he had ſent divers gra-"cious Meſſages, earneſtly deſiring that the calamities, and "miſeries of a Civil War might be prevented by a Treaty; "and ſo he might know the grounds of that miſunderſtand-"ing: That he was abſolutely refus'd to be treated with, and "the Army (raiſed, as was pretended, for the defence of his "Perſon) brought into the Field againſt him; gave him Bat-"tle; and, though it pleas'd God to give his Majeſty the Vi-"ctory, deſtroyed many of his good Subjects, with as eminent "danger to his own Perſon, and his Children, as the skill "and malice of deſperate Rebels could contrive.

"Of all which, and the other Indignities, which had been "offer'd to him, he doubted not the Duty and Affection of "his *Scotiſh* Subjects would have ſo juſt a reſentment, that "they would expreſs to the world the ſenſe they had of his "ſufferings: And, he hoped, his good Subjects of *Scotland* "were not ſo great ſtrangers to the affairs of this Kingdom, "to believe that this misfortune and diſtraction was begot "and brought upon him by his two Houſes of Parliament; "though, in truth, no unwarrantable Action againſt the "Law could be juſtified even by That Authority; but that "they well knew how the Members of both Houſes had "been driven thence, inſomuch that, of above five hundred "Members of the Houſe of Commons, there were not then "there above fourſcore; and, of above one hundred of the "Houſe of Peers, not above fifteen or ſixteen; all which were

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"so awed by a multitude of *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and other "Persons, desperate, and decayed in their fortunes, in and "about the City of *London*, that, in truth, their consultations, "had not the Freedom and Privilege which belong to Parlia-"ments.

"CONCERNING any Commissions granted by his Majes-"ty to Papists to raise Forces, he referred them to a Decla-"ration, lately set forth by him upon the occasion of that scan-"dal, which he likewise then sent to them. And for his own "true, and zealous affection to the Protestant Religion, he "would give no other Instance than his own constant Pra-"ctice, on which Malice it self could lay no blemish; and "those many Protestations he had made in the sight of Al-"mighty God, to whom he knew he should be dearly account-"able if he failed in the observation.

"FOR that scandalous imputation of his intention of bring-"ing in Foreign Forces, as the same was raised without the "least shadow or colour of Reason, and solemnly disavow'd "by his Majesty, in many of his Declarations; so there could "not be a clearer Argument to his Subjects of *Scotland* that "he had no such thought, than that he had hitherto forborn "to require the Assistance of that his Native Kingdom; from "whose Obedience, Duty, and Affection, he should confi-"dently expect it, if he thought his own strength here too "weak to preserve him; and of whose Courage, and Loy-"alty, he should look to make use, before he should think "of any Foreign Aid to succour him. And he knew no rea-"sonable or understanding Man could suppose that they were "oblig'd, or enabled, by the late Act of Parliament in both "Kingdoms, to obey the invitation that was made to them "by that pretended Declaration, when it was so evidently "provided for by that Act, that as the Kingdom of *Eng-*"*land* should not War against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, "without Consent of the Parliament of *England*, so the King-"dom of *Scotland* should not make War against the King-"dom of *England*, without the Consent of the Parliament of "*Scotland*.

HE told them, "If the grave Counsel and Advice, which "they had given, and derived to the Houses of Parliament "here, by their Act of the 22d of *April* last, had been fol-"low'd in a tender care of his Royal Person, and of his "Princely Greatness and Authority, there would not that "face of Confusion have appear'd, which now threaten'd "this Kingdom: and therefore he requir'd them to Commu-"nicate what he then writ to all his Subjects of that King-"dom, and to use their utmost endeavours to inform them of "the truth of his Conditions; and that they suffer'd not the

"scandals

"Scandals and Imputations laid on his Majesty by the Malice "and Treason of some Men, to make any impression in the "minds of his People, to the lessening or corrupting their "Affections and Loyalty to him; but that they assured them "all, that the hardness he then underwent, and the Arms "he had been compell'd to take up, were for the defence of "his Person and safety of his Life; for the maintenance of the "true Protestant Religion, for the preservation of the Laws, "Liberties, and Constitution of this Kingdom, and for the "just Privileges of Parliament; and that he looked no longer "for a blessing from Heaven, than he endeavour'd the De-"fence and Advancement of all these: And, He could not "doubt, a dutiful concurrence in his Subjects of *Scotland*, in "the care of his Honour, and just Rights, would draw down "a blessing upon that Nation too.

THOUGH his Majesty well knew all the Persons, to whom he directed this Letter, to be those who were only able and willing to do him all possible disservice, yet he was sure by other Instruments, if they neglected, which, for that reason, they were not like to do, to publish it to the People there; which he believ'd might so far operate upon them, as the others would not be able to procure them to invade *England*; and other fruit of their Allegiance he expected not, than that they should not Rebel.

What means the King then us'd to raise Money

HIS Majesty's next care was the procuring Money for the payment of his Army; that the narrow circuit which contain'd his Quarters, might not be so intollerably oppressed with that whole burden. This was a very difficult matter; for the Soldiery already grew very high, and would obey no Orders or Rules but of their own making; and Prince *Rupert* consider'd only the subsistence, and advance of the Horse, as His Province, and indeed as if it had been a Province apart from the Army; and therefore would by no means endure that the great contributions, which the Counties within command willingly submitted to, should be assign'd to any other use than the support of the Horse, and to be immediately collected, and receiv'd by the Officers. So that the several Garrisons, and all the Body of Foot were to be constantly paid, and his Majesty's weekly Expence for his House born out of such Monies as could be borrow'd. For, of all his own Revenue, he had not yet the receiving a Penny within his power; neither did he think fit to compel any one, even such who were known to have contributed freely to the Parliament, to supply him: Only by Letters, and all other gentle ways, he invited those who were able, to consider how much their own Security and Prosperity was concern'd, and depended upon the preservation of his Rights;

and offer'd to ſell any of his Lands, or to give any Perſonal ſecurity for whatſoever Money would be lent to him at Intereſt: for he had directed a Grant to be prepar'd of ſeveral Parks, and Forreſts, and other Crown Lands, to many Perſons of Honour and great Fortune about him, whoſe Eſtates and Reputation were well known, who were ready to be Perſonally bound for whatſoever Sums could be borrow'd.

THE Affection of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, was moſt eminent: For, as they had before, when the Troubles firſt broke out, ſent the King above ten thouſand pounds out of the ſeveral Stocks of the Colleges, and the Purſes of particular Perſons, many whereof lent him all they had; ſo they now again made him a new Preſent. By theſe means, and the Loan of particular Perſons, eſpecially from *London* (for from thence, notwithſtanding all the ſtrict watch to the contrary, conſiderable Sums were drawn) The King, even above his hopes, was able to pay his Foot, albeit it amounted to above three thouſand pounds weekly, in ſuch manner, that, during the whole Winter, there was not the leaſt diſorder for want of Pay. And then he us'd all poſſible care to encourage and countenance new Levies of Horſe and Foot, for the recruiting his Army againſt the next Spring.

THE Parliament's Army being now about *London*, the Officers of it who were Members of Parliament, attended that Council diligently, upon which that Army alone depended: and, though they ſtill ſeem'd very deſirous of Peace, they very ſolemnly and ſeverely proſecuted all thoſe who really endeavour'd it. Their partiality and injuſtice was ſo notorious, that there was no rule or meaſure of Right in any matter depending before them, but conſideration only of the Affections and Opinions of the Perſons contending; neither could any thing be more properly ſaid of them, than what *Tacitus* once ſpoke of the *Jews*, *Apud Ipſos fides obſtinata, miſericordia in promptu, adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium.* Volumes would not contain the inſtances. But they found the old Arguments of Popery, the Militia, and Delinquents, for the juſtification of the War, grew every day of leſs reverence with the People; and that as the King's own Religion was above any Scandal they could lay upon it, ſo the Regal Power ſeem'd ſo aſſerted by Law, and the King upon all occaſions, cited particular Statutes for the Vindication of his Right, that whilſt they confeſs'd the Soveraign Power to be veſted in him, all Legal Miniſters had that dependence on him, that Their Authority would by degrees grow into Contempt.

The King makes new Sheriffs.

AND of this diſadvantage the ſeaſon of the year put them in mind: for the King now, according to courſe, prick'd Sheriffs,

Sheriffs, and made such choice in all Counties, that they foresaw the People were not like to be so implicitely at their dispoſal. Therefore, as they had before craftily insinuated the same in some particulars, they now barefaced avow, "That "the Soveraign Power was wholly and entirely in Them; "and that the King himself, sever'd from Them, had no Re-"gal Power in him. Their Clergy had hitherto been their Champions, and wrested the Scripture to their sense; Their Lawyers were now to vindicate their Title, and they were not more modest in applying Their Profession to their Service. As all places of Scripture, or in the Fathers, which were spoken of the Church of Christ, are by the Papists apply'd to the Church of *Rome*; so, whatsoever is written in any of the Books of the Law, or mention'd in the Records, of the Authority and Effects of the Soveraign Power, and of the Dignity and Jurisdiction of Parliament, was by these Men, alledged and urged for the Power of the two Houses, and sometimes for the single Authority of the House of Commons. Being supplied with the Learning of these Gentlemen, they declar'd, "That the Sheriffs, then constituted by the King, "were not Legal Sheriffs, nor ought to execute, or be sub-"mitted to in that Office; and order'd, "Whomsoever the "King made Sheriff in any County, to be sent for as Delin-"quent; and because it seem'd unreasonable, that the Counties should be without that Legal Minister, to whom the Law had intrusted it's Custody, it was proposed, "That they "might make a new Great Seal, and by that Authority make "Sheriffs, and such other Officers as they should find neces-"sary; but for the present that Motion was laid side.

THE King had appointed some of those Prisoners who were taken in the Battle at *Keinton* Field, and others apprehended in the Act of Rebellion, to be Indicted of High Treason, upon the Statute of the 25th year of King *Edward* the third, before the Lord Chief Justice, and other Learned Judges of the Law, by Virtue of his Majesty's Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*: The Parliament declared "All such In-"dictments and all Proceedings thereupon, to be unjust and "illegal; and inhibited the Judges to proceed farther there-in; declaring (which was a stronger Argument) "That if "any Man were executed, or suffer'd hurt, for any thing he "had done by Their Order, the like punishment should be "inflicted, by death or otherwise, upon such Prisoners as "were, or should be, taken by Their Forces: And, in none of their cases, ever asked the Judges what the Law was. By the determination of the Statute, and the King's refusal, which hath been mention'd before, to pass any new Law to that purpose, there was no further duty of Tonnage and Poundage

due upon Merchandize, and the Statute made this very Parliament involv'd all Men in the guilt and penalty of a Præmunire, who offer'd to receive it. The King publish'd a Proclamation upon that Statute, and required all Men to forbear paying "That duty, and forbid all to receive it. They again declar'd, "That no Person, who receiv'd those duties by Virtue of "Their Orders, was within the danger of a Præmunire, or any "other penalty whatsoever; because the intent, and meaning "of that Penal clause, was only to restrain the Crown from "imposing any duty or Payment upon the Subjects, without "their consent in Parliament; and was not intended to ex-"tend to any case whereunto the Lords and Commons give "their Assent in Parliament.

And that this Soveraignty might be farther taken notice of than within the Limits of this Kingdom, they sent, with all formality, Letters of Credence, and instructions, and their Agents, into Forreign States and Kingdoms.

The substance of the Declaration of the Lords and Commons to the States General of the united Provinces.

By their Agent to the united Provinces, where the Queen was then residing, they had the Courage, in plain terms, to accuse the Prince of *Orange* "For supplying the King with "Arms and Ammunition; for Licensing divers Commanders, "Officers, and Soldiers, to resort into this Kingdom to his "aid. They remember'd them "Of the great help that they "had receiv'd from this Kingdom, when heretofore they lay "under the heavy oppression of their Princes; and how con-"ducible the friendship of this Nation had been to their pre-"sent greatness and Power; and therefore they could not "think, that they would be forward to help to make Them "Slaves, who had been so useful, and Assistant in making "Them Free-men; or that they would forget, that their "troubles and dangers issued from the same fountain with "their own; and that those who were set a work to under-"mine Religion, and Liberty in the Kingdom, were the same "who by open force did seek to bereave Them of both. They told them, "It could not be unknown to that wise State, that "it was the Jesuitical Faction in this Kingdom, that had cor-"rupted the Counsels of the King, the Conscience of a great "part of the Clergy; which sought to destroy the Parliament, "and had raised the Rebellion in *Ireland*. They desir'd them therefore "Not to suffer any more Ordnance, Armour, or "any other Warlike Provision, to be brought over to strengthen "those, who as soon as they should prevail against the Par-"liament, would use that strength to the ruine of those from "whom they had it.

They desir'd them, "They would not send over any of "their Country-men to farther Their destruction, who were "sent to them for their preservation; that they would not an-

"ticipate

" ticipate the ſpilling of *Engliſh* Blood, in an unnatural Civil " War, which had been ſo chearfully and plentifully hazarded, " and ſpent, in that juſt and honourable War by which they " had been ſo long preſerv'd, and to which the Blood of thoſe " Perſons, and many other Subjects of this Kingdom was ſtill " in a manner dedicated; but rather that they would Cathire, " and Diſcard from their Imployment, thoſe that would pre- " ſume to come over for that purpoſe. They told them, " The " queſtion between his Majeſty and the Parliament, was not " whether he ſhould enjoy the ſame Prerogative, and Power, " which had belonged to their former Kings, his Majeſty's " Royal Predeceſſors; but whether that Prerogative, and " Power, ſhould be imploy'd to their defence, or to their ruine: " That it could not be denied by thoſe, who look indifferently " on their Proceedings and Affairs, that it would be more ho- " nour, and wealth, ſafety and greatneſs to his Majeſty, in " concurring with this Parliament, than in the courſe in which " he now is: But ſo unhappy had his Majeſty, and the King- " dom been, in thoſe who had the greateſt influence upon his " Counſels, that they look'd more upon the prevailing of their " own Party, than upon any thoſe great advantages both to " his Crown, and Royal Perſon, which he might obtain by " joyning with his People: and ſo cunning were thoſe Factors " for Popery, in proſecution of their own aims, that they " could put on a counterfeit Viſage of Honour, Peace, and " Greatneſs, upon thoſe courſes and counſels, which had no " truth, and reality, but of Weakneſs, Diſhonour, and Miſe- " ries to his Majeſty, and the whole Kingdom.

THEY ſaid, " They had lately expreſs'd their earneſt incli- " nations to that National Love and Amity with the United " Provinces, which had been nouriſhed and confirm'd by ſo " many civil reſpects, and mutual intereſts, as made it ſo na- " tural to them, that they had, this Parliament, in their hum- " ble Petition to his Majeſty, deſired, that they might be " joyn'd with that State in a more near and ſtreight League, " and Union: And they could not but expect ſome returns " from Them, of the like expreſſions: and that they would " be ſo far from blowing the fire, which begun to kindle " among them, that they would rather endeavour to quench " it, by ſtrengthning and encouraging them who had no other " deſign but not to be deſtroy'd, and to preſerve their Reli- " gion, ſave themſelves, and the other Reform'd Churches of " *Chriſtendom*, from the Maſſacres and Extirpations, with " which the Principles of the Roman Religion did threaten " them all; which were begun to be acted in *Ireland*, and in " the Hopes, and Endeavours, and Intentions of that Party, " had long ſince been executed upon them, if the Mercy,

"Favour, and Bleſſing of Almighty God, had not ſuper-"abounded, and prevented the Subtlety and Malignity of "cruel, wicked, and blood-thirſty Men.

WITH this ſpecious diſpatch, in which were many other particulars to render the King's cauſe ungracious, and their own very plauſible, their Agent, one *Strickland*, an obſcure Gentleman, was receiv'd by the States; and notwithſtanding the Queen was then there, and the Prince of *Orange* viſibly inclin'd to aſſiſt the King with all his Intereſts, and the Interpoſition of the King's Reſident, did not only hinder the States from giving the leaſt countenance to the King's Cauſe, but really ſo corrupted the *Engliſh* in the Army, and in that Court, that there was nothing deſign'd to advance it by the Prince of *Orange* himſelf (who with great generoſity ſupplied the King with Arms and Ammunition to a very conſiderable value) or by the private Activity and dexterity of particular Perſons, out of their own Fortune, or by the ſale or pawning of Jewels, but intelligence was given ſoon enough to the Parliament, either to get ſtops and ſeizures upon it, by Order of the State, or to intercept the ſupply by their Navy at Sea. So that much more was in that manner, and by that means, taken and intercepted at Sea, than ever arriv'd at any Port within his Majeſty's obedience: of which at that time he had only one, the Harbour of *New-Caſtle*. With the ſame ſucceſs, they ſent another Agent to *Bruſſels*, who prevail'd with *Don Franciſco de Melos*, then Governour of *Flanders*, to diſcountenance always, and ſometimes to prevent the preparations which were there making by the Kings Miniſters. And in *France* they had another Agent, one *Aulgier*, a Man long before in the conſtant pay of the Crown; who though he was not receiv'd, and avow'd (to put the better varniſh upon their Profeſſions to the King) by that Crown, did them more Service than either of the other; by how much more that People had an influence upon the diſtempers of the Three Kingdoms.

The Inclinations of Forreign King's and States, in this cauſe, between the King and Parliament.

AND as the Parliament made all theſe Addreſſes to Forreign States, and Princes, which no Parliament had ever done before, ſo it will be fit here to take notice how other Princes appear'd concern'd on the King's behalf. The *Spaniard* was ſufficiently incenſed by the King's reception of the Embaſſadors of *Portugal*, and, which was more, entering into terms of Amity and League with that Crown, and had therefore contributed notable aſſiſtance to the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and ſent both Arms and Money thither. And, ſince the extravagances of this Parliament, the Embaſſador of *Spain* had made great application to them.

THE *French*, according to their Nature, were much more active, and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former com-

commotions in *Scotland* hath been raiſed by the ſpecial encouragement, if not contrivance of the Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had carefully kept up, and enlarg'd the old Franchiſes of the *Scots* under that Crown; which made a very ſpecious ſhew of wonderful grace and benefit, at a diſtance, to that Nation, and was of little burden to the *French*; and, in truth, of little advantage to thoſe who were in full poſſeſſion of all thoſe Privileges. Yet, by this means, the *French* have always had a very great influence upon the Affections of that People, and opportunities to work great prejudice to that Crown: As nothing was more viſible than that, by the Cardinal's Activity, all thoſe late diſtempers in *Scotland* were carried on till his death, and by his Rules and Principles, afterwards: The *French* Miniſters always making their correſpondence, with, and relation to thoſe who were taken notice to be of the *Puritan* Party; which was underſtood to be in order only to the oppoſition of thoſe Counſels, which ſhould at any time be offer'd on the behalf of *Spain*.

SINCE the beginning of this Parliament, the *French* Embaſſador, Monſieur *la Fertè*, diſſembled not to have notable familiarity with thoſe who govern'd moſt in the two Houſes; diſcover'd to them whatſoever he knew, or could reaſonably deviſe to the prejudice of the King's Counſels and Reſolutions; and took all opportunities to leſſen, and undervalue the King's Regal Power, by applying himſelf on publick occaſions of State, and in his Maſter's Name, and to improve his Intereſt, to the two Houſes of Parliament (which had in no Age before been ever known) as in the buſineſs of Tranſportation of Men out of *Ireland*, before remember'd; in which he cauſed, by the importunity of the two Houſes, his Majeſty's promiſe and engagement to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, to be render'd of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a Complaint to the two Houſes againſt Sr *Thomas Rowe*, his Majeſty's extraordinary Embaſſador to the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*, upon the Treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the Prince Elector and Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, confidently avowing, "That Sr *Thomas* "*Rowe* had offer'd, on the King's part, to enter into a League "Offenſive and Defenſive with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to "wed all their Intereſts; and, in plain terms, ask'd them, "Whether they had given Sr *Thomas* inſtructions to that pur- "poſe? expreſſing a great value his Maſter had of the Affection of the Parliament of *England*; which drew them to a return of much, and unuſual Civility, and to aſſure the *French* King, "That Sr *Thomas Rowe* had no ſuch Inſtructions from "Them; and that they would examine the truth of it; and "would be careful that nothing ſhould be done, and perfected

"in that Treaty which might reflect upon the good of the "*French* King. Whereas in truth there was not the least ground, or pretence for that suggestion; Sr *Thomas Rowe* having never made any such offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of *Germany*, he expostulated with the *French* Embassador, for such an injurious, causeless information, he answer'd, "That his Master had receiv'd such adver- "tisement, and had given him order to do what he did. So that it easily appear'd it was only a fiction of State, whereby they took occasion to publish, that they would take any opportunity to resort to the two Houses, and thereby to flatter them in their usurpation of any Soveraign Authority.

THERE is not a sadder Consideration than this Passion, and Injustice, in Christian Princes (and I pray God the Almighty Justice be not angry, on this account, with the Government of King's, Princes, and States) that they are seldom so sollicitous that the Laws be executed, Justice administred, and Order perform'd within their own Kingdoms, as they are that all three may be disturbed, and confounded amongst their Neighbours. And there is no sooner a spark of Dissention, a discomposure in Affections, a jealousy in Understandings, discern'd to be in a Neighbour Province, or Kingdom, to the hazarding the Peace thereof, but they, though in League and Amity, with their utmost Art and Industry, make it their business to kindle that spark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unsettled humours, and jealous apprehensions, into a peremptory discontent, and all discontent to Sedition, and all Sedition to open and professed Rebellion. And they have rarely so ample satisfaction in their own greatness, or so great a sense and value of God's blessing upon them, as when they have been Instruments of drawing some notorious Calamity upon their Neighbours. As if the Religion of Princes were nothing but Policy, and that they consider'd nothing more, than to make all other Kingdoms but their own miserable: and because God hath reserv'd them to be try'd only within his own Jurisdiction, and before his own Tribunal, that he means to try them too by other Laws, and Rules, than he hath publish'd to the World for his Servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider, that God hath placed them over his People as Examples, and to give countenance to his Laws by their own strict observation of them; and that as their Subjects are to be defended and protected by their Princes, so They themselves are to be assisted and supported by one another; the Function of Kings being an Order by it self: and as a contempt and breach of every Law is, in the Policy of State, an Offence against the Person of the King, because there is a kind of violation offer'd to his Person in the transgression of

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that Rule without which he cannot govern; so the Rebellion of Subjects against their Prince ought to be look'd upon, by all other Kings, as an Assault of their own Soveraignty, and, in some degree, a design against Monarchy it self; and consequently to be suppressed, and extirpated, in what other Kingdom soever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own Bowels.

BESIDES these indirect Artifices, and Activity before mention'd in the *French* Embassador, very many of the *Hugonots* in *France* (with whom this Crown heretofore, it may be, kept too much correspondence) were declar'd Enemies to the King; and, in publick, and in secret, gave all possible Assistance to those whose business was to destroy the Church. And as this Animosity prov'd of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, throughout all these Troubles, and of equal benefit to his Enemies; so the occasion, from whence those disaffections grew, was very unskilfully and imprudently administer'd by the State here. Not to speak of the business of *Rochel*, which, though it stuck deep in all, yet most imputed the Counsels of that time to Men that were dead, and not to a fix'd design of the Court; they had a greater Quarrel, which made them believe, that their very Religion was persecuted by the Church of *England*.

WHEN the Reformation of Religion first begun in *England* in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, very many, out of *Germony* and *France*, left their Countries, where the Reformation was severely persecuted, and transplanted themselves, their Families, and Estates, into *England*, where they were receiv'd very hospitably; and that King, with great Piety and Policy, by several Acts of State, granted them many Indemnities, and the free use of Churches in *London* for the exercise of their Religion: whereby the number of them encreased; and the benefit to the Kingdom, by such an access of Trade, and improvement of Manufactures, was very considerable. Which Queen *Elizabeth* finding, and well knowing that other notable uses of them might be made, enlarg'd their Privileges by new Concessions; drawing, by all means, great Numbers over, and suffering them to erect Churches, and to enjoy the exercise of their Religion after their own manner, and according to their own Ceremonies, in all places, where, for the conveniency of their Trade, they chose to recide. And so they had Churches in *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, and other places of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*; whereby the Wealth of those places marvellously increased. And besides the benefit from thence, the Queen made use of them in her great Transactions of State in *France*, and the Low Countries, and by the mediation and interposition of those People, kept an useful Interest

tereſt in that Party, in all the Forreign Dominions where they were tolerated. The ſame Charters of Liberty were continued and granted to them, during the peaceable Reign of King *James*, and in the beginning of this King's Reign, although, it may be, the Politick Conſiderations in thoſe Conceſſions, and Connivances, were neither made uſe of, nor underſtood.

SOME few years before theſe Troubles, when the power of Church-Men grew more tranſcendent, and indeed the Faculties and Underſtanding of the Lay Counſellors more dull, lazy, and unactive (for without the laſt, the firſt could have done no hurt) the Biſhops grew jealous that the countenancing another Diſcipline of the Church here, by Order of the State (for thoſe Forreign Congregations were govern'd by a Presbytery according to the Cuſtom, and Conſtitution of thoſe parts of which they had been Natives: the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons*, had the free uſe of ſeveral Churches according to their own Diſcipline) would at leaſt diminiſh the Reputation and Dignity of the Epiſcopal Government, and give ſome countenance to the Factious, and Schiſmatical Party in *England* to hope for ſuch a Toleration.

THEN there wanted not ſome fiery, turbulent, and contentious Perſons of the ſame Congregations, who upon private differences and conteſts, were ready to inform againſt their Brethren, and to diſcover, what, they thought, might prove of moſt prejudice to them; ſo that, upon pretence that they far exceeded the Liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the Notion of Forreigners, many *Engliſh* ſeparated themſelves from the Church, and joyn'd themſelves to thoſe Congregations (which poſſibly was in part true) the Council-Board conniv'd at, or interpoſed not, whilſt the Biſhops did ſome Acts of Reſtraint, with which thoſe Congregations grew generally diſcontented, and thought the Liberty of their Conſciences to be taken from them; which cauſed in *London* much complaining of this kind, but much more in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*; where Dr *Wren*, the Biſhop there, paſſionately, and warmly proceeded againſt them: ſo that many left the Kingdom, to the leſſening the Wealthy Manufacture there of Kerſeys, and narrow Cloaths, and, which was worſe, tranſporting that myſtery into Forreign Parts.

AND that this might be ſure to look like more than what was neceſſary to the Civil Policy of the Kingdom, whereas, in all former times, the Embaſſadors, and all Forreign Miniſters of State, imploy'd from *England* into any Parts where the Reform'd Religion was exerciſed, frequented their Churches, gave all poſſible Countenance to their profeſſion, and held Correſpondence with the moſt active, and powerful

Perſons

Perſons of that relation, and particularly, the Embaſſador Leiger at *Paris* had diligently, and conſtantly frequented the Church at *Charenton*, and held a fair intercourſe with thoſe of that Religion throughout the Kingdom, by which they had ſtill receiv'd advantage, that People being induſtrious and active to get into the ſecrets of the State, and ſo deriving all neceſſary Intelligence to thoſe whom they deſir'd to gratify: The contrary to this was now with great induſtry practiced, and ſome advertiſements, if not inſtructions, given to the Embaſſadors there, "To forbear any extraordinary Commerce "with the Men of that profeſſion. And the Lord *Scudamore*, who was the laſt ordinary Embaſſador there, before the beginning of this Parliament, whether by the Inclinations of his own Nature, or by Advice from others, not only declin'd going to *Charenton*, but furniſh'd his own Chappel, in his Houſe, with ſuch Ornaments (as Candles upon the Communion Table, and the like) as gave great offence, and umbrage to thoſe of the Reformation there, who had not ſeen the like; beſides that he was careful to publiſh, upon all occaſions, by himſelf, and thoſe who had the neareſt relation to him, "That "the Church of *England* look'd not on the *Hugonots* as a part "of their Communion; which was likewiſe too much, and too induſtriouſly diſcourſed at home.

THEY of the Church of *England* who committed the greateſt errors this way, had, undoubtedly, not the leaſt thoughts of making alterations in it towards the countenancing of Popery, as hath been uncharitably conceiv'd: But (having too juſt cauſe given them to diſlike the Paſſion, and Licence, that was taken by ſome Perſons in the Reform'd Churches, under the Notion of Conſcience, and Religion, to the diſturbance of the Peace of Kingdoms) unskilfully believ'd, that the Total declining the Intereſt of that Party, where it exceeded the neceſſary bounds of Reformation, would make this Church of *England* look'd upon with more reverence; and that thereby the Common Adverſary, the Papiſt, would abate ſomewhat of his arrogance and ſupercilioufneſs; and that both Parties, piouſly conſidering the Charity which Religion ſhould beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterneſs, and uncharitableneſs of Contention in matters of Opinion, and agree in the practical duties of Chriſtians and Subjects. Thus, contracting their conſiderations in too narrow a compaſs, theſe Men contented themſelves with their Pious Intentions, without duly weighing objections, or the circumſtances of Policy. And ſome of our own Communion, who differ'd with them in opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right reaſons, rather confirm'd than reform'd them in their Inclinations: Neither

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of them discerning the true, and substantial grounds of that Policy, upon which that good Correspondence had been founded, which they were now about to change: And so the Church of *England*, not giving the same Countenance to those of the Religion in Forreign Parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discern'd to be under a Clound at home; but those of the Religion abroad, were glad of the occasion to publish their malice against Her, and to enter into the same Conspiracy against the Crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the Church.

Now, to return to the Course of our History; after all discourses and motions for Peace were, for a time, laid aside; and new thoughts of Victory, and utterly subduing the King's Party, again entertain'd; they found one trouble falling upon them which they had least suspected, want of Money; all their vast Sums collected, upon any former Bills, passed by the King for the relief of *Ireland*, and payment of the debt to the *Scots*, and all their Money upon Subscriptions of Plate, and Loans upon the Publick Faith, which amounted to incredible proportions, were even quite wasted; and their constant expence was so great, that no Ordinary supply would serve their turn; and they easily discern'd, that their Money only, and not their Cause, procur'd them Soldiers of all kinds; and that they could never support their Power, if their Power was not able to supply them. All voluntary Loans were at an end, and the Publick Faith thought a security not to be rely'd on, and by how much greater the difficulty was, by so much the more fatal would the sinking under it prove; and therefore it was with the more Vigour to be resisted. In the end, they resolv'd upon the thorough execution of their full Soveraign Power, and to let the People see what they might trust to; in which it is necessary to observe the Arts, and Degrees of their motion.

New ways of raising Money by the two Houses.

They first Order'd, "That Committees should be named "in all Counties, to take care for Provisions of Victuals for "the Army, and also for the taking up of Horses for Service "in the Field, Dragooners and draught Horses, and for bor- "rowing of Money and Plate to supply the Army: and upon "Certificate from those Committees (who had power to set what Value or Rates they pleased upon these Provisions of any kind) "The same should be enter'd with their Treasurer, "who should hereafter repay the same. It was then alledg'd, "that this would only draw supplies from their Friends, and "the well Affected; and that others, who either liked not "their proceedings, or lov'd their Money better than the Li- "berty of their Country, would not Contribute. Upon this it was Order'd, "That in case the Owners refused to bring in "Money,

" Money, Proviſions, Plate, and Horſe, upon the publick " Faith, for the uſe of the Army; for the better preventing " the ſpoil, and imbezilling of ſuch Proviſions of Money, " Plate, and Horſes, by the diſorder of the Soldiers, and that " they may not come into the hands of the Enemies, that the " Committees, or any two of them, ſhould be authoriſed, " and enabled to ſend for ſuch Proviſions, Money, Plate, and " Horſes; and to take the ſame into their Cuſtody, and to ſet " indifferent value and rate upon them; which value they " ſhould certifie to the Treaſurers, for the proportions to be " repaid at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner as ſhould be order'd " by both Houſes of Parliament.

THIS was done only to ſhew what they meant to do over all *England*, and as a ſtock of credit to them. For at preſent it would neither ſupply their wants; neither was it ſeaſonable for them, or indeed poſſible to endeavour the execution of it in many Counties. *London* was the place from whence only their preſent help muſt come. To them therefore they declar'd, " That the King's Army had made divers Aſſeſſments " upon ſeveral Counties, and the Subjects were compell'd by " the Soldiers, to pay the ſame; which Army, if it continued, " would ſoon ruine, and waſte the whole Kingdom; and over- " throw Religion, Law, and Liberty: That there was no " probable way, under God, for the ſuppreſſing that Army, " and other ill affected Perſons, but by the Army raiſed by " the Authority of the Parliament; which Army could not be " maintain'd, without great Sums of Money; and for raiſing " ſuch Sums, there could be no Act of Parliament paſſed with " his Majeſty's Aſſent, albeit there was great Juſtice that ſuch " Money ſhould be raiſed: That, hitherto, the Army had " been, for the moſt part, maintain'd by the voluntary contri- " butions of well affected People, who had freely contributed " according to their Abilities: That there were divers others " within the Cities of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, and the Sub- " urbs, that had not contributed at all towards the main- " tenance of that Army, or if they had, yet not anſwerable to " their Eſtates; who notwithſtanding receiv'd Benefit, and " Protection by the ſame Army, as well as any others; and " therefore it was moſt juſt, that they ſhould, as well as " others, be charg'd to contribute to the maintenance thereof.

UPON theſe grounds, and reaſons, it was ordain'd " By " the Authority of Parliament, that *Iſaac Pennington*, the then " Lord Mayor of *London*, and ſome other Aldermen, and " Citizens, or any four of them, ſhould have Power and Au- " thority to Nominate and Appoint, in every Ward, within " the City of *London*, ſix ſuch Perſons as they ſhould think " fit, who ſhould have power to enquire of all who had not

" contri-

" contributed upon the Propositions concerning the raising of " Money, Plate, *&c.* and of such able Men, who had contri- " buted, yet not according to their Estates, and Abilities; " and those Persons so substituted, or any four of them, within " their several Wards and Limits, should have power to Assess " all Persons of Ability who had not contributed, and also " those who had contributed, yet not according to their Abi- " lity, to pay such Sums of Money, according to their Estates, " as the Assessors, or any four of them should think reason- " able, so as the same exceeded not the twentieth part of their " Estates; and to nominate fit Persons for the receipt thereof. " And if any Person so Assess'd should refuse to pay the Mo- " ney so Assess'd upon him, it should be lawful for the As- " sessors, and Collectors, to levy that Sum by way of distress, " and sale of the goods of Persons so refusing. And if any " Person distrain'd should make resistance, it should be Lawful " for the Assessors, and Collectors, to call to their Assistance " any of the Train'd-bands of *London*, or any other of his Ma- " jesty's Subjects; who were required to be aiding, and assist- " ing to them. The Burgesses of *Westminster*, and *Southwark*, " and a Committee appointed to that purpose, were to do the " same within those Limits, as the other in *London*.

AND that there might be no stratagem to avoid this Tax (so strange and unlook'd for) by a second Ordinance in explanation of the former, They ordain'd, " That, if no sufficient " distress could be found for the payment of what should be " Assess'd, the Collectors should have power to enquire of any " Sum of Money due to those Persons so Assess'd from what " Persons soever, for Rents, Goods, or Debts, or for any " other thing, or cause whatsoever. And the Collectors had " power to receive all such Debts, until the full Value of the " Sums so Assess'd, and the Charges in levying or recovering " the same should be satisfied: and lest the discovery of those " Debts might be difficult, the same Collectors had power to " compound for any Rents, Goods, or Debts, due to such " Persons so Assess'd, with any Person by whom the same was " due, and to give full discharges for the Money so com- " pounded for, which should be good and effectual to all pur- " poses. And if the Money Assess'd could not be levied by " any of these ways, then the Persons Assess'd should be im- " prison'd in such places of the Kingdom, and for so long time, " as the Committee of the House of Commons for examina- " tions should appoint, and order; and the Families of all " such Persons so imprison'd should no longer remain within " the Cities of *London*, or *Westminster*, the Suburbs, or the " Counties adjacent. And all Assessors, and Collectors, should " have the protection of both House of Parliament, for their " Indemnity

"Indemnity in that Service, and receive allowance for their "pains, and charges. Several additional, and explanatory Orders they made for the better execution of this grand one, by every of which ſome clauſe of ſeverity, and monſtrous irregularity was added, and for the complement of all, they order'd that themſelves, the Members of either Houſe, ſhould not be Aſſeſs'd by any but themſelves.

THE truth is, the King was not ſorry to ſee this Ordinance, which he thought ſo prodigious, that he ſhould have been a greater Gainer by it than they that made it; ſeeing it was ſo palpable, and clear a demonſtration of the Tyranny the People were to live under, that they would eaſily have diſcern'd the change of their condition: yet he took ſo much pains to awaken his Subjects to a due apprehenſion of it, and to apply the thorough conſideration of it to them, that he publiſh'd a Declaration upon that Ordinance; the which, preſenting many things to them, which have ſince fallen out, may be, in this place, fit to be inſerted in the King's own words, which were theſe:

His Majeſty's Declaration upon occaſion of the former Ordinance.

"IT would not be believ'd (at leaſt great pains have been "taken that it might not) that the pretended Ordinance of "the Militia (the firſt attempt that ever was, to make a "Law by Ordinance, without Our conſent) or the keeping "Us out of *Hull*, and taking Our Arms and Ammunition "from Us, could any way concern the Intereſt, Property, or "Liberty of the Subject: And it was confeſs'd, by that deſpe- "rate Declaration it ſelf of the 26th of *May*, that if they were "found guilty of that charge of deſtroying the Title and In- "tereſt of Our Subjects to their Lands, and Goods, it were "indeed a very great crime. But it was a ſtrange fatal Le- "thargy which had ſeiſed Our good People, and kept them "from diſcerning that the Nobility, Gentry, and Common- "alty of *England*, were not only ſtripp'd of their Preemi- "nences, and Privileges, but of their Liberties, and Eſtates, "when Our juſt Rights were denied Us; and that no Sub- "ject could from thenceforth expect to dwell at home, when "We were driven from our Houſes, and Our Towns. It "was not poſſible, that a Commiſſion could be granted to "the Earl of *Eſſex*, to raiſe an Army againſt Us, and, for "the ſafety of Our Perſon, and preſervation of the Peace of "the Kingdom, to purſue, kill, and ſlay Us, and all who "wiſh well to Us, but that, in a ſhort time, inferior Com- "manders, by the ſame Authority, would require Our good "Subjects, for the maintenance of the property of the Sub- "ject, to ſupply them with ſuch Sums of Money as they "think fit, upon the penalty of being plunder'd with all ex-

"tremity

"tremity of War (as the Title of Sr *Edward Bainton*'s War-"rant runs against Our poor Subjects in *Wilt-shire*) and by "such Rules of unlimited Arbitrary Power as are inconsistent "with the least pretence or shadow of that property, it would "seem to defend.

"If there could be yet any Understanding so unskilful "and supine to believe, that these Disturbers of the publick "Peace do intend any thing but a general Confusion, they "have brought them a sad argument to their own doors to "convince them. After this Ordinance and Declaration, it "is not in any sober Man's power to believe himself to be "worth any thing, or that there is such a thing as Law, Li-"berty, or Property, left in *England*, under the jurisdiction "of these Men. And the same power that robs them now of "the twentieth part of their Estates, hath, by that, but made "a claim, and entituled it self to the other nineteen, when it "shall be thought fit to hasten the general Ruine. Sure, if the "minds of all Men be not stubbornly prepar'd for Servitude, "they will look on this Ordinance, as the greatest Prodigy "of Arbitrary Power and Tyranny, that any Age hath brought "forth in any Kingdom. Other Grievances (and the great-"est) have been conceiv'd intolerable, rather by the Logick "and Consequence, than by the pressure it self: This at "once sweeps away all that the Wisdom, and Justice of Par-"liaments have provided for them. Is their Property in their "Estates (so carefully look'd to by their Ancestors, and so "amply establish'd by Us, against any possibility of Invasion "from the Crown) which makes the meanest Subject as "much a Lord of his own as the greatest Peer, to be valued, "or consider'd? Here is a twentieth part of every Man's "Estate, or so much as four Men will please to call the twen-"tieth part, taken away at once, and yet a power left to "take a twentieth still of that which remains: and this to be "levied by such circumstances of Severity, as no Act of Par-"liament ever consented to.

"Is their Liberty, which distinguishes Subjects from Slaves, "and in which this Freeborn Nation hath the advantage "of all *Christendom*, dear to them? They shall not only be "imprison'd in such places of this Kingdom (a latitude of "Judgment no Court can challenge to it self in any Cases) "but for so long time, as the Committee of the House of "Commons for examination shall appoint and order: The "House of Commons it self having never assum'd, or in the "least degree pretended to, a power of Judicature; having "no more Authority to administer an Oath, the only way to "discover and find out the truth of Facts, than to cut off the "Heads of any of Our Subjects: And this Committee being

"so

"ſo far from being a part of the Parliament, that it is de-
"ſtructive to the Whole, by uſurping to it ſelf all the power
"of King, Lords, and Commons. All who know any thing
"of Parliaments, know that a Committee of either Houſe
"ought not, by the Law, to publiſh their own reſults;
"neither are their concluſions of any Force, without the con-
"firmations of the Houſe, which hath the ſame power of
"controlling them, as if the matter had never been debated.
"But that any Committee ſhould be ſo contracted (as this
"of Examination, a ſtyle no Committee ever bore before this
"Parliament) as to exclude the Members of the Houſe, who
"are equally truſted by their Country, from being preſent
"at their Counſels, is ſo monſtrous to the Privileges of Par-
"liament, that it is no more in the power of any Man to
"give up that Freedom, than of himſelf to order, that, from
"that time, the place for which he Serves ſhall never more
"ſend a Knight or Burgeſs to the Parliament; and in truth is
"no leſs than to alter the whole frame of Government, to
"pull up Parliaments by the Roots; and to commit the
"Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, of all the People of *England*
"to the Arbitrary power of a few unqualified Perſons, who
"ſhall diſpoſe thereof according to their diſcretion, without
"account to any Rule or Authority whatſoever.

"ARE their Friends, their Wives, and Children, the
"greateſt bleſſings of Peace, and Comforts of Life, precious
"to them? Would their penury, and impriſonment be leſs
"grievous by thoſe Cordials? They ſhall be divorced from
"them, baniſhed, and ſhall no longer remain within the Ci-
"ties of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, the Suburbs and the Coun-
"ties adjacent, and how far thoſe adjacent Counties ſhall ex-
"tend no Man knows. Is there now any thing left to enjoy
"but the Liberty to Rebel, and deſtroy one another? Are
"the outward bleſſings only of Peace, Property, and Liberty,
"taken and forced from our Subjects? Are their Conſciences
"free and unaſſaulted by the Violence of theſe Firebrands?
"Sure the Liberty and Freedom of Conſcience cannot ſuffer
"by theſe Men. Alas! all theſe puniſhments are impoſed
"upon them, becauſe they will not ſubmit to actions con-
"trary to their natural Loyalty, to their Oaths of Allegiance,
"and Supremacy, and to their late voluntary Proteſtation,
"which obliges them to the care of Our Perſon, and Our juſt
"Rights.

"HOW many Perſons of Honour, Quality, and Reputa-
"tion, of the ſeveral Counties of *England*, are now impri-
"ſon'd, without any objections againſt them, but ſuſpicion of
"their Loyalty? How many of the graveſt, and moſt ſub-
"ſtantial Citizens of *London*, by whom the Government and

"Discipline of that City was preserv'd, are disgraced, rob-
"bed, and imprison'd, without any Process of Law, or Co-
"lour of Accusation, but of obedience to the Law, and Go-
"vernment of the Kingdom? Whilst *Anabaptists*, and *Brown-*
"*ists*, with the Assistance of vicious and debauch'd Persons
"of desperate Fortunes, take upon them to break up and rifle
"Houses, as publick and avow'd Ministers of a new-invented
"Authority. How many Godly, Pious, and Painful Divines,
"whose Lives and Learning have made them of Reverend
"Estimation, are now slander'd with inclination to Popery,
"discountenanc'd, and imprison'd, for discharging their Con-
"sciences, instructing the People in the Christian duty of Re-
"ligion and Obedience? Whilst Schismatical, Illiterate, and
"Scandalous Preachers, fill the Pulpits and Churches with
"Blasphemy, Irreverence, and Treason; and incite their Au-
"ditory to nothing but Murder and Rebellion.

"We pass over the Vulgar Charm, by which they have
"captivated such who have been contented to dispense with
"their Consciences for the Preservation of their Estates, and
"by which they perswade Men chearfully to part with this
"twentieth part of their Estates to the good work in hand.
"For whosoever will give what he hath, may escape Rob-
"bing. They shall be repaid upon the Publick Faith, as all
"other Monies lent upon the Propositions of both Houses.
"It may be so. But Men must be condemn'd to a strange
"unthriftiness, who will lend upon such Security. The Pub-
"lick Faith indeed is as great an earnest as the State can give,
"and engages the Honour, Reputation, and Honesty of the
"Nation, and is the Act of the Kingdom. 'Tis the Security
"of the King, the Lords, and Commons, which can never
"need an Executor, can never die, never be bankrupt; and
"therefore We willingly consented to it for the indemnity
"of Our good Subjects of *Scotland* (who, We hope, will not
"think the worse of it for being so often, and so cheaply
"mention'd since.) But that a Vote of One, or Both Houses,
"should be an Engagement upon the Publick Faith, is as
"impossible as that the Committee of the House of Com-
"mons for Examination should be the High Court of Par-
"liament.

"And what is, or can be said, with the least shadow of
"Reason, to justify these extravagancies? We have not heard
"lately of the fundamental Laws, which used to Warrant the
"Innovations: these need a refuge even below those foun-
"dations. They will say, they cannot manage their great
"Undertakings without such extraordinary ways. We think
"so too. But that proves only, they have undertaken some-
"what they ought not to undertake, not that it is lawful for
"them

"them, to do any thing that is convenient for those ends. We "remember'd them long ago, and We cannot do it too often, "of that excellent Speech of Mr *Pym*'s. The Law is that "which puts a difference betwixt Good and Evil, Just and "Unjust: If you take away the Law, all things will be in a "confusion, every Man will become a Law unto himself; "which, in the deprav'd condition of human Nature, must "needs produce many great Enormities. Lust will become "a Law, and Envy will become a Law, Covetousness and "Ambition will become Laws; and what dictates, what de-"cision such Laws will produce, may easily be discern'd. It "may indeed by sad Instances over the whole Kingdom.

"But will Posterity believe, that, in the same Parliament, "this Doctrine was avow'd with that Acclamation, and these "Instances after produc'd? That, in the same Parliament, "such care was taken that no Man should be committed in "what case soever, without the cause of his imprisonment "express'd; and that all Men should be immediately Bailed "in all cases Bailable; and, during the same Parliament, that "Alderman *Pennington*, or indeed any body else, but the "sworn Ministers of Justice, should imprison whom they "would, and for what they would, and for as long Time as "they would? That the King should be reproached with "breach of Privilege, for accusing Sr *John Hotham* of High "Treason, when with force of Arms he kept him out of "*Hull*, and despised him to his face, because in no case a "Member of either House might be committed, or accused "without leave of that House of which he is a Member; and "yet that during the same Parliament, the same Alderman "shall commit the Earl of *Middlesex*, a Peer of the Realm, "and the Lord *Buckhurst*, a Member of the House of Com-"mons, to the Counter, without reprehension? That to be "a Traytor (which is defin'd, and every Man understands) "should be no crime, and to be call'd Malignant, which no "body knows the meaning of, should be ground enough for "close imprisonment? That a Law should be made, that who-"soever should presume to take Tonnage and Poundage with-"out an Act of Parliament, should incur the penalty of a "Præmunire; and in the same Parliament, that the same im-"position should be laid upon Our Subjects, and taken by "Order of both Houses, without, and against Our consent? "Lastly, that, in the same Parliament, a Law should be made "to declare the Proceedings, and Judgment upon Ship money "to be illegal, and void; and during that Parliament, that an "Order of both Houses shall, upon pretence of necessity, enable "four Men to take away the twentieth part of their Estates "from all their Neighbours, according to their discretion.

"BUT Our good Subjects will no longer look upon these "and the like results, as upon the Counsels and Conclusions "of both our Houses of Parliament (though all the world "knows, even That Authority can never justifie things un- "warrantable by the Law) They well know how few of the "Persons trusted by them, are trusted at Their consultations, "of above five hundred of the Commons, not fourscore; and "of the House of Peers, not a fifth part: That they who are "present enjoy not the Privilege and Freedom of Parliament, "but are besieged by an Army, and awed by the same Tu- "mults which drove Us, and their fellow Members from "thence, to consent to what some few seditious, schismati- "cal Persons among them do propose. These are the Men, "who joyning with the *Anabaptists*, and *Brownists* of *Lon-* "*don*, first changed the Government and Discipline of that "City; and now, by the pride and power of that City, would "undo the Kingdom: whilst their Lord Mayor, a Person ac- "cused and known to be guilty of High Treason, by a new "Legislative Power of his own, supresses and reviles the "Book of Common Prayer, robs and imprisons whom he "thinks fit; and, with the Rabble of his Faction, gives Laws "to both Houses of Parliament, and tells them, *They will have* "*no Accommodation*: whilst the Members sent, and intrusted "by their Countries, are expell'd the House, or committed, "for refusing to take the Oath of Association to live and die "with the Earl of *Essex*, as very lately Sr *Sydney Mountague*. "These are the Men who have presumed to send Embassa- "dors, and to enter into Treaties with Forreign States in "their own behalf, having at this time an Agent of their own "with the States of *Holland*, to negotiate for them upon pri- "vate Instructions: These are the Men who not thinking "they have yet brought Mischief enough unto this Kingdom, "at this time invite, and sollicite our Subjects of *Scotland*, "to enter this Land with an Army against Us: In a word, "these are the Men who have made this last devouring Or- "dinance to take away all Law, Liberty, and Property from "our People, and have by it really acted that upon our Peo- "ple, which with infinite Malice, and no Colour, or Ground, "was laboured to be infused into them, to have been Our in- "tention by the Commissions of Array.

"WE have done: What Power and Authority these Men "have, or will have, We know not: For Our self, We chal- "lenge none such. We look upon the Pressures and Incon- "veniences our good Subjects bear, even by Us, and Our "Army (which the Army first raised by them enforced Us "to raise in our defence, and their refusal of all offers and "desires of Treaty enforceth Us to keep) with very much

"sadness

"ſadneſs of heart. We are ſo far from requiring a twentieth "part of their Eſtates, though for their own viſible preſerva- "tion, that, as We have already ſold or pawn'd our own "Jewels, and coin'd our own Plate, ſo We are willing to ſell "all our own Lands and Houſes for their relief: Yet We do "not doubt but Our good Subjects will ſeriouſly conſider Our "Condition, and their own Duties, and think our readineſs to "protect them with the utmoſt hazard of our Life, deſerves "their readineſs to aſſiſt Us with ſome part of Their For- "tunes; and, whilſt other Men give a twentieth part of Their "Eſtates to enable them to forfeit the other nineteen, that "they will extend themſelves to Us in a liberal, and free pro- "portion, for the preſervation of the reſt, and for the mainte- "nance of God's true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Li- "berty of the Subject, and the Safety, and very Being of Par- "liaments, and this Kingdom: For if all theſe ever were, or "can be, in manifeſt danger, 'tis now in this preſent Rebel- "lion againſt Us.

"LASTLY, We will and require all Our Loving Subjects, "of what degree or quality ſoever, as they will Anſwer it to "God, to Us, and to Poſterity, by their Oaths of Alle- "giance, and Supremacy; as they would not be look'd upon "now, and remember'd hereafter, as Betrayers of the Laws "and Liberties they were born to; that they in no degree "ſubmit to this wild pretended Ordinance, and that they pre- "ſume not to give any Encouragement, or Aſſiſtance to the "Army now in Rebellion againſt us; which if notwithſtand- "ing they ſhall do, they muſt expect from Us the ſevereſt "puniſhment the Law can inflict, and a perpetual Infamy with "all good Men.

WHATSOEVER every Man could ſay to another againſt that Ordinance, and whatſoever the King ſaid to them all againſt it, it did bring in a great ſupply of Money, and gave them a ſtock of Credit to borrow more; ſo that the Army was again drawn out, though but to Winter Quarters, twenty Miles from *London*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* fix'd his head Quarters at *Windſor*, to ſtreighten the King's new Garriſon at *Reading*, and ſent ſtrong Parties ſtill abroad, which got as much ground as, at that time of the year, could reaſonably be expected; that is, brought thoſe adjacent Counties entirely under the obedience of the Parliament, which would at leaſt have kept themſelves Neutral: And ſtill perſwaded the People, "That their work was even at an end, and that the King's "Forces would be ſwallow'd up in a very ſhort time: ſo that there was no day, in which they did not publiſh themſelves to have obtain'd ſome notable Victory, or taken ſome Town,

when in truth each Party wiſely abſtain'd from diſturbing the other: Yet the bulk of their ſupply came only from the City of *London*. For though their Ordinance extended over the whole Kingdom, they had power to execute it only there; for it was not yet time to try the Affections of all places within their own Verge, with the ſevere exerciſe of that Authority.

AND therefore divers of the Wealthieſt and moſt Subſtantial Citizens of *London*, obſerving liberty to be taken by all Men to Petition the Houſes, and the multitude of the Petitioners to carry great Authority with them, and from thoſe Multitudes and that Authority, the brand to have been laid upon the City, "Of being an Enemy to Peace, met together and prepared a very modeſt and moderate Petition to the Houſes; in which they deſir'd "Such Propoſitions and Ad- "dreſſes might be made by them to his Majeſty, as he might "with his Honour comply with, and thereby a happy Peace "enſue; which, being ſign'd by many thouſand hands, was ready to be preſented, but was not receiv'd by the Houſe of Commons, for no other reaſon publickly given, but "That "it was prepared by a Multitude; and objections were framed againſt the principal Promoters of it, upon other pretences of Delinquency; ſo that they were compell'd to forſake the Town, and that Party were, for the preſent, diſcountenanced.

AT the ſame time the Inhabitants of *Weſtminſter*, St *Martins*, and *Covent-Garden*, who always underwent the Imputation, of being well affected to the King, prepared the like Petition, and met with the ſame reproach, being ſtrictly inhibited to approach the Houſes with more than ſix in Company. This unequal kind of proceeding added nothing to their Reputation, and they eaſily diſcern'd thoſe humors, thus obſtructed, would break out the more violently: therefore they again reſumed all profeſſions of a deſire of Peace, and appointed a Committee to prepare Propoſitions to be ſent to the King to that purpoſe; and becauſe they found that would be a work of time (for the reaſons which will be anon remember'd) and that many Arts were to be apply'd to the ſeveral affections, and to wipe out the imagination that the City deſir'd Peace upon any other Terms than they did, and the diſadvantage that accrew'd to them by ſuch imagination, and alſo to ſtay the appetite of thoſe who were importunate to have any advance made towards Peace, having procured, by the Activity of their Agents and Miniſters, to have ſuch a Common Counſel choſen for the City, as would undoubtedly comply with their deſires and deſigns, they underhand directed their own Mayor to engage that Body in ſuch a Petition to his Majeſty, as, carrying the ſenſe and reputation of the whole

whole City, might yet ſignify nothing to the prejudice of the two Houſes; and ſo a Petition was framed in theſe words:

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;

The humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London.

Sheweth,

"THAT the Petitioners, your Majeſty's moſt humble and "Loyal Subjects, being much pierced with the long and great "diviſions between your Majeſty and both your Houſes of "Parliament, and with the ſad and bloody effects thereof, "both here, and in *Ireland*, are yet more deeply wounded by "the miſapprehenſion, which your Majeſty ſeemeth to enter- "tain of the Love and Loyalty of this your City, as if there "were ſome cauſe of fear, or ſuſpicion of danger to your Royal "Perſon if your Majeſty ſhould return hither; and that this "is made the unhappy bar to that bleſſed Reconciliation with "your Great and moſt Faithful Council for preventing that "deſolation, and deſtruction, which is now moſt apparently "imminent to your Majeſty, and all your Kingdoms: *A Petition of the City to the King.*

"FOR ſatisfaction therefore of your Majeſty, and clearing "of the Petitioners Innocency, they moſt humbly declare, as "formerly they have done, That they are no way conſcious "of any diſloyalty, but abhor all thoughts thereof; and that "they are reſolv'd to make good their late ſolemn Proteſta- "tion, and ſacred Vow, made to Almighty God; and, with "the laſt drop of their deareſt bloods, to defend, and main- "tain the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, and, according "to the Duty of their Allegiance, your Majeſty's Royal Per- "ſon, Honour, and Eſtate (whatſoever is maliciouſly and "falſely ſuggeſted to your Majeſty to the contrary) as well as "the Power, and Privileges of Parliament, and the Lawful "Rights and Liberty of the Subject: And do hereby engage "themſelves, their Eſtates, and all they have, to their utmoſt "Power, to defend and preſerve your Majeſty, and both "Houſes of Parliament, from all Tumults, Affronts, and Vio- "lence, with as much Loyalty, Love, and Duty, as ever Ci- "tizens expreſs'd towards your Majeſty, or any of your Royal "Progenitors in their greateſt Glory.

"THE Petitioners therefore, upon their bended Knees, "do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to return to your "Parliament (accompanied with your Royal, not Martial "Attendance) to the end that Religion, Laws, and Liberties, "may be ſettled, and ſecured, and whatſoever is amiſs in "Church, and Common-wealth, Reform'd by their Advice,

"according to the fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom; "And that ſuch a Peace may thereby be obtain'd, as ſhall be "for the Glory of God, the Honour and Happineſs of your "Majeſty, and Poſterity, and Welfare of all your Loyal Sub- "jects; who (the Petitioners are fully aſſur'd) whatſoever is "given out to the contrary, do unanimouſly deſire the Peace "herein expreſs'd.

THOUGH this Petition was in effect no other than to deſire the King to disband his Army, and to put himſelf into the abſolute diſpoſal of the Parliament, and therefore all Wiſe Men concluded that no great Progreſs would be made by it towards Peace; yet ſo ſotted and infatuated were the People, that, upon this very Petition, they were prevailed with to ſubmit to another Subſcription for Money, and Plate, for the neceſſary Proviſion of Arms, Ammunition, and Pay of their Army, until their disbanding and return home to their ſeveral Counties: that ſo they might not be occaſion'd, through want of Pay, to Plunder, Rob, or Pillage by the way homewards, after their diſcharge and diſmiſſion. So that Men were perſwaded that this was now the laſt Tax they ſhould be invited to, though every one of thoſe Ordinances and Declarations loaded the King with ſome new Calumnies, and Reproaches, that it was plain the Authors of them meant not ſo ſoon to put themſelves under his Subjection.

THIS Petition was about the tenth of *January* 1642, preſented to the King at *Oxford*, by ſome Aldermen, and others of the Common Council, who were for the moſt part of moderate Inclinations. The King conſider'd ſadly what Anſwer to return; for, albeit it appear'd that the Petition had been craftily framed by thoſe who had no thoughts of Peace, and that there was no Argument in it to hope any good from that People; yet there were to vulgar Underſtandings, very ſpecious and popular Profeſſions of great Piety, and Zeal to his Service, and care of his Security; and he was to be very tender in ſeeming to doubt the Inclinations, and Affections of that City, by whoſe ſtrength chiefly the War was ſupported, and that ſtrength procured by corrupting thoſe Affections: And therefore the King was not ſorry to have this opportunity of ſaying ſomewhat, and communicating himſelf freely to the City, being perſwaded, that the ill they did, proceeded rather from miſinformation than any general, or habitual Malice in them. All his Proclamations, Meſſages, and Declarations, had been with ſo much induſtry ſuppreſs'd there, that they were not in truth generally inform'd of the matter of Fact, and the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe; and therefore he was perſwaded that if he enlarged himſelf, in his Anſwer to this

this Petition, and expoſed thoſe few Men who were moſt notoriouſly Malignant againſt the Government of the Church and State, and who were generally known to be ſo, to the knowledge of the People, that it would at leaſt leſſen their Power and Ability to do hurt; and ſo he reſolv'd to return an Anſwer to them in theſe words:

"THAT his Majeſty doth not entertain any miſapprehen-
"ſion of the Love, and Loyalty of his City of *London*; as he
"hath always expreſs'd a ſingular regard and eſteem of the Af-
"fections of that City, and is ſtill deſirous to make it his chief
"place of Reſidence, and to continue, and renew many Marks
"of his Favour to it; ſo he believes, much the better and
"greater part of that his City is full of Love, Duty, and Loyal-
"ty to his Majeſty; and that the Tumults which heretofore
"forced his Majeſty, for his ſafety, to leave that place, though
"they were contriv'd and encourag'd by ſome principal Mem-
"bers thereof (who are ſince well known, though they are
"above the reach of Juſtice) conſiſted more of deſperate Per-
"ſons of the Suburbs, and the neighbouring Towns (who were
"miſled too by the cunning and malice of their Seducers)
"than of the Inhabitants of that City. He looks on his good
"Subjects there as Perſons groaning under the ſame burden
"which doth oppreſs his Majeſty, and aw'd by the ſame Per-
"ſons who begot thoſe Tumults, and the ſame Army which
"gave Battle to his Majeſty: And therefore, as no good Sub-
"ject can more deſire from his Soul, a compoſure of the ge-
"neral Diſtractions; ſo no good Citizen can more deſire the
"eſtabliſhment of the particular Peace, and Proſperity of that
"place, by his Majeſty's acceſs thither, than his Majeſty him-
"ſelf doth.

"BUT his Majeſty deſires his good Subjects of *London*, ſe-
"rioufly to conſider, what confidence his Majeſty can have of
"ſecurity there, whilſt the Laws of the Land are ſo notoriouſly
"deſpiſed, and trampled under foot, and the wholeſome Go-
"vernment of that City, heretofore ſo famous over all the
"World, is now ſubmitted to the Arbitrary Power of a few
"deſperate Perſons, of no reputation, but for malice and diſ-
"loyalty to Him; whilſt Arms are taken up, not only with-
"out, but againſt His Conſent, and expreſs Command, and
"Collections publickly made, and Contributions avow'd, for
"the maintenance of the Army which hath given him Battle,
"and therein uſed all poſſible means, Treaſon and Malice could
"ſuggeſt to them, to have taken his Life from him, and to
"have deſtroy'd his Royal Iſſue; whilſt ſuch of his Majeſty's
"Subjects, who out of Duty and Affection to his Majeſty,
"and Compaſſion of their bleeding Country, have labour'd for

"Peace

"Peace, are reviled, injured, and murder'd, even by the "Magistrates of that City, or by their Directions: Lastly "what hopes his Majesty can have of safety there, whilst Al- "derman *Pennington*, their pretended Lord Mayor, the prin- "cipal Author of those Calamities which so nearly threaten "the ruine of that famous City, *Ven*, *Foulke*, and *Manwairing*, "all Persons notoriously guilty of Schism and High Treason, "commit such Outrages, in Oppressing, Robbing and Impri- "soning, according to their discretion, all such his Majesty's "Loving Subjects, whom they are pleased to suspect for, but "wishing well to his Majesty.

"And his Majesty would know, whether the Petitioners "believe, that the reviling, and suppressing the Book of Com- "mon Prayer, established'd in this Church ever since the Refor- "mation, the discountenancing and imprisoning godly, learn- "ed, and painful Preachers, and the cherishing and counte- "nancing of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and all manner of Secta- "ries, be the way to defend and maintain the true Reform'd "Protestant Religion? That to comply with, and assist Per- "sons who have actually attempted to kill his Majesty, and to "allow, and favour Libels, Pasquils, and Seditious Sermons "against his Majesty, be to defend his Royal Person, and Ho- "nour, according to the duty of their Allegiance? Whether "to imprison Mens Persons, and to plunder their Houses, "because they will not Rebel against his Majesty, nor assist "those that do; whether to destroy their property by taking "away the twentieth part of their Estates from them, and by "the same Arbitrary Power, to refer to four Standers by, of "their own Faction, to judge what that twentieth part is, be "to defend the Lawful Rights, and Liberties of the Subject? "And if they think these Actions to be instances of either; "whether they do not know the Persons before named to be "guilty of them all? Or whether they think it possible that "Almighty God can bless that City, and preserve it from de- "struction, whilst Persons of such known guilt, and wicked- "ness, are defended, and justified among them, against the "power of that Law, by which they can only subsist.

"His Majesty is so far from suffering himself to be in- "censed against the whole City, by the Actions of these ill "Men, though they have been hitherto so prevalent, as to "make the Affections of the rest of little use to him; and is "so willing to be with them, and to protect them, that the "Trade, Wealth, and Glory thereof, so decayed and eclipsed "by these publick distractions, may again be the Envy of all "Forreign Nations, that he doth once more greaciously offer "his free and general Pardon to all the Inhabitants of that his "City of *London*, the Suburbs and City of *Westminster* (except

"the

"the Perſons formerly excepted by his Majeſty) if they ſhall "yet return to their Duty, Loyalty, and Obedience. And "if his good Subjects of that his City of *London* ſhall firſt ſo- "lemnly declare, that they will defend the known Laws of "the Land, and will ſubmit to, and be govern'd by, no other "Rule; if they ſhall firſt manifeſt, by defending themſelves, "and maintaining their own Rights, Liberties, and Intereſts, "and ſuppreſſing any Force and Violence unlawfully raiſed "againſt thoſe and his Majeſty, their power to defend, and "preſerve him from all Tumults, Affronts, and Violence; "Laſtly, if they ſhall apprehend, and commit to ſafe cuſtody, "the Perſons of thoſe four Men who enrich themſelves by the "ſpoil, and oppreſſion of his Loving Subjects, and the ruine "of the City, that his Majeſty may proceed againſt them by "the Courſe of Law, as guilty of High Treaſon; his Majeſty "will ſpeedily return to them with his Royal, and without "his Marſhal Attendance, and will uſe his utmoſt endeavours, "that they may hereafter enjoy all the bleſſings of Peace and "Plenty; and will no longer expect Obedience from them, "than he ſhall with all the faculties of his Soul, labour in "the preſerving, and advancing the true Reform'd Proteſtant "Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and Property "of the Subjects, and the juſt Privileges of Parliament.

"If, notwithſtanding all this, the Art, and Intereſt of theſe "Men can prevail ſo far, that they involve more Men in "their guilt, and draw that his City to ſacrifice its preſent "happineſs, and future hopes, to their Pride, Fury, and Ma- "lice, his Majeſty ſhall only give them this warning; That "whoſoever ſhall henceforward take up Arms, without His "conſent, contribute any Money, or Plate, upon what pretence "of Authority ſoever, for maintenance of the Army under the "Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, or any other Army in Re- "bellion againſt him, or ſhall pay Tonnage and Poundage, "till the ſame ſhall be ſettled by Act of Parliament, every "ſuch Perſon muſt expect the ſevereſt puniſhment the Law "can inflict; and, in the mean time, his Majeſty ſhall ſeiſe, "upon any part of his Eſtate within his power, for the Relief "and Support of Him and his Army, raiſed and maintained "for the defence of his Perſon, the Laws, and this his King- "dom: And ſince he denies to his Majeſty the duty and be- "nefit of his Subjection, by giving Aſſiſtance to Rebels, which, "by the known Laws of the Land, is High Treaſon; his Ma- "jeſty ſhall likewiſe deny Him the benefit of his Protection, "and ſhall not only ſignify to all his Forreign Miniſters, that "ſuch Perſon ſhall receive no advantage by being his Subject, "but ſhall, by all other ways and means, proceed againſt him "as a publick Enemy to his Majeſty, and this Kingdom.

"YET

"YET his Majesty hopes, and doubts not, but his good "Subjects of *London* will call to mind the Acts of their Pre- "decessors, the Duty, Affection, Loyalty, and Merit towards "their Princes, the Renown they have had with all Posterity "for, and the blessing of Heaven which always accompanied, "those Virtues; and will consider the perpetual scorn and "infamy which unavoidably will follow Them and their Chil- "dren, if infinitely the meaner part in Quality, and much "the lesser part in Number, shall be able to alter the Go- "vernment, so admirably establish'd, destroy the Trade so "excellently settled, and to waste the Wealth so industriously "gotten, of that flourishing City: And they will easily gather "up the Courage and Resolution to joyn with his Majesty in "defence of that Religion, Law, and Liberty, which hitherto "hath, and only can, make Themselves, his Majesty, and his "Kingdom, happy.

"FOR concurring with the Advice of his two Houses of "Parliament, which, with reference to the Common-wealth, "may be as well at this distance, as by being at *White-Hall*, "his Majesty doubts not, but his good Subjects of *London* "well know, how far, beyond the example of his Predeces- "sors, his Majesty hath concurr'd with their Advice, in passing "of such Laws, by which he willingly parted with many of "his known Rights, for the benefit of his Subjects; which "the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom did not "oblige him to consent unto; and hath used all possible "means to beget a right understanding between them: And "will therefore apply themselves to those who by making "Just, Peaceable, and Honourable Propositions to his Majesty, "can only beget that concurrence.

THIS Answer the King sent by a Servant of his own, sup- posing, that if he sent by the Messengers who brought the Petition, it might either be suppress'd, or not communicated in that manner as He desir'd. Besides, the Messengers them- selves, after the King had caused it to be read to them, were very well contented that it should be deliver'd by other hands than theirs. So they promised his Majesty, that they would procure a Common Hall (which is the most general Assem- bly of the City, the meanest Person being admitted) to be call'd assoon as they return'd; where his Messenger might deliver it: And having been graciously used by the King and the Court, after two days stay, they return'd from *Oxford* together with the Gentlemen sent by his Majesty. When they came to *London*, the contents of the Answer were quickly known, though not deliver'd; and the two Houses made an Order, "That the Lord Mayor should not call a

"Common

" Common Hall, till he receiv'd farther direction from Them. So that, though the Gentleman, ſent by the King, often ſollicited the Lord Mayor, " That he would call a Common " Hall, at which he was to deliver a Meſſage from the King, many days paſſed before any Orders were iſſued to that purpoſe.

At laſt, a day was appointed, and, at the ſame time, a Committee of the Lords and Commons were ſent to be preſent, to ſee that it might not have ſuch a reception, as might render their Intereſt ſuſpected. As ſoon as the Gentleman ſent by the King had read his Majeſty's Anſwer, the Earl of *Mancheſter* told them, " Of the high value the Parliament had " of the City; that they had conſider'd of thoſe wounding " Aſperſions, which, in that Anſwer, were caſt upon Perſons " of ſuch eminent Affection in their City, and upon others, " of great Fidelity and Truſt among them: That they own'd " themſelves to be equally intereſted in all things that con- " cern'd them, and would ſtand by them with their Lives, " and Fortunes, for the Preſervation of the City in general, " and thoſe Perſons in particular who had been Faithful, and " deſerv'd well both of the Parliament, and Kingdom. And " they would purſue all means with their Lives and Fortunes, " that might be for the preſervation of that City, and for the " procuring of Safety, Happineſs, and Peace, to the whole " Kingdom.

" Assoon as his Lordſhip had finiſh'd his Oration, which was receiv'd with marvellous Acclamations, Mr *Pym* enlarged himſelf, in a Speech then printed, upon the ſeveral parts of the King's Anſwer (for it was ſo long before it was deliver'd, that the printed Copies from *Oxford*, which were printed there after the Meſſenger was gone ſo long that all Men concluded it was deliver'd, were publick and in all hands) and told them the ſenſe of the two Houſes of Parliament, upon every part of it. Among the reſt, " That the demanding the " Lord Mayor, and the other three Citizens, was againſt the " Privilege of Parliament (two of them being Members of " the Houſe of Commons) and moſt diſhonourable to the City, " that the Lord Mayor of *London* ſhould be ſubjected to the " violence of every baſe Fellow; and that they ſhould be com- " manded to deliver up their chief Magiſtrates, and ſuch emi- " nent Members of the City, to the King's pleaſure, only be- " cauſe they had done their duty, in adhering to the Parlia- " ment, for the defence of the Kingdom.

He told them, " That, to the objection that the Govern- " ment of the City had been managed by a few deſperate Per- " ſons, and that they did exerciſe an Arbitrary Power, the " two Houſes gave them this Teſtimony, that they had, in " moſt

"moſt of the great occaſions concerning the Government of "the City, follow'd Their direction: and that direction which "the Parliament had given, They had executed; and they "muſt, and would maintain to be ſuch, as ſtood with Their "honour in giving it, and the others truſt, and fidelity in per-"forming it.

To the objection, "That the Property of the Subject was "deſtroy'd, by taking away the twentieth part by an Arbi-"trary Power, he told them, "that That Ordinance did not "require a twentieth part, but did limit the Aſſeſſors that "they ſhould not go beyond a twentieth part, and that was "done by a Power deriv'd from both Houſes of Parliament; "the Lords, who had an hereditary Intereſt in making of "Laws in this Kingdom; and the Commons, who were "elected and choſen to repreſent the whole Body of the "Commonalty, and truſted, for the good of the People, when "ever they ſee cauſe, to charge the Kingdom. He ſaid far-ther, "That the ſame Law which did enable the two Houſes "of Parliament to raiſe Forces to maintain, and defend "the ſafety of Religion, and of the Kingdom, did likewiſe "enable them to require contributions whereby thoſe Forces "might be maintain'd; or elſe it were a vain power to raiſe "Forces, if they had not a power likewiſe to maintain them "in that Service for which they were raiſed. He obſerv'd, "That it was reported, that the King declar'd he would ſend "ſome Meſſengers to obſerve their carriage in the City, and "what was done among them: the Parliament had juſt cauſe "to doubt, that thoſe would be Meſſengers of ſedition, and "trouble, and therefore deſir'd them to obſerve and find them "out, that they might know who they were. He concluded with "Commending unto their conſideration, the great dan-"ger that they were all in; and that the danger could not be "kept off, in all likelyhood, but by the Army that was then "on foot; and aſſur'd them, "That the Lords and Commons "were ſo far from being frighted by any thing, in that An-"ſwer, that they had for themſelves, and the Members of "both Houſes, declar'd a further contribution, towards the "maintenance of that Army; and could not but hope, and "deſire, that the City, which had ſhew'd ſo much good affe-"ction in the former neceſſities of the State, would be ſen-"ſible of their own, and of the condition of the whole King-"dom, and add to that which they had already done, ſome "farther Contribution, whereby that Army might be main-"tain'd for all their ſafeties.

WHETHER the ſolemnity for the reception of this Meſ-ſage after it was known what the contents were, and the bring-ing ſo great a Guard of arm'd Men to the place where it was

to

to be deliver'd, frighted the well effected Party of the City from coming thither, or frighted them, when they were there, from expreſſing thoſe Affections, I know not. But it is certain, theſe Speeches and Diſcourſes were receiv'd, and entertain'd with all imaginable applauſe, and that meeting was concluded with a general Acclamation, "That they would "live and die with the Houſes, and other expreſſions of that nature. So that all thoughts of farther addreſs, or compliyance with his Majeſty from the City, were ſo entirely and abſolutely laid aſide, that the Licence of Seditious and Treaſonable diſcourſes daily encreas'd; inſomuch, that complaint being made to the then Lord Mayor, that a certain deſperate Perſon, had ſaid, "That he hop'd ſhortly to waſh his hands in "the King's blood, that Miniſter of Juſtice refus'd to ſend any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer, for the apprehenſion of him. This was the ſucceſs of that Petition, and Anſwer.

THE Houſes now began to ſpeak Themſelves, of ſending Propoſitions to the King for Peace. For, how great ſoever the complyance ſeem'd with them from the City, or the Country, they well enough diſcern'd that complyance was generally upon the hope and expectation that they would procure a ſpeedy Peace. And they had now procured That to paſs both Houſes, which they only wanted, the Bill for the extirpation of Epiſcopacy: in the doing whereof, they uſed marvellous Art, and Induſtry. They who every day did ſomewhat, how little ſoever then taken notice of, to make Peace impoſſible, and reſolv'd, that no Peace could be ſafe for Them, but ſuch a one as would be unſafe for the King, well enough knew that they ſhould never be able to hold up, and carry on the War againſt the King in *England*, but by the help of an Army out of *Scotland*; which they had no hope to procure but upon the Stock of the Alteration of the Government of the Church; to which that Nation was violently inclin'd. But to compaſs That, was very difficult; very much the Major part, even of thoſe Members who ſtill continued with them, being cordially Affected to the Government eſtabliſh'd, at leaſt not Affected to any Other. To thoſe therefore, who were ſo far engaged as to deſire to have it in Their power to compel the King to conſent to ſuch a Peace as they deſired, they repreſented, "The conſequence of getting the "*Scots* to declare for them; which would more terrify the "King, and keep the Northern parts in Subjection more, "than any Forces they ſhould be able to raiſe: That it was "impoſſible to draw ſuch a Declaration from them, without "firſt declaring themſelves that they would alter the Go-"vernment by the Biſhops; which that People pretended to "believe

"believe the only justifiable ground to take up Arms. To others, which was indeed their publick, and avow'd, and current Argument in Debates, they alledg'd, "That they could "not expect that any Peace would be effected by the King's "free concurrence to any Message they could send to him, "but that it must arise, and result from a Treaty between "them, upon such Propositions as either Party would make "upon their own Interest: that it could not be expected that "such Propositions would be made on either side, as would "be pertinaciously insisted on by them who made them; it "being the course, in all Affairs of this Nature, to ask more "than was expected to be consented to; that it concern'd "Them as much, to make demands of great Moment to the "King, from which they meant to recede, as others upon "which they must insist: that all Men knew the inclination "and affection the King had to the Church, and therefore if "he saw That in danger, he would rescue it at any price, and "very probably their departing from their Proposition con-"cerning the Church, might be the most powerful Argument "to the King, to gratify them with the Militia.

By these Artifices, and especially by concluding obstinately, "That no Propositions should be sent to the King for "Peace, till the Bill for extirpation of Bishops was pass'd "the Lords House (where it would never otherwise have been submitted to) they had their desire, and, about the end of *January*, they sent the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Holland*, with eight Members of the Commons to *Oxford*, with their Petition and Propositions. And here I cannot omit one Stratagem, which, at that time, occasion'd some Mirth. The Common people of *London* were perswaded, "That there was so great scarcity of Victual and "Provisions at *Oxford*, and in all the King's Quarters, that "they were not without danger of starving; and that, if all "other ways fail'd, That alone would in a short time bring "the King to them. To make good this report, Provisions of all kinds, even to Bread, were sent in Wagons, and on Horses from *London* to *Oxford*, for the supply of this Committee: when without doubt, they found as great plenty of all things where they came, as they had left behind them. The Petition presented to his Majesty with the Propositions were in these words, at the presentation, read by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

Commissioners sent to the King with Propositions of Peace about the end of January.

The humble desires, and Propositions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, tender'd to his Majesty.

"We your Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects, "the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, having

"in

"in our thoughts the glory of God, your Majesty's honour, "and the prosperity of your People, and being most grievously "afflicted with the pressing Miseries and Calamities, which "have overwhelm'd your two Kingdoms of *England*, and "*Ireland*, since your Majesty hath, by the perswasion of evil "Counsellors, withdrawn your self from the Parliament, "raised an Army against it, and by force thereof, protected "Delinquents from the justice of it, constraining Us to take "Arms for the defence of Our Religion, Laws, Liberties, "Privileges of Parliament, and for the sitting of the Parlia-"ment in safety; which fears and dangers are continued, and "encreased, by the raising, drawing together, and arming of "great Numbers of Papists, under the Command of the Earl "of *New-Castle*; likewise by making the Lord *Herbert* of *Rag-*"*land*, and other known Papists, Commanders of great "Forces, whereby many grievous oppressions, rapines, and "cruelties have been, and are daily exercised upon the Per-"sons and Estates of your People, much innocent blood hath "been spilt, and the Papists have attain'd means of attempting, "with hopes of effecting, their mischievous designs of root-"ing out the Reform'd Religion, and destroying the Profes-"sors thereof: In the tender sense, and compassion of these "Evils, under which your People, and Kingdom lie (accord-"ing to the duty, which We owe to God, your Majesty, and "the Kingdom, for which we are trusted) do most earnestly "desire, that an end may be put to these great distempers and "distractions, for the preventing of that desolation which doth "threaten all your Majesty's Dominions. And as We have "render'd, and still are ready to render to your Majesty that "Subjection, Obedience, and Service, which We owe unto "you, so We most humbly beseech your Majesty, to remove "the causes of this War, and to vouchsafe Us that Peace and "Protection, which We, and Our Ancestors have formerly "enjoyed under your Majesty, and your Royal Predecessors, "and graciously to accept, and grant these Our most humble "Desires and Propositions:

1. "THAT your Majesty will be pleased to disband your "Armies, as We likewise shall be ready to disband all those "Forces, which We have raised; and that you will be pleas'd "to return to your Parliament.

2. "THAT you will leave Delinquents to a Legal Tyal, "and Judgment of Parliament.

3. "THAT the Papists may not only be disbanded, but "disarm'd according to Law.

4. "THAT your Majesty will be pleased to give your "Royal Assent unto the Bill for taking away the superstitious

"Innovations; to the Bill for the utter aboliſhing, and "taking away of all Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, "and Commiſſaries, Deans, Subdeans, Deans and Chapters, "Arch-Deacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, "Chancellors, Treaſurers, Sub-Treaſurers, Succentors, and Sa- "chriſts, and all Vicars-Choral, Choriſters, old Vicars, and new "Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other "their under-Officers, out of the Church of *England*: to the "Bill againſt ſcandalous Miniſters; to the Bill againſt Plu- "ralities; and to the Bill for conſultation to be had with "Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines. That your Majeſty "will be pleaſed to promiſe to paſs ſuch other good Bills for "ſettling of Church Government, as upon Conſultation with "the Aſſembly of the ſaid Divines, ſhall be reſolv'd on by both "Houſes of Parliament, and by them preſented to your Majeſty.

5. "THAT your Majeſty having expreſt, in your Anſwer "to the Nineteen Propoſitions of both Houſes of Parliament, "an hearty Affection and Intention for the rooting out of "Popery out of this Kingdom; and that, if both the Houſes "of Parliament can yet find a more effectual courſe to diſable "Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, from diſturbing the "State, or eluding the Laws, that you would willingly give "your conſent unto it; that you would be graciouſly pleas'd, "for the better Diſcovery, and ſpeedier Conviction of Re- "cuſants, that an Oath may be eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parlia- "ment, to be adminiſter'd in ſuch manner as by both Houſes "ſhall be agreed on; wherein they ſhall abjure and renounce "the Pope's Supremacy, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, "Purgatory, Worſhipping of the Conſecrated Hoſt, Cruci- "fixes, and Images: and the refuſing the ſaid Oath, being "tender'd in ſuch manner as ſhall be appointed by Act of "Parliament, ſhall be a ſufficient Conviction in Law of Re- "cuſancy. And that your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleas'd "to give your Royal Aſſent unto a Bill, for the Education of "the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Re- "ligion. That for the more effectual execution of the Laws "againſt Popiſh Recuſants, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to "conſent to a Bill, for the true Levying of the Penalties "againſt them; and that the ſame Penalties may be levied, "and diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as both Houſes of Parlia- "ment ſhall agree on, ſo as your Majeſty be at no loſs; and "likewiſe to a Bill, whereby the practice of Papiſts againſt "the State may be prevented, and the Law againſt them duly "executed.

6. "THAT the Earl of *Briſtol* may be remov'd from your "Majeſty's Councils; and that both He, and the Lord *Her-* "*bert*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Worceſter*, may likewiſe be

"reſtrain'd

"reſtrain'd from coming within the Verge of the Court; and "that they may not bear any Office, or have any Employ-"ments concerning State or Common-wealth.

7. "THAT your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed, by Act "of Parliament, to ſettle the Militia both by Sea and Land, "and for the Forts and Ports of the Kingdom, in ſuch a man-"ner as ſhall be agreed on by both Houſes.

8. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed, by your Letters "Patents, to make Sr *John Brampſton*, Chief Juſtice of the "Court of King's Bench; *William Lenthall* Eſquire, the now "Speaker of the Common's Houſe, Maſter of the Rolls; and "to continue the Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*, Chief Juſtice of "the Court of Common Pleas; and likewiſe to make Mr Ser-"jeant *Wild*, Chief Baron of your Court of Exchequer; and "that Mr Juſtice *Bacon* may be continued; and Mr Ser-"jeant *Rolls*, and Mr Serjeant *Atkins*, made Juſtices of the "King's Bench: That Mr Juſtice *Reeves*, and Mr Juſtice *Fo-"ſter*, may be continued; and Mr Serjeant *Pheaſant*, made "one of the Juſtices of your Court of Common Pleas; That "Mr Serjeant *Creſwell*, Mr *Samuel Brown*, and Mr *John Pu-"leſton*, may be Barons of the Exchequer; and that all theſe, "and all the Judges of the ſame Courts, for the time to "come, may hold their places by Letters Patents under the "Great Seal; *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*: And that the ſeveral "Perſons not before named, that do hold any of theſe places "before mention'd, may be remov'd.

9. "THAT all ſuch Perſons, as have been put out of the "Commiſſions of Peace, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or from being "*Cuſtodes Rotulorum*, ſince the firſt day of *April* 1642. (other "than ſuch as were put out by deſire of both or either of the "Houſes of Parliament) may again be put into thoſe Com-"miſſions, and Offices; and that ſuch Perſons may be put out "of thoſe Commiſſions, and Offices, as ſhall be excepted "againſt by both Houſes of Parliament.

10. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed to paſs the Bill "now preſented to your Majeſty, to vindicate and ſecure the "Privileges of Parliament, from the ill conſequence of the "late Precedent in the Charge and proceeding againſt the "Lord *Kimbolton*, now Earl of *Manchester*, and the five Mem-"bers of the Houſe Commons.

11. "THAT your Royal Aſſent may be given unto ſuch "Acts as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament, for "the ſatisfying and paying the Debts, and Damages, wherein "the two Houſes of Parliament have engaged the Publick "Faith of the Kingdom.

12. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed, according to a "gracious Anſwer heretofore receiv'd from you, to enter into

"a more ſtrict Alliance with the States of the united Pro-
"vinces, and other Neighbour Princes, and States of the Pro-
"teſtant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof
"againſt all deſigns and attempts of the Popiſh, and Jeſuitical
"Faction, to ſubvert and ſuppreſs it; whereby your Subjects
"may hope to be free from the miſchiefs which this Kingdom
"hath endured, through the Power which ſome of that Party
"have had in your Counſels; and will be much encouraged,
"in a Parliamentary way, for your Aid and Aſſiſtance in re-
"ſtoring your Royal Siſter, and the Prince Elector, to thoſe
"Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them; and re-
"lieving the other Proteſtant Princes who have ſuffer'd in the
"ſame Cauſe.

13. "THAT in the general Pardon which your Majeſty
"hath been pleaſed to offer to your Subjects, all Offences and
"Miſdemeanours committed before the 10th of *January* 1641,
"which hath been or ſhall be queſtion'd, or proceeded a-
"gainſt in Parliament, upon Complaint in the Houſe of
"Commons, before the 10th of *January* 1643, ſhall be ex-
"cepted; which Offences, and Miſdemeanours ſhall neverthe-
"leſs be taken, and adjudged to be fully diſcharged againſt
"all other inferior Courts. That likewiſe there ſhall be an
"exception of all Offences committed by any Perſon or Per-
"ſons, which hath, or have had, any hand or practice in the
"Rebellion of *Ireland*; which hath, or have given, any
"Counſel, Aſſiſtance, or Encouragement to the Rebels there,
"for the maintenance of that Rebellion; as likewiſe an ex-
"ception of *William* Earl of *New-Caſtle*, and *George* Lord *Digby*.

14. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reſtore ſuch
"Members of either Houſe of Parliament to their ſeveral
"places of Services, and Employment, out of which they
"have been put ſince the beginning of this Parliament; that
"they may receive ſatisfaction, and reparation for thoſe places,
"and for the profits which they have loſt by ſuch removals,
"upon the Petition of both Houſes of Parliament: And that
"all others may be reſtored to their Offices, and Employ-
"ments, who have been put out of the ſame upon any diſ-
"pleaſure conceiv'd againſt them, for any Aſſiſtance given to
"both Houſes of Parliament, or Obeying their Commands,
"or forbearing to leave their Attendance upon the Parliament
"without Licence; or for any other occaſion, ariſing from
"theſe unhappy differences betwixt your Majeſty and both
"Houſes of Parliament, upon the like Petition of both Houſes.

"THESE things being granted, and perform'd, as it hath
"always been our hearty Prayer, ſo ſhall We be enabled to
"make it our hopeful Endeavour, that your Majeſty, and
"your People, may enjoy the bleſſings of Peace, Truth, and
"Juſtice;

"Juſtice; the Royalty and Greatneſs of your Throne may "be ſupported by the Loyal, and Bountiful Affections of "your People; Their Liberties, and Privileges, maintain'd by "your Majeſty's Protection, and Juſtice; and this publick Ho- "nour, and Happineſs of your Majeſty, and all your Domi- "nions, communicated to other Churches, and States of your "Alliance, and deriv'd to your Royal Poſterity, and the fu- "ture Generations of this Kingdom for ever.

THEY who brought this Petition and Propoſitions, ſpake to their Friends at *Oxford* with all freedom of the Perſons from whom they came; inveighed againſt "Their Tyranny, "and Unreaſonableneſs, and eſpecially againſt the Propoſi- tions themſelves had brought; but poſitively declar'd, "That "if the King would vouchſafe ſo gracious an Anſwer (which "They confeſs'd they had no reaſon to expect) as might en- "gage the two Houſes in a Treaty, it would not be then in "the power of the Violent Party to deny whatſoever his Ma- "jeſty could reaſonably deſire. However (though the King expected little from thoſe private undertakings, well know- ing, that they who wiſh'd beſt, were of leaſt power, and that the greateſt among them, aſſoon as they were but ſuſ- pected to incline to Peace, immediately loſt their Reputation) his Majeſty, within two days, graciouſly diſmiſſed thoſe Meſ- ſengers with this Anſwer.

"IF his Majeſty had not given up all the faculties of his "Soul to an earneſt endeavour of Peace, and Reconciliation "with his People; or if he would ſuffer himſelf, by any Pro- "vocation, to be drawn to a ſharpneſs of Language, at a time "when there ſeems ſomewhat like an Overture of Accom- "modation, he could not but reſent the heavy Charges upon "him in the Preamble of theſe Propoſitions; would not ſuf- "fer himſelf to be reproach'd, with protecting of Delin- "quents, by force, from Juſtice (his Majeſty's deſire having "always been, that all Men ſhould be try'd by the known "Law, and having been refuſed it) with raiſing an Army "againſt his Parliament, and to be told that Arms have been "taken up againſt Him for the defence of Religion, Laws, "Liberties, and Privileges of Parliament, and for the ſitting "of the Parliament in ſafety, with many other particulars in "that Preamble ſo often and ſo fully anſwer'd by his Ma- "jeſty, without remembring the World, of the Time, and "Circumſtances of raiſing thoſe Arms againſt Him; when "his Majeſty was ſo far from being in a Condition to invade "other Men's Right, that he was not able to maintain, and "defend his own from Violence; and without telling his "good Subjects, that their Religion (the true Proteſtant Re-

"ligion, in which his Majesty was born, hath faithfully liv'd, "and to which He will die a willing Sacrifice) their Laws, "Liberties, Privileges, and Safety of Parliament, were so "amply settled, and establish'd, or offer'd to be so by his "Majesty, before any Army was raised against Him, and long "before any raised by Him for his defence, that if nothing "had been desir'd but that Peace and Protection which his "Subjects, and their Ancestors, had in the best times enjoy'd, "under his Majesty, or his Royal Predecessors, this mis-"understanding and distance between his Majesty and his "People, and this general Misery and distraction upon the "face of the whole Kingdom, had not been now the dis-"course of all *Christendom*.

"BUT his Majesty will forbear any expressions of bitter-"ness, or of a sense of his own Sufferings, that, if it be pos-"sible, the Memory thereof may be lost to the World. And "therefore, though many of the Propositions, presented to "his Majesty by both Houses, appear to him very dероga-"tory from, and destructive to, his just Power and Prero-"gative, and no way beneficial to his Subjects, few of them "being already due to them by the Laws establish'd (and "how Unparliamentary it is by Arms to require new Laws, "all the World may judge) yet (because these may be waved, or "mollified, and many things, that are now dark and doubtful "in them, clear'd and explain'd upon debate) his Majesty "is pleased, such is his sense of the Miseries, this Kingdom "suffers by this unnatural War, and his earnest desire to re-"move them by an happy Peace, that a speedy Time and "Place be agreed upon, for the meeting of such Persons as "his Majesty and both Houses shall appoint to discuss these "Propositions, and such others here following as his Majesty "doth propose to them.

1. "THAT his Majesty's own Revenue, Magazine, Towns, "Forts, and Ships, which have been taken or kept from him "by force, be forthwith restor'd unto him.

2. "THAT whatsoever hath been done, or publish'd, con-"trary to the known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to his "Majesty's Legal, and known Power and Rights, be renounced, "and recalled, that no seed may remain for the like to spring "out of for the future.

3. "THAT whatsoever illegal Power hath been claimed, "and exercised by, or over his Subjects, as imprisoning their "Persons without Law, stopping their *Habeas Corpus*'s, and "imposing upon their Estates without Act of Parliament, *&c.* "Either by both, or either House, or any Committee of "both, or either, or by any Persons appointed by any of them,

"be

"be disclaimed; and all such Persons so committed, forthwith "discharged.

4. "THAT as his Majesty will readily consent (having "done so heretofore) to the execution of all Laws already "made, and to any good Acts to be made for the suppressing "of Popery, and for the firm settling of the Protestant Reli- "gion now established by Law; so he desires, that a good Bill "may be framed, for the better preserving the Book of Com- "mon Prayer from the scorn and violence of *Brownists*, *Ana- "baptists*, and other Sectaries, with such Clauses for the ease "of tender Consciences, as his Majesty hath formerly offer'd.

5. "THAT all such Persons, as, upon the Treaty, shall be "excepted out of the general Pardon, shall be try'd *per pares*, "according to the usual Course, and known Law of the "Land; and that it be left to that, either to acquit, or con- "demn them.

6. "AND to the intent this Treaty may not suffer inter- "ruption, by any intervening Accidents, that a Cessation of "Arms, and free Trade for all his Majesty's Subjects, may "be first agreed upon.

"THIS offer and desire of his Majesty, he hopes, will be "so cheerfully entertain'd, that a speedy, and blessed Peace "may be accomplish'd. If it shall be rejected, or, by insisting "upon unreasonable circumstances be made impossible (which, "he hopes, God in his Mercy to this Nation will not suffer) "the guilt of the Blood which will be shed, and the desola- "tion which must follow, will lie upon the Heads of the Re- "fusers. However, his Majesty resolv'd through what Ac- "cidents soever he shall be compell'd to recover his Rights, "and with what prosperous success soever it shall please God "to bless him, that by his earnest, constant Endeavours to "propagate and promote the true Protestant Religion, and by "his governing according to the known Laws of the Land, "and upholding the just Privileges of Parliament, according "to his frequent protestations made before Almighty God "(which He will always inviolably observe) the World shall "see, that he hath undergone all these difficulties, and ha- "zards, for the defence and maintenance of those, the zeal- "ous preservation of which, his Majesty well knows, is the "only foundation and means for the true happiness of Him, "and his People.

WHILST these Overtures and Discourses were made of Peace, the Kingdom, in all parts, felt the sad effects of War; neither the King, nor the Parliament, being slack in pursuing the business by the Sword; and the Persons of Honour and Quality in most Counties more vigorously declaring them-

ſelves than they had done. Among the reſt, upon the King's retreat from *Brentford*, whilſt he yet ſtaid about *Reading*, ſome of the well affected Gentry of *Suſſex*, upon the confidence of their Intereſt in thoſe parts, offer'd the King to raiſe Forces there; and preſumed they ſhould be able to ſeiſe ſome place of Security and Importance for their retreat, if the Enemy ſhould attempt upon them; which at that time of the year was not conceiv'd could be with any notable ſucceſs. And being arm'd with ſuch Authority, and Commiſſions, as they deſired, and ſeconded with a good Number of conſiderable Officers, their firſt ſucceſs was anſwerable to their own hopes, and they poſſeſs'd themſelves, partly by Force, and partly by Stratagem, of the City of *Chicheſter*; which, being encompaſs'd with a very good old Wall, was very eaſy to be ſo fortified, that, with the Winter, they might well think themſelves ſecure againſt any forcible Attempt could be made upon them. And no doubt they had been ſo, if the Common People of the County (out of which the Soldiers were to riſe) had been ſo well affected as was believ'd.

Chicheſter poſſeſs'd by the King's forces:

BUT before they could draw in Men or Proviſions into the City, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſent S^r *William Waller* with Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, to infeſt them; who, with the Aſſiſtance of the Country, quickly ſhut them up within their Walls. They within the Town were eaſily reduced to ſtreights they could not contend with; for, beſides the Enemy without, againſt which the Walls and the Weather ſeem'd of equal power, and the ſmall ſtock of Proviſions, which, in ſo ſhort time, they were able to draw thither, they had cauſe to apprehend their Friends would be weary before their Enemies; and that the Citizens would not prove a truſty part of the Garriſon; and their Number of Common Men was ſo ſmall, that the conſtant duty was perform'd by the Officers and Gentlemen of Quality, who were abſolutely tir'd out. So that after a week or ten days Siege, they were compell'd, upon no better Articles than Quarter, to deliver that City, which could hardly have been taken from them; by which (with the loſs of Fifty or Threeſcore Gentlemen of Quality, and Officers of Name, whoſe very good Reputation made the loſs appear a matter of abſolute, and unavoidable neceſſity) the King found that he was not to venture to plant Garriſons ſo far from his own Quarters, where he could not, in reaſonable time, adminiſter ſuccour or ſupply.

But ſurrender'd to Sir W. Waller.

THIS Triumph of the Enemy was ſhortly after abated, and the loſs on the King's part repair'd, by the winning of *Cirenceſter*, a good Town in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, which the Rebels were fortifying, and had in it a very ſtrong Garriſon; and, being upon the edge of *Wiltſhire*, *Berk-ſhirk*, and *Oxford-ſhire*, ſhrewdly

shrewdly streighten'd the King's Quarters. The Marquis of *Hertford* bringing with him, out of *Wales*, near two thousand Foot, and one Regiment of Horse, intended, with the Assistance of Prince *Rupert*, who appointed to joyn with him with some Regiments from *Oxford*, to take in that Town: But by the extreme foulness of the ways, the great fall of Rain at that time (being about *Christmas*) and some mistake in Orders between the two Generals, that design was disappointed: And the Alarm gave the Enemy so much the more Courage, and diligence to provide for an Assault.

Cirencester won by the King's Forces under Prince Rupert.

In the beginning of *February*, Prince *Rupert* went upon the same design with better success; and at one and the same time, storming the Town in several places, their Works being not yet finish'd, though pertinaciously enough defended, enter'd their Line with some loss of Men, and many hurt, but with a far greater of the Enemy; for there were not so few as two hundred kill'd upon the place, and above one thousand taken Prisoners, whereof *Warneford* and *Fettyplace* (two Gentlemen of good Quality and Fortune near that Town, and very active in the Service) Mr *George*, a Member of Parliament who serv'd for that Burrough, and two or three *Scotish* Officers of the Field, whereof *Carr* the Governour was one, were the chief. The Town yielded much Plunder; from which the undistinguishing Soldier could not be kept, but was equally injurious to Friend and Foe; so that many honest Men, who were imprison'd by the Rebels for not concurring with them, found themselves at Liberty and Undone together: amongst whom *John Plot*, a Lawyer of very good Reputation, was one; who being freed from the hard, and barbarous imprisonment in which he had been kept, when he return'd to his own House, found it full of Soldiers, and twelve hundred pounds in Money taken from thence, which could never be recover'd. The Prince left a strong Garrison there, that brought almost all that whole County into Contribution, and was a great enlargement to the King's Quarters, which now, without interruption, extended from *Oxford* to *Worcester*; that important City, with the other of *Hereford*, and those Counties, having, some time before, been quitted by the Rebels; the Earl of *Stamford*, who was left in those parts by the Earl of *Essex*, being call'd from thence, by the growth of the King's Party in *Cornwal*, to the securing the West.

We remember'd before, when the Marquis of *Hertford* transported himself and his few Foot into *Wales* from *Minkead*, that Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and the other Gentlemen, mention'd before, with their small Force, consisting of about one hundred Horse, and fifty Dragoons, retired into *Cornwal*, neglected by the Earl of *Bedford*, as fit and easy to be supprest'd

prefs'd by the Committees. And in truth, the Committees were entirely poffeſs'd of *Devon ſhire*, and thought themſelves equally ſure of *Cornwal*, ſave that the Caſtle of *Pendennis* was in the Cuſtody of one they had no hope of. They were welcom'd into *Cornwal* by Sr *Bevil Greenvil*, who march'd with them towards the Weſt of the County, as being beſt affected, where they might have leiſure to refreſh their wearied and almoſt tired Horſe and Men, and to call the well diſpoſed Gentry together; for which they choſe *Truro* as the fitteſt place, the Eaſt part of the County being poſſeſs'd by Sr *Alexander Carew*, and Sr *Richard Buller*, two Members of the Houſe of Commons, and active Men for the ſettling of the Militia. There was in this County, as throughout the whole Kingdom, a wonderful and ſuperſtitious reverence towards the Name of a Parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the Court; yet a full Submiſſion, and Love of the eſtabliſh'd Government of Church and State, eſpecially to that part of the Church as concern'd the Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer, which was a moſt general object of Veneration with the People. And the jealouſy, and apprehenſion that the other Party intended to alter it, was a principal advancement of the King's Service, though the Major, and moſt conſiderable part of the Gentry, and Men of Eſtates, were heartily for the King, many of them being of the Houſe of Commons, and ſo having ſeen and obſerv'd by what ſpirit the diſtemper was begot, and carried on; yet there were others of Name, Fortune, and Reputation with the People, very ſollicitous for the Parliament, and more active than the other. There was a Third ſort (for a Party they cannot be call'd) greater than either of the other, both of Fortune, and Number, who, though they were ſatisfied in their Conſciences of the juſtice of the King's Cauſe, had yet ſo great a dread of the Power of the Parliament, that they ſat ſtill as Neuters, aſſiſting neither. So that they who did boldly appear, and declare for the King, were compell'd to proceed with all warineſs, and circumſpection; by the known and well underſtood Rules of the Law, and Juſtice; and durſt not oppoſe the moſt extravagant Act of the other ſide, but with all the formality that was uſed in full Peace: Which muſt be an Anſwer to all thoſe overſights, and omiſſions, which Poſterity will be apt to impute to the King, in the morning of theſe Diſtractions.

Sr Ralph Hopton and Sr Bevil Greenvil's progreſs in Cornwal, together with other Gentlemen there.

The Committee of the Parliament, who were entirely poſſeſs'd of *Devon-ſhire*, and Believ'd themſelves Maſters of *Cornwal*, drew their Forces of the Country to *Launceſton*, to be ſure that Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and his Adherents (whoſe power they thought contemptible) might not eſcape out of their hands. This was before the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the King

King was at lowest, and when the Authority of Parliament found little opposition in any place. The Quarter Sessions came, where they caused a Presentment to be drawn, in form of Law, "Against divers Men unknown, who were lately come "Arm'd into that Country *contra pacem*, &c, Though none were named, all understood who were meant; and therefore Sr *Ralph Hopton*, who very well understood those proceedings, voluntarily appear'd; took notice of the Presentment, and produced the Commission granted by the King, under the great Seal of *England*, to the Marquis of *Hertford*, by which he was constituted General of the West; and a Commission, from his Lordship, to Sr *Ralph Hopton*, of Lieutenant General of the Horse; and told them, "He was sent "to assist them, in the defence of their Liberties, against all "illegal Taxes, and Impositions. Hereupon, after a full and solemn Debate, the Jury, which consisted of Gentlemen of good Quality, and Fortunes in the County; not only acquitted Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and all the other Gentlemen his Companions, of any disturbance of the Peace; but declar'd, "That "it was a great favour, and justice of his Majesty, to send "down aid to them who were already mark'd out to destruction; and that they thought it the duty of every good Subject, as well in Loyalty to the King, as in gratitude to those "Gentlemen, to joyn with them with any hazard of Life and "Fortune.

As this full vindication was thus gotten on the King's part, so an Indictment was preferr'd against Sr *Alexander Carew*, Sr *Richard Buller*, and the rest of the Committee, "For a Rout and unlawful Assembly at *Launceston*; and for "Riots and Misdemeanours committed against many of the "King's good Subjects, in taking their Liberties from them (for they had intercepted, and apprehended divers Messengers, and others of the King's Party, and employ'd by them.) This Indictment and Information was found by the Grand Jury, and thereupon, according to a Statute in that case provided, an Order of Sessions was granted to the High Sheriff, a Person well affected to the King's Service, "To "raise the *Posse Comitatus*, for the dispersing that unlawful "Assembly at *Launceston*, and for the apprehension of the "Rioters. This was the Rise and Foundation of all the great Service that was after perform'd in *Cornwal*, by which the whole West was reduced to the King. For, by this means, there were immediately drawn together, a Body of three thousand Foot, well Arm'd; which by no other means could have been done: with which Sr *Ralph Hopton*, whom they all willingly obey'd, advanced towards *Launceston*, which the Committee had fortified, and from thence had sent

Messages

Messages of great contempt upon the proceedings of the Sessions; for besides their confidence in their own *Cornish* strength, they had a good Body of Horse to second them upon all occasions, in the Confines of *Devon*.

Sir *George Chudliegh* a Gentleman of good Fortune, and Reputation in that County, and very active for the Militia, being then at *Tavistock*, with five or six full Troops of Horse, raised in that County to go to their Army, but detain'd till *Cornwal* could be settled; upon the News of Sr *Ralph Hopton*'s advancing, these drew to *Litton*, a Village in *Devonshire*, but within three Miles of *Launceston*, Sr *Ralph Hopton* march'd within two Miles of the Town, where he refresh'd his Men, intending, the next morning early, to fall on the Town: But Sr *Richard Buller*, and his Confederates, not daring to abide the Storm, in great disorder quitted the Town that Night, and drew into *Devon-shire*, and so towards *Plymouth*; so that in the Morning Sr *Ralph Hopton* found the Gates of *Launceston* open, and enter'd without resistance. As the submission to, and reverence of, the known practiced Laws had, by the Sheriffs Authority, raised this Army within very few days, so the extreme superstition to it, assoon dissolv'd it. For when all the Persons of Honour, and Quality who well knew the desperate form'd designs of the other Party, earnestly press'd the pursuing the dishearten'd and dismay'd Rebels into *Devon*, by which they should quickly encrease their Numbers, by joyning with the well affected in that Large and Populous County, who were yet aw'd into Silence: It was powerfully objected, "That the Sheriff, by "whose Legal Authority only that Force was drawn toge-"ther, might not lawfully march out of his own County; "and that it was the principal Privilege of the Train'd-bands "that they might not be compell'd to march farther than the "limits of their Sheriff.

How grievous and inconvenient soever this doctrine was discern'd to be, yet no Man durst presume so far upon the temper of that People, as to object Pollicy, or Necessity to the notions of Law. And therefore, concealing, as much as was possible, the true reasons, they pretended their not following the Enemy proceeded from apprehension of their strength by their joyning with Sr *George Chudliegh*, and of want of Ammunition (either of which were not unreasonable) and so march'd to *Salt-ash*, a Town in *Cornwal* upon an Arm of the Sea; which only divided it from *Plimouth*, and *Devon* where was a Garrison of two hundred *Scots*; who, upon the approach of Sr *Ralph Hopton* as kindly quit *Salt-ash*, as the others had *Launceston* before. So that being now entirely Masters of *Cornwal*, they fairly dismiss'd those who could

no

not be kept long together, and retired with their own handful of Horſe and Dragoons, till a new provocation from the Enemy ſhould put freſh Vigour into that County.

In the mean time, conſidering the caſualty of thoſe Train'd-bands, and that ſtrength, which on a ſuddain could be raiſed by the *Poſſe Comitatus*, which though it made a Gallant ſhew in *Cornwal*, they eaſily ſaw would be of no uſe towards the quenching the General Rebellion over *England*, they enter'd upon thoughts of raiſing voluntary Regiments of Foot; which could be only done by the Gentlemen of that Country among their Neighbours, and Tenants, who depended on them. Sr *Bevil Greenvil* (the generally moſt belov'd Man of that Country) Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, the Gallant Governour of *Pendennis* Caſtle, *John Arundel*, and *John Trevannion*, two young Men of excellent hopes, and Heirs to great Fortunes in that Country (all four of them Members of the Houſe of Commons, and ſo better inform'd, and acquainted with the deſperate humours of the adverſe Party) undertook the raiſing Regiments of Voluntiers: many young Gentlemen, of the moſt conſiderable Families of the County, aſſiſting them as inferior Officers. So that, within a ſhorter time than could be expected, from one ſingle County, there was a Body of Foot, of near fifteen hundred, raiſed, arm'd, and well diſciplin'd for Action. But there was then an Accident, that might have diſcompoſed a People which had not been very well prepar'd to perform their duties.

The Lord *Mohun* (who had departed from *York* from the King with all profeſſions of Zeal, and Activity in his Service) had, from the time of the firſt motion in *Cornwal*, forborn to joyn himſelf to the King's Party; ſtaying at home at his own Houſe, and imparting himſelf equally to all Men of ſeveral Conſtitutions, as if he had not been yet ſufficiently inform'd which Party to adhere to. But after all the adverſe Party was driven out of *Cornwal*, and the fame of the King's marching in the Head of an Army, and having Fought the Battle at *Edge-hill* (the effect whereof was variouſly reported) without acquainting any Body with his Intention, he took a Journey towards *London*, at the time when the King march'd that way, and preſented himſelf to his Majeſty at *Brentford*, as ſent from Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and the reſt of thoſe Gentlemen engaged in *Cornwal*; though many Men believ'd that his purpoſe was, in truth, for *London*, if he had not then found the King's condition better than it was generally believ'd. Upon his Lordſhip's information of the State of thoſe Weſtern parts, and upon a ſuppoſition that he ſpake the ſenſe, and deſires of thoſe from whom he pretended to come, the King granted a Commiſſion joyntly to his Lordſhip, Sr *Ralph Hop-*

ton,

ton, Sr *John Berkley*, and Colonel *Aſhburnham*, to govern thoſe Forces, in the abſence of the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*; with which he return'd into *Cornwal*, and immediately raiſed a Regiment of Foot; behaving himſelf as actively, and being every way as forward, in the advancing the great buſineſs, as any Man; ſo that Men imputed his former reſervedneſs, only to his not being ſatisfied in a condition of Command.

On the other ſide, they who were concern'd in that alteration, were not at all well contented. For before, theſe Gentlemen of *Cornwal*, upon whoſe intereſt and activity the work depended, had, with great readineſs, complied with the other, both out of great value of their Perſons, with whom they had good familiarity, and friendſhip, and in reſpect of their Authority, and Commiſſions, with which they came qualified in that County: for, as was remember'd before, Sr *Ralph Hopton* had a Commiſſion from the Marquis of *Hertford*, to be Lieutenant General of the Horſe, Sr *John Berkley*, to be Commiſſary General, and Colonel *Aſhburnham* to be Major General of the Foot; ſo that there was no diſpute of Commands. But now, the Lord *Mohun's* coming into an equal Command with any, and ſuperior to thoſe who thought Their reputation and intereſt to be ſuperior to His (for he had not the good fortune to be very gracious in his own Country) and this by his own ſollicitation, and interpoſition, gave them ſome indignation. However their publick-heartedneſs, and joynt concernment in the good Cauſe, ſo totally ſuppreſs'd all Animoſities, and indeed Indiſpoſitions, that a greater concurrence could not be deſir'd, in whatſoever could contribute to the work in hand; ſo that they not only preſerv'd *Cornwal* entire, but made bold incurſions into *Devon*, even to the Walls of *Plymouth*, and *Exeter*; though the Seaſon of the year, being the deep Winter, and the want of Ammunition, ſoon forced them to retire into *Cornwal*.

The reputation of their being Maſters of that one County, and the apprehenſion of what they might be ſhortly able to do, made the Parliament think it time to take more care for their ſuppreſſion. And therefore they ſent their whole Forces out of *Dorſet* and *Somerſet*, to joyn with thoſe of *Devon*, to make an entire conqueſt of *Cornwal*. With theſe, *Ruthen* (a *Scots*-man, the Governour of *Plymouth*) advanced into *Cornwal*, by a Bridge over the *Tamar*, ſix miles above *Salt-aſh* (where he had before endeavour'd to force his paſſage by Water, but had been beaten off with loſs) having maſter'd the Guard there; the Earl of *Stamford* following him, two or three days march behind, with a new ſupply of Horſe and Foot; albeit thoſe the *Scots*-man had with him, were much

ſuperior

ſuperior to thoſe of the King's; which, upon this ſuddain Invaſion were forced to retire with their whole ſtrength to *Bodmin*; whither, foreſeeing this ſtorm ſome few days before it came, they had again ſummon'd their *Poſſe Comitatus*, which appear'd in conſiderable Numbers.

THEY had ſcarce refreſh'd themſelves there, and put their Men in order, when *Ruthen*, with his Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, was advanced to *Liskard*, within ſeven miles of *Bodmin*; from whence they moved towards the Enemy with all alacrity, knowing how neceſſary it was for them to Fight before the Earl of *Stamford*, who was at that time come to *Launceſton* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot, ſhould be able to joyn with the Rebels. And as this conſideration was of importance to haſten the one, ſo it prevail'd with the other Party too; for *Ruthen*, apprehending that his Victory, of which he made no queſtion, would be clouded by the preſence of the Earl of *Stamford*, who had the chief Command, reſolv'd to diſpatch the buſineſs before He came. And ſo Sr *Ralph Hopton* (to whom the other Commiſſioners, who had a joynt Authority with him, willingly devolv'd the ſole Command for that day, leſt confuſion of Orders might beget diſtraction) was no ſooner known to be drawing towards him (to whom a preſent Battle was ſo neceſſary, that it was reſolv'd, upon all diſadvantages, to have fallen on the Enemy in the Town rather than not Fight) but *Ruthen* likewiſe drew out his Forces, and chooſing his ground upon the Eaſt ſide of *Bradock*-Down near *Liskard*, ſtood in Battalia to expect the Enemy; Sr *Ralph Hopton*, having likewiſe put His Men in order, cauſed publick Prayers to be ſaid, in the head of every Squadron (which the Rebels obſerving, told their fellows, "They were at Maſs, to ſtir up their Courages in the cauſe of Religion) and having winged his Foot with his Horſe and Dragoons, he advanced within Muſquet-ſhot of the Enemy, who ſtood without any motion. Then perceiving that their Cannon were not yet come up from the Town, he cauſed two ſmall iron Minion Drakes (all the Artillery they had) to be drawn, under the cover of little Parties of Horſe, to a convenient diſtance from the Body of their Enemies; and after two ſhots of thoſe Drakes (which being not diſcern'd, and doing ſome execution, ſtrook a greater terror into them) advanced with his Body upon them; and, with very eaſy contention, beat them off their ground; they having lined the Hedges behind them with their Reſerve, by which they thought ſecurely to make their retreat into the Town. But the *Corniſh* ſo briskly beſtirr'd themſelves, and preſs'd them ſo hard on every ſide, being indeed excellent at Hedge-work, and that kind of Fight, that they quickly won That ground too, and put their whole Army in a rout, and

Sr Ralph Hopton beats the Parliament's Forces at Bradock-Down, under Ruthen.

and had the full execution of them as far as they would purſue. But after that advantage, they were always more ſparing than is uſually known in Civil Wars, ſhedding very little Blood after reſiſtance was given over, and having a very noble and Chriſtian ſenſe of the lives of their Brethren: inſomuch as the Common Men, when they have been preſs'd by ſome fiercer Officer, to follow the execution, have anſwer'd, "They "could not find in their hearts to hurt Men who had nothing "in their hands.

In this Battle, without the loſs of an Officer of Name, and very few Common Men, they took twelve hundred and fifty Priſoners, moſt of their Colours, all their Cannon, being four Braſs Guns, (whereof two were twelve Pounders) and one iron Saker, all their Ammunition, and moſt of their Arms. *Ruthen* himſelf, and thoſe who could keep pace with him, fled to *Salt-aſh*; which he thought to fortify, and by the Neighbourhood of *Plymouth*, and aſſiſtance of the Shipping, to defend; and thereby ſtill to have an Influence upon a good part of *Cornwal*. The Earl of *Stamford*, receiving quick Advertiſement of this Defeat, in great diſorder retired to *Taviſtock*, to preſerve the utmoſt parts of *Devon* from incurſions. Hereupon, after a ſolemn Thankſgiving to God for this great Victory (which was about the middle of *January*) and a little refreſhing their Men at *Liskard*, the King's Forces divided themſelves; Sr *John Berkley*, and Colonel *Aſhburnham*, with Sr *Bevil Greenvil*, Sr *Nicholas Slanning*'s, and Colonel *Trevannion*'s voluntary Regiments, and ſuch a Party of Horſe and Dragoons as could be ſpared, advanced to *Taviſtock* to viſit the Earl of *Stamford*; the Lord *Mohun*, and Sr *Ralph Hopton*, with the Lord *Mohun*'s, and Colonel *Godolphin*'s Voluntary Regiments, and ſome of the Train'd-bands, march'd towards *Salt-aſh*, to diſlodge *Ruthen*; who within three days (for there was no more between his defeat at *Bradock*-Down, and his viſitation at *Salt-aſh*) had caſt up ſuch works, and planted ſuch ſtore of Cannon upon the narrow Avenues, that he thought himſelf able, with the help of a goodly Ship of four hundred Tuns, in which were ſixteen pieces of Cannon, which he had brought up the River to the very ſide of the Town, to defend that place againſt any ſtrength was like to be brought againſt him. But he quickly found that the ſame ſpirit poſſeſs'd his Enemies that drove him from *Liskard*, and the ſame that poſſeſs'd his own Men when they fled from thence; for as ſoon as the *Corniſh* came up, they fell upon his works, and in a ſhort time beat him out of them; and then out of the Town with a good execution upon them; many being kill'd in the Fight, and more drown'd: *Ruthen* himſelf hardly getting into a Boat, by which he got into *Plymouth*, leaving all his

Salt-aſh taken by the King's Forces.

his Ordinance behind him, which together with the Ship, and ſevenſcore Priſoners, and all their Colours, which had been ſaved at *Liskard*, were taken by the Conquerors, who were now again entire Maſters of *Cornwal*.

THE Earl of *Stamford* had not the ſame patience to abide the other Party at *Taviſtock*, but, before their approach, quitted the Town; ſome of his Forces making haſte into *Plymouth*, and the reſt retiring into *Exeter*. And ſo, though the old ſuperſtition, of not going out of the County, again disbanded the Train'd-bands, the *Corniſh*, with all their Voluntary Forces, drew into *Devon*, and fixed Quarters within leſs than a mile of *Plymouth*, and kept Guards even within Muſquet-ſhot of Their Line. Sr *John Berkley* in the mean time with a good Party Volant, of Horſe and Dragoons, with great diligence, and gallantry, viſiting all places in *Devon*, where their People were gather'd together, and diſſolving them, took many Priſoners of name; and ſo kept *Chudleigh*, the Major General of the Parliament Forces, from raiſing a body there; which he induſtriouſly intended.

IN thoſe neceſſary and brisk expeditions in falling upon *Chagford* (a little Town in the South of *Devon*) before day, the King loſt *Sidney Godolphin*, a young Gentleman of incomparable parts; who, being of a conſtitution and education more delicate, and unacquainted with contentions, upon his obſervation of the wickedneſs of thoſe Men in the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, out of the pure Indignation of his Soul againſt them, and Conſcience to his Country, had, with the firſt, engaged himſelf with that Party in the Weſt: and though he thought not fit to take Command in a Profeſſion he had not willingly choſen, yet as his advice was of great Authority with all the Commanders, being always one in the Council of War, and whoſe notable abilities they had ſtill uſe of in their Civil Tranſactions, ſo he expoſed his Perſon to all Action, Travel, and Hazard; and by too forward engaging himſelf in this laſt, receiv'd a mortal ſhot by a Muſquet, a little above the knee, of which he died in the inſtant; leaving the misfortune of his death upon a place, which could never otherwiſe have had a mention to the world. *Mr Sidney Godolphin ſlain.*

AFTER this, which happen'd about the end of *January*, in reſpect of the ſeaſon of the year, and the want of Ammunition, finding that they could make no impreſſion upon the ſtrong-holds of the Enemy, they retired, with their whole Forces, to *Taviſtock*; where they refreſhed, and reſted themſelves many days, being willing to eaſe their faſt Friends of *Cornwal* as much as was poſſible from the trouble, and charge of their little Army. The difficulties they were entangled with *The King's Corniſh Forces come to Taviſtock.*

with, were very prodigious; of which one was, that the other parts of the West were so entirely possess'd by the Enemy, that they could have no correspondence, or receive any intelligence from the King, not one Messenger in ten arriving at his Journey's end. Then though the Justice, and Piety of the cause, added much power to particular Persons in raising an Army; yet the money that was raised for the maintenance, and payment of that Army, was entirely upon the Reputation, Credit, and Interest, of particular Men: and how long that spring would supply those streams, the most sanguine among them could not presume; but the want of Ammunition troubled them most of all: they had yet had none but what had been taken out of the low store of *Pendennis* Castle, and what they had won from the Enemy; the first wanted a supply for it's own provision, but which way to procure that supply they could not imagine; and the fear, and apprehension of such streights, against which no probable hopes occur, is more grievous and insupportable, than any present want.

Captain Carteret supplies them with Ammunition:

In this instant, as if sent by Providence, they met with an opportunity they had scarce Courage to hope for: Captain *Carteret*, the Controler of the King's Navy, having in the beginning of the Troubles, after he had refused to have Command in their Fleets, without noise withdrawn Himself and his Family out of *England* to *Jersy*, and being there impatient of being quiet, whilst his Master was in the Field, transported himself into *Cornwal* with a purpose to raise a Troop of Horse, and to engage in that Service: when he came thither, he was unanimously importun'd by the Commanders, after they had acquainted him with their hopeless, and desperate want of Powder, to assist them in that manner, that the many good Ports in their power, might be made of some use to them in the supply of Powder: Whereupon he shortly return'd into *France*; and first upon his own Credit, and then upon return of such Commodities out of *Cornwal* as they could well spare, he supplied them with such great proportions of all kinds of Ammunition, that they never found want after.

In the mean time, when they were clouded with that want, at *Tavistock*, some Gentlemen of *Cornwal* who adhered to the Rebels, and were thereby dispossess'd of their County, made some Overtures, "That a Treaty might be enter'd into, where-"by the Peace of the two Counties of *Cornwal*, and *Devon*, "might be settled, and the War be remov'd into other parts. They who had most experience of the humours and dispositions of the Factious Party, easily concluded the little hope of Peace by such a Treaty; yet the Proposition was so specious and popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a meeting between Persons chosen of either

"side;

side; and the Earl of *Stamford* himself seem'd so ingenuous, that, at the very first meeting, to shew their clear intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every Person employed and trusted in the Treaty, should first make a Protestation in these words, "I do solemnly vow, and protest, in the presence "of Almighty God, that I do not only come a Commissio- "ner to this Treaty, with an hearty and fervent desire of "concluding an honourable and firm Peace between the two "Counties of *Cornwal* and *Devon*; but also will, to the ut- "most of my power, prosecute, and really endeavour to ac- "complish and effect the same, by all lawful ways and means "I possibly can; first by maintaining the Protestant Religion "establish'd by Law in the Church of *England*, the just Rights "and Prerogative of our Soveraign Lord the King, the just "Privileges, and Freedom of Parliaments; together with the "just Rights and Liberty of the Subjects; and that I am with- "out any intention (by fomenting this unnatural War) to "gain, or hope to advantage my self with the real, or perso- "nal Estate of any Person whatsoever, or obtaining any Of- "fice, Command, Title of Honour, Benefit, or Reward, ei- "ther from the King's Majesty, or either, or both Houses of "Parliament now assembled. And this I take, in the pre- "sence of Almighty God, and as I shall answer the same at "his Tribunal, according to the literal sense and meaning of "the foregoing Words, without any Equivocation, men- "tal Reservation, or other Evasion whatsoever: So help me "God.

A Treaty between the two Parties in Devon, and Cornwal.

This Protestation being first taken by both.

THE taking this Protestation with that solemnity, and the blessed Sacrament thereupon, made even those who before expected little fruit from the Treaty, believe, that Men, being so engaged, would not be liable to those Passions, and Affections, which usually transported that Party; and so to hope that some Good might proceed from it: and therefore the King's Party were easily induced to retire with their Forces into *Cornwal*: and thereupon, a Truce, and Cessation, was agreed upon, that a Treaty might proceed without Interruption. In which Treaty, the same continuing beyond the expiration of the present year 1642. We shall for the present leave them; that We may take a short survey of the Northern Parts, and remember by what degrees, They came to feel the Calamities, and to bear Their Burthen in the Civil War.

A Truce and Cessation thereupon.

WHEN the King left *York-shire*, he appointed Sr *Thomas Glemham*, at the desire of the Gentlemen of that County, as was before remember'd, to stay in *York*, to order and command those Forces, which they should find necessary to raise, to defend themselves from the excursions of *Hull*, whence

An account of the Northern Parts disposition at that time.

young *Hotham* infested the Country more than his Father; who was willing enough to sit still in his Garrison, where he believ'd he could make advantage upon the success of either Party; and they who were most inclined to the Parliament (whereof the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Son were the chief) from whom the King was so far from expecting any notable mischief, that he left them all at their own Houses, when he went from them; and might, if he had thought it requisite, have carried them away Prisoners with him, were rather desirous to look on, than engage themselves in the War; presuming that one Battle would determine all disputes, and the Party which prevail'd in that, would find a general submission throughout the Kingdom. And truly, I believe, there was scarce one Conclusion, that hath contributed more to the continuance and length of the War, than that generally receiv'd opinion in the beginning, that it would be quickly at an end. Hereupon, there being but one visible difference like to beget distractions in the Country, which was about the Militia, the King appointing it to be govern'd, and disposed by the Commission of Array, and the Parliament by Their Ordinance; for the composing whereof, the Gentlemen of the several opinions, proposed, between themselves, "That neither "the One, nor the Other should be medled with; but that all "should be contented to sit still, without engagement to ei-"ther Party: this seem'd very reasonable to the Parliament Party there, who were rather carried away with an implicite reverence to the very name of a Parliament (the fatal disease of the whole Kingdom at that time) than really transported with the passion and design of the furious part of it; and who plainly discern'd, that, by much the greatest part of the Persons of Honour, Quality, and interest in the County, would cordially oppose their Proceedings: For, besides the Lord *Fairfax*, there were in truth few of good Reputation, and Fortune, who run that way. On the other hand, the King's Party thought Their work done by it; for they having already sent two good Regiments of Foot, the one under Colonel *John Bellasis*, younger Son to the Lord Viscount, *Falconbridge*, and the other under Sr *William Pennyman*, and two Regiments of Dragoons, the one under Colonel *Duncomb*, the other, Colonel *Gowre*; besides three or four good Troops of Horse; and the King being at that distance, that they could not send Him farther supply; they thought they had nothing to do, but to keep the Country in such a Peace, that it might do the King no harm by sending Men to the Earl of *Essex*, or adhering to the Garrison of *Hull*; and concluding, as the other did, that the decision between the King and Parliament would be at the first Encounter. Upon these deliberations, Articles were solemnly

lemnly drawn up, consented to, and subscribed by the Lord *Fairfax*, and *Harry Bellasis*, the Heir Apparent of the Lord *Falconbridge*, who were the two Knights, who serv'd in Parliament for *York-shire*, nearly ally'd together, and of great kindness till their several opinions, and affections had divided them in this Quarrel: the former adhering to the Parliament, the latter, with great Courage and Sobriety, to the King. *Articles of Neutrality agreed in York-shire between both Parties:*

WITH them, the Principal Persons of either Party subscribed the Articles, and gave their mutual Faiths to each other, that they would observe them; being indeed no other than an Engagement of Neutrality, and to assist neither Party. Of all the Gentry of *York-shire*, there were only two Dissenters on the Parliament side, young *Hotham*, and Sr *Edward Rhodes*; who, though of the better Quality was not so much known, or consider'd, as the other. But they quickly found Seconds enough; for the Parliament no sooner was inform'd of this Transaction, than they express'd their detestation of it, and gently in words (though scornfully in matter) reprehending the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Party, "For "being cousen'd, and over-reach'd by the other: They declar'd, "That none of the Parties to that Agreement had any "Authority to bind that Country to any such Neutrality, as "was mention'd in that Agreement; it being a peculiar and "proper Power, and Privilege of Parliament, where the "whole Body of the Kingdom is represented, to bind all, or "any part thereof: That it was very prejudicial and dan-"gerous to the whole Kingdom, that one County should "withdraw themselves from the Assistance of the rest, to "which they were bound by Law, and by several Orders "and Declarations of Parliament. That it was very dero-"gatory to the Power and Authority of Parliament, that any "private Men should take upon them to suspend the exe-"cution of the Ordinance of the Militia, declar'd by both "Houses to be according to Law, and very necessary, at that "time, for the preservation of the Peace and Safety of the "Kingdom. And therefore, they said, they thought them-"selves bound in Conscience, to hinder all farther proceed-"ings upon that Agreement; and Order'd, "That no such "Neutrality should be observ'd in that County. For if they "should suffer particular Counties to divide themselves from "the rest of the Kingdom, it would be a means of bringing "all to Ruine and Destruction. And therefore they farther declar'd that "Neither the Lord *Fairfax*, nor the Gentle-"men of *York-shire*, who were Parties to those Articles, nor "any other Inhabitants of that County, were bound by any "such Agreement; but requir'd them to pursue their former "Resolutions, of Maintaining and Assisting the Parliament, "in

But disown'd by the Parliament, upon which they enter'd into Acts of Hostility there.

" in defence of the Common Cauſe, according to the Ge-
" neral Proteſtation wherein they were bound with the reſt
" of the Kingdom, and againſt the Particular Proteſtation by
" themſelves lately made; and according to ſuch Orders and
" Commiſſions as they ſhould receive from both Houſes of
" Parliament, from the Committee of the Lords and Com-
" mons appointed for the Safety of the Kingdom, or from
" the Earl of *Eſſex* Lord General. And leſt this their Decla-
ration ſhould not be of Power enough to Diſſolve this Agree-
ment, they publiſh'd their Reſolutions, and directed that
" Mr *Hotham*, and Sr *Edward Rhodes*, ſhould proceed upon
" their former Inſtructions; and that they ſhould have Power
" to ſeiſe and apprehend all Delinquents that were ſo Voted
" by the Parliament, and all ſuch others, as Delinquents, as
" had, or did ſhew themſelves oppoſite and diſobedient to the
" Orders and Proceedings of Parliament.

UPON this Declaration, and Vote, not only young *Hotham* fell to the practice of Acts of Hoſtility, with all Licence, out of the Garriſon at *Hull*, but the Lord *Fairfax* himſelf, and all the Gentlemen of that Party, who had, with that Proteſtation, ſign'd the Articles, inſtead of reſenting the reproach to themſelves, tamely ſubmitted to thoſe unreaſonable concluſions: and contrary to their ſolemn Promiſe and Engagement, prepar'd themſelves to bear a part in the War, and made all haſte to Levy Men.

UPON ſo great a diſadvantage were the King's Party in all places; who were ſo preciſe in promiſes, and their perſonal undertakings, that they believ'd they could not ſerve the King, and his Cauſe, if their Reputation and Integrity were once blemiſh'd, though ſome particular Contract prov'd to his diſadvantage: whilſt the Others expoſed their Honours for any preſent Temporary conveniences, and thought themſelves Abſolv'd by any new Reſolution of the Houſes, to whoſe Cuſtody their Honour, and Ingenuity was committed. The preſent diſadvantage of this Rupture was greater to the King's Party there, than to the other. For (beſides that many who concurr'd with them very frankly and ſollicitouſly in the Neutrality, ſeparated themſelves from them, now there was a neceſſity of Action) they had neither Money to raiſe Men, nor Arms to Arm them; ſo that the ſtrength conſiſted in the Gentlemen themſelves, and their Retinue; who, by the good Affections of the Inhabitants of *York*, were ſtrong enough to ſecure one another within the Walls of that City. Then the Earl of *Cumberland*, in whom the chief power of Command was to raiſe Men and Money in a caſe of neceſſity, though he was a Perſon of entire devotion to the King, was in his Nature unactive, and utterly unexperienced in Affairs and Exigents of that Nature.

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On the other hand, the oppoſite Party was ſtrengthen'd and enabled by the ſtrong Garriſon of *Hull*, whence young *Hotham*, on all occaſions, was ready to ſecond them with his Troop of Horſe, and to take up any well Affected Perſon who was ſuſpected to be Loyal; which drove all reſolv'd Men from their Houſes into *York*, where they only could be ſafe. The other could have what Men more they deſir'd from *London*, and both ready Money from thence to *Hull*, and Ordinances to raiſe what they would in the County to pay them. *Leeds*, *Hallifax*, and *Bradford*, three very populous, and rich Towns (which depending wholly upon Clothiers too much malign'd the Gentry) were wholely at their diſpoſition. Their Neighbours in *Lincoln-ſhire* were in a body to ſecond them, and Sr *John Gell* was on the ſame behalf poſſeſs'd of *Derby*, and all that County, there being none that had the hardineſs yet, to declare there for the King. So that, if Sr *John Hotham*'s warineſs had not kept him from being active, and his Pride, and Contempt of the Lord *Fairfax*, upon whom the Country chiefly depended, hinder'd him from ſeconding, and aſſiſting his Lordſhip; or if any Man had had the entire Command of thoſe Parts, and Forces, to have united them, the Parliament had, with very little reſiſtance, been abſolute Maſters of all *York-ſhire*; and, as eaſily, of the City it ſelf. But their want of Union in particulars, though they agreed too well in the Main, gave the King's Party time to breathe, and to look about for their preſervation. Thereupon, they ſent to the Earl of *New-Caſtle* for Aſſiſtance; offering, "If he would march into *York-ſhire*, they would "joyn with him, and be entirely Commanded by him; the Earl of *Cumberland* willingly offering to wave any Title to Command.

It was before remember'd, that when the King left *York*, he had ſent the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, as a Perſon of great Honour, and Intereſt in thoſe parts, to be Governour of *New-Caſtle*; and ſo to ſecure that Port, that the Parliament might neither ſeiſe it, nor the *Scots* be brib'd by it to come to the Aſſiſtance of their Brethren. Which Commiſſion from the King, his Lordſhip no ſooner executed, without the leaſt Hoſtility (for that Town receiv'd him with all poſſible acknowledgments of the King's goodneſs in ſending him) but he was impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons of High Treaſon. From his going thither (which was in *Auguſt*) till toward the end of *November*, the Earl ſpent his time in diſpoſing the People of *Northumberland*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, to the King's Service, and to a right underſtanding of the matters in difference; in the Fortifying *New-Caſtle*, and the River; whereby that Harbour might only be in the

King's Obedience; in raising a Garrison for that place, and providing Arms for the farther advance of the King's Service. Then he provided for the Assistance of his Friends in *Yorkshire*, whose Condition grew every day more desperate. For the Parliament, finding the inconveniencies of having no Commander in Chief in those parts, had caused their Generalissimo, the Earl of *Essex*, to send a Commission to the Lord *Fairfax*, "To Command all the Forces of *York-shire*, and the "adjacent Counties, in Chief; by which, in less time than could be reasonably imagin'd, he was able to draw together an Army of five or six thousand Horse and Foot; so that *York* must presently have been swallow'd up.

The Lord Fairfax made General of Yorkshire for the Parliament.

BUT, in the beginning of *December*, the Earl of *New-Castle* march'd to their Relief; and having left a good Garrison in *New-Castle*, and fix'd such small Garrisons in his way, as might secure his Communication with that Port, to which all his Ammunition was to be brought; with a Body of near three thousand Foot, and six or seven hundred Horse and Dragoons, without any encounter with the Enemy (though they had threaten'd loud) he enter'd *York*; having lessen'd the Enemies strength, without Blood, both in Territories and Men. For, assoon as he enter'd *York-shire*, two Regiments raised in *Richmond-shire*, and *Cleveland*, dissolv'd of themselves; having it yet in their choice to dwell at Home, or to leave their Houses to new Comers. The Earl being now Master of the North as far as *York*, thought rather of forming an Army, and providing Money to pay it, than of making any farther progress in the Winter; and therefore suffer'd the Lord *Fairfax* to enjoy the Southern part of that large rich County, 'till the Spring, and the improvement of his Condition, should enable him to advance: Yet few days pass'd without blows, in which the Parliament Forces had usually the worst.

The Earl of New-Castle comes from New-Castle into York.

SHORTLY after the Earl's coming to *York*, General *King* repair'd to him, whom he made Lieutenant General of his Army; who, notwithstanding the unavoidable prejudice, in that Conjuncture, of his being a *Scots*-man, order'd the Foot with great wisdom and dexterity: The Charge of the Horse being at the same time committed to General *Goring*; who, by the Queen's favour, notwithstanding all former failings, was recommended to that Province, and quickly apply'd himself to Action: so that though the Lord *Fairfax* kept *Selby*, and *Cawood*, both within a small distance from *York*, the Earl was absolute Master of the Field. And now the North yielded secure footing for those who had been unreasonably persecuted for their Obedience to the King, the Queen her self thought of returning into *England*.

HER Majesty had, from her first going into *Holland*, dexterously

terously endeavour'd to advance the King's Intereſt, and ſent very great quantities of Arms and Ammunition to *New-Caſtle* (though, by the vigilance of the Parliament Agents in thoſe parts, and the Power of their Ships, too much of it was intercepted) with ſome conſiderable Sums of Money, and good ſtore of Officers; who, by the connivance of the Prince of *Orange*, came over to ſerve their own King. And from this extraordinary care of her Majeſty's, and her known grace and favour to the Perſon of the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who ſhe well knew had contracted many Enemies by the eminency of his devotion to the King, that Army was by the Parliament ſtyl'd the *Queen's Army*, and the *Catholick Army*, thereby to expoſe her Majeſty the more to the rude malice of the People, and the Army to their prejudice; perſwading them, "That it con-"ſiſted of none but profeſs'd Papiſts, who intended nothing "but the extirpation of the Proteſtants, and eſtabliſhing their "own Profeſſion.

ABOUT the middle of *February*, the Queen took Shipping from *Holland*, in a States-Man of War, aſſign'd by the Prince of *Orange* with others for her Convoy, and arriv'd ſafely in *Burlington-Bay*, upon the Coaſt of *York-ſhire*; where ſhe had the patience to ſtay on Ship-board at Anchor, the ſpace of two days, till the Earl had notice, "To draw ſuch a part of "his Forces that way, as might ſecure her Landing, and wait "on her to *York*; which he no ſooner did (and he did it with all imaginable Expedition) but her Majeſty came on Shore; and for the preſent, was pleaſed to refreſh her ſelf in a convenient Houſe upon the very Key, where all accommodations were made for her reception; there being many things of Moment to be unſhipp'd before ſhe could reaſonably enter upon her Journey towards *York*. *The Queen arrives at* Burlington *from* Holland.

THE ſecond day after the Queens Landing *Batten*, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick* (who had waited to intercept her paſſage) with four of the King's Ships, arriv'd in *Burlington* Road; and, finding that her Majeſty was Landed, and that ſhe lodged upon the Key, bringing his Ships to the neareſt diſtance, being very early in the morning diſcharg'd above a hundred Cannon (whereof many were laden with Croſs-bar-ſhot) for the ſpace of two hours upon the Houſe where her Majeſty was lodged; whereupon ſhe was forced out of her Bed, ſome of the ſhot making way through her own Chamber; and to ſhelter her ſelf under a Bank in the open Fields; which Barbarous and Treaſonable Act was ſo much the more odious, in that the Parliament never ſo far took notice of it, as to diſavow it. So that many believ'd it was very pleaſing to, if not Commanded by Them; and that if the Ships had encounter'd at Sea, they would have left no hazard unrun to have deſtroy'd her Majeſty.

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The Earl of New-Castle, fix'd a Garrison at Newark.

THE Queen shortly after remov'd to *York*, and the King's Affairs prosper'd to that degree, that, as the Earl of *New-Castle* had before fixed a Garrison at *Newark* in *Nottingham-shire*, which kept the Forces of *London* from joyning entirely with the Lord *Fairfax*, and had with great Courage beaten off a form'd Body of the Rebels who attempted it; so he now sent *Charles Cavendish*, the younger Brother of the Earl of *Devonshire*, with a Party Volant of Horse and Dragoons, into *Lincoln-shire*; where, about the middle of *March*, he assaulted *Grantham*, a new Garrison of the Rebels; which he took, and in it above three hundred Prisoners, with all their Officers, Arms, and Ammunition: and, about the same time, Sr *Hugh Cholmondley*, who had done very notable Service to the Parliament, and oftner defeated the Earl of *New-Castle*'s Troops (though he had been in truth hurried to that Party, rather by the engagement of Sr *John Hotham*, with whom he had long friendship, than by his own inclination) than any Officer of those parts, very frankly revolted to his Allegiance; and waiting on her Majesty for her Assurance of his Pardon, deliver'd up the Castle of *Scarborough* (a place of importance) to the King; the Command and Government whereof, was again by the Earl committed to him; which he discharg'd with Courage, and singular Fidelity. By this means, and those successes, the Lord *Fairfax* quitted *Selby*, *Cawood*, and *Tadcaster*, and retired to *Pomfret*, and *Hallifax*; whereby the Earl was, upon the matter, possess'd of that whole large County, and so able to help his Neighbours. This was the State of that part of the North which was under the Earl of *New-Castle*'s Commission: For *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and *Shropshire*, were in a worse Condition; of which, and the Neighbour Counties, it will be necessary in the next place to say somewhat; and of those first which lie fartheſt off.

Sir Hugh Cholmondley deliver'd up Scarborough Castle to the Queen.

The Condition at that time of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Shropshire.

WE have said before, that when the King left *Shrewsbury*, and march'd to meet the Earl of *Essex*, (which he did at *Edgehill*) all his designs being to come to a Battle; and the opinion of most, that a Battle would determine all; he was to apply all the strength and force he could possibly raise, to the encreasing of his Army; so that he left no Garrison behind him, but rely'd upon the Interest and Authority of the Lord *Strange* (who was, by the death of his Father, now Earl of *Derby*) to suppress all Commotions, and Insurrections, which might happen in the Counties of *Lancashire*, and *Cheshire*; which his Lordship was confident he should be able to do, and was then generally believ'd to have a greater Influence upon those two Counties, and a more absolute Command over the People in them, than any Subject in *England* had, in any other Quarter of the Kingdom. The Town of *Shrewsbury*, and

and that good County, where the King had been ſo proſperous (and by which the People were more engaged) he intruſted only to that good Spirit that then poſſeſs'd it, and to the Legal Authority of the Sheriffs, and Juſtices of the Peace. And it fared in thoſe Counties as in all other parts of the Kingdom, that the number of thoſe who deſired to ſit ſtill, was greater than of thoſe who deſir'd to engage in either Party; ſo that they were generally inclin'd to Articles of Neutrality. And in *Cheſhire*, the Active People of both ſides came to thoſe Capitulations, with as much ſolemnity as had been in *Yorkſhire*, and by the ſame declaration of the Parliament (ſo much the ſame, that there was no other difference but alterations of Names and Places) were abſolv'd from the obſervation of them. And then Sr *William Bruerton*, a Gentleman of a competent Fortune in that County, and Knight for that Shire in Parliament, but moſt notorious for a known averſion to the Government of the Church, bringing with him from *London* a Troop of Horſe, and a Regiment of Dragoons, march'd thither to protect thoſe who were of that Party, and, under ſuch a ſhelter, to encourage them to appear.

THE City of *Cheſter* was firm to the King, by the virtue of the Inhabitants, and Intereſt of the Biſhop, and Cathedral Men; but eſpecially by the reputation, and dexterity of Mr *O. Bridgman*, Son to the Biſhop, and a Lawyer of very good Eſtimation; who not only inform'd them of their duty, and encouraged them in it, but upon his Credit and Eſtate, both which were very good, ſupplied them with whatſoever was neceſſary for their defence; ſo that they were not put to be Honeſt and Expenſive together. But as they had no Garriſon of Soldiers, ſo they had no Officer of skill and experience to manage, and direct that Courage which, at leaſt, was willing to defend their own Walls, which they were now like to be put to. Therefore the King ſent thither Sr *Nicholas Byron*, a Soldier of very good Command, with a Commiſſion to be "Colonel-General of *Cheſhire*, and *Shropſhire*, and to be Go-"vernour of *Cheſter*; who being a Perſon of great affability, and dexterity, as well as Martial knowledge, gave great Life to the deſigns of the well affected there; and, with the encouragement of ſome Gentlemen of North *Wales*, in a ſhort time raiſed ſuch a power of Horſe and Foot, as made often Skirmiſhes with the Enemy; ſometimes with notable advantage, never with any ſignal loſs. Sr *William Bruerton* Fortify'd *Nantwich*, as the King's Party did *Cheſter*; from which Garriſons, containing both their Forces, they contended which ſhould moſt prevail upon, that is moſt ſubdue, the Affections of the County, to declare for, and joyn with them. But the fair expectation of *Cheſhire* was Clouded by the Storms that

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aroſe in *Lancaſhire*, where Men of no Name, and contemn'd Intereſt, by the meer credit of the Parliament, and frenzy of the People, on a ſuddain ſnatch'd that large and populous County, from their Devotion to the Earl of *Derby*.

THE Town of *Mancheſter* had, from the beginning (out of that factious humour which poſſeſs'd moſt Corporations, and the Pride of their Wealth) oppoſed the King, and declar'd Magiſterially for the Parliament. But as a great part of the County conſiſted of Papiſts, of whoſe Inſurrections they had made ſuch uſe in the beginning of the Parliament, when they had a mind to Alarm the People with dangers; ſo it was confidently believ'd, that there was not one Man of ten throughout that County, who meant not to be Dutiful, and Loyal to the King: yet the reſtleſs Spirit of the Seditious Party was ſo ſedulous, and induſtrious, and every one of the Party ſo ready to be engaged, and punctually to obey; and, on the other hand, the Earl of *Derby* ſo unactive, and ſo uncomplying with thoſe who were fuller of alacrity, and would have proceeded more vigorouſly againſt the Enemy; or, through want of experience ſo irreſolute, that inſtead of countenancing the King's Party in *Cheſhire*, which was expected from him, the Earl inſenſibly, found *Lancaſhire* to be almoſt poſſeſs'd againſt him: the Rebels, every day, gaining, and fortifying all the ſtrong Towns, and ſurprizing his Troops, without any conſiderable Encounter. And yet, ſo hard was the King's Condition, that though he knew thoſe great misfortunes proceeded from want of Conduct, and of a vigorous and expert Commander, he thought it not ſafe to make any alteration, leſt that Earl might be provoked, out of diſdain to have any Superior in *Lancaſhire*, to manifeſt how much he could do againſt him, though it appear'd he could do little for him. Yet it was eaſily diſcern'd, that his Ancient Power there depended more upon the Fear, than Love of the People; there being very many, now in this time of Liberty, engaging themſelves againſt the King, that they might not be ſubject to that Lord's Commands.

HOWEVER, the King committing *Lancaſhire* ſtill to his Lordſhip's care (whoſe Fidelity, without doubt, was blameleſs, whatever his Skill was) he ſent the Lord *Capel* to *Shrewſbury*, with a Commiſſion of "Lieutenant General of *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and North *Wales*; who, being a Perſon of great Fortune, and Honour, quickly ingaged thoſe parts in a chearful Aſſociation; and raiſed a Body of Horſe and Foot, that gave S^r *William Bruerton* ſo much trouble at *Nantwitch*, that the Garriſon at *Cheſter* had breath to enlarge it's Quarters, and to provide for it's own ſecurity; though the Enemy omitted no opportunity of infeſting them, and gave them

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as much trouble as was possible. It cannot be denied but Sr *William Bruerton*, and the other Gentlemen of that Party, albeit their Education, and course of life, had been very different from their present Engagements, and for the most part were very unpromising in matters of War, and therefore were too much contemn'd Enemies, executed their Commands with notable Sobriety, and indefatigable Industry (virtues not so well practiced in the King's Quarters) insomuch as the best Soldiers who encounter'd with them, had no cause to despise them. It is true, they had no other streights and difficulties to struggle with than what proceeded from their Enemy; being always supplied with Money to pay their Soldiers, and with Arms to Arm them; whereby it was in their power not to grieve and oppress the People. And thereby (besides the spirit of Faction that much govern'd) the Common People were more devoted to them, and gave them all Intelligence of what might concern them; whereas they who were intrusted to govern the King's Affairs, had intolerable difficulties to pass through; being to raise Men without Money, to Arm them without Weapons (that is they had no Magazine to supply them) and to keep them together without Pay; so that the Country was both to Feed, and Cloath the Soldiers; which quickly inclined them to remember only the Burden, and forget the Quarrel.

THE difference in the temper of the Common People of both sides was so great, that they who inclined to the Parliament, left nothing unperform'd that might advance the Cause; and were incredibly vigilant and industrious to cross, and hinder whatsoever might promote the King's: whereas they who Wish'd well to Him, thought they had perform'd their duty in doing So, and that they had done enough For him, in that they had done nothing Against him.

THOUGH, by this sending the Lord *Capel*, those Counties of *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*, with the Assistance of North *Wales*, kept those parts so near their Obedience, that their Disobedience was not yet pernicious to the King, in sending Assistance to the Earl of *Essex* against his Majesty, or to the Lord *Fairfax* against the Earl of *New-Castle*; yet those Counties which lay in the line between *Oxford* and *York*, were, upon the matter, entirely possess'd by the Enemy. The Garrison of *Northampton* kept that whole County in obedience to the Parliament, save, that from *Banbury* the adjacent Parts were forced to bring some contribution thither. In *Warwick-shire* the King had no footing; the Castle of *Warwick*, the City of *Coventry*, and his own Castle of *Killingworth*, being fortified against him. The Lord *Grey*, Son to the Earl of *Stamford* had the Command of *Leicester-shire*; and had put a Garrison into

The Condition, at that time of the Counties between Oxford, and York.

into *Leicester*. *Derby-shire*, without any visible Party in it for the King, was under the power of Sr *John Gell*, who had fortified *Derby*. And all these Counties, with *Stafford-shire*, were united in an Association against the King under the Command of the Lord *Brook*; who was, by the Earl of *Essex*, made General of that Association; a Man cordially Disaffected to the Government of the Church, and upon whom that Party had a great dependence. This Association receiv'd no other Interruption from, or for the King, than what Colonel *Hastings* gave; who, being a younger Son to the Earl of *Huntington*, had appear'd eminently for the King from the beginning; having raised a good Troop of Horse with the first, and, in the head thereof, charged at *Edge-hill*.

AFTER the King was settled at *Oxford*, Colonel *Hastings*, with his own Troop of Horse only, and some Officers which he easily gather'd together, went with a Commission into *Leicester-shire* "Of Colonel General of that County, and fix'd himself at *Ashby de la Zouch*, the House of the Earl of *Huntington*, his Father, who was then living; which he presently fortified; and, in a very short time, by his Interest there, raised so good a Party of Horse and Foot, that he maintain'd many Skirmishes with the Lord *Grey*: the King's Service being the more advanced there, by the notable Animosities between the two Families of *Huntington* and *Stamford*, between whom the County was divided passionately enough, without any other Quarrel. And now the Sons fought the Publick Quarrel, with their Private Spirit and Indignation. But the King had the advantage in His Champion, the Lord *Grey* being a young Man of no eminent parts, and only backed with the Credit and Authority of the Parliament: whereas Colonel *Hastings*, though a younger Brother, by his personal reputation, had supported his family; and, by the interest of it, and the Affection that People bore to him, brought, no doubt, an addition of Power to the very Cause. Insomuch as he not only defended himself against the Forces of the Parliament in *Leicester-shire*, but disquieted Sr *John Gell* in *Derby-shire*, and fixed some convenient Garrisons in *Stafford-shire*.

ABOUT the same time, some Gentlemen of that County, rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, seised on the Close in *Lichfield* for the King; a place naturally strong, and defended with a Mote, and a very high and thick Wall; which in the Infancy of the War was thought a good Fortification. To suppress this growing Force, within the limits of his Association, the Lord *Brook* advanced with a form'd Body of Horse, Foot, and Cannon; part drawn from the Earl of *Essex*'s Army, and the rest out of the Garrisons of *Coventry*

try, and *Warwick*; and without any resistance, enter'd the City of *Lichfield*; which, being unfortified, was open to all Comers. The Number in the Close was not great, nor their Provisions such as should have been, and very well might have been, made; so that he made no doubt of being speedily Master of it; Sr *John Gell* having brought up a good addition of strength to him from *Derby*. He was so far from apprehending any danger from the besieged, that himself lodg'd in a House within Musquet-shot of the Close; where, the very day he meant to assault it, sitting in his Chamber, and the Window open, he was, from the Wall of the Close, by a Common Soldier, shot with a Musquet in the Eye; of which he instantly died without speaking a word.

The Lord Brook shot in besieging the Cathedral of Lichfield, which was soon after taken by Sr John Gell.

THERE were many discourses and observations upon his death, that it should be upon St *Chad's* day (being the second day of *March*) by whose Name, he being a Bishop shortly after the planting of Christianity in this Island, that Church had been anciently call'd. And it was reported, that in his Prayer, that very Morning (for he used to pray publickly though his Chaplain were in the presence) he wish'd, "That if the Cause he were in, were not right and just, he "might be presently cut off. They who were acquainted with him, believ'd him to be well natur'd, and just; and rather seduced, and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether his Passions or Conscience swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the Government of Church or State; and therefore his death was look'd upon as no ill Omen to Peace, and was exceedingly lamented by His Party; which had scarce a more absolute confidence in any Man than in Him. However, it brought not that relief to the besieged in the Close as was believ'd it would; for the same Forces, under Sr *John Gell*, proceeded so vigorously in the work, and they Within so faintly, and unskilfully, that without any of that distress which Men thought it might bear, and which it did, within a short time after, bear against the King, the place was yielded without other conditions than of Quarter; by which many Persons became Prisoners, of too good Quality to have their Names remember'd.

BY this prize, the Spirits of that Party were much exalted, and the King's Party in those parts as much cast down. Yet some Gentlemen betook themselves to the Town of *Stafford*, and having too much declar'd for the King, when they thought *Lichfield* would have been of strength to secure them, to hope to live unhurt at their Houses, resolv'd to defend that place; against which Sr *John Gell* drew his late fleshi'd Troops. But the Earl of *Northampton* (who intended the relief of *Lichfield*

Stafford *Garrison'd by some Gentlemen for the King.*

Lichfield, if they had Had any patience to expect it) with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and Dragoons, from his Garriſon of *Banbury*, came ſeaſonably to their Succour, and put himſelf into the Town; and, the ſame Night, beat up a Quarter of the Enemies, in which he kill'd and took above an hundred of their Horſe. Sr *John Gell* retir'd ſo far as to meet with Sr *William Bruerton*, who, from *Nantwich*, was coming to joyn with him for the ſubduing of *Stafford*; and, having done that, reſolv'd to march in a Body for the clearing the other Counties. When they were joyn'd, being near three thouſand Foot, and Horſe, with a good Train of Artillery, they moved back towards *Stafford*, imagining the Earl of *Northampton* would meet them without the Walls: and it ſo fell out; for the Earl no ſooner heard that the Rebels were drawing towards the Town, but he drew out his Party, to encounter them; imagining it could be only *Gell*, whoſe Numbers he underſtood, and whoſe Courage he much undervalued.

It was on a *Sunday*, about the middle of *March*, when, in the afternoon, he march'd out of *Stafford*; his Party conſiſting of Horſe, and Dragoons, and ſome few Foot, the whole Number being under one thouſand, and found the Enemy, in very good Order, expecting them upon a place call'd *Hopton*-Heath, ſome two Miles from *Stafford*. Though the Number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the Heath ſeeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than Muſquet-ſhot from Encloſure on each ſide, and the number of his Horſe being at leaſt equal to the other, he reſolv'd to charge them; and accordingly Did, with ſo good ſucceſs, that he totally routed that part of their Horſe; and, rallying again his Men; he Charg'd the other part of their Horſe, which ſtood more in ſhelter of their Foot; and ſo totally routed, and diſperſed them, that the Enemy had ſcarce a Horſe left upon the Field; and took likewiſe from them eight pieces of Cannon.

In this ſecond Charge the Earl of *Northampton* being engaged in the execution, very near, or among their Foot, had his Horſe kill'd under him. So that his own Horſe (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury purſuing the Chaſe, he was left encompaſs'd by his Enemies. What His behaviour was afterwards, and Their Carriage towards Him, can be known only by the Teſtimony of the Rebels; who confeſs'd, that after he was on his feet, he kill'd with his own hand the Colonel of Foot who made firſt haſte to him; and that after his head-piece was ſtricken off with the But-end of a Muſquet, they offer'd him Quarter; which, they ſay, he refus'd; anſwering, "That he ſcorn'd to take Quarter "from

"from such base Rogues, and Rebels, as they were. After which, he was slain by a blow with a Halbert on the hinder part of his Head, receiving, at the same time, another deep wound in his Face. *The Earl of Northampton slain on Hopton-Heath near Stafford, having first vanquished the Enemies Horse that opposed him.*

ALL this time the Enemies Foot stood, which (after their Horse were dispersed) Sr *Thomas Byron*, who Commanded the Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment, a Gentleman of great Courage, and of very good Conduct, Charg'd with good execution. But the Night came on apace, and the Field which they thought so fair, was found full of Coal-pits, and Holes dangerous for their Horse; so that they thought fit to forbear farther Action, till they might have the Morning's light; and stood all that Night in the Field. When the Morning appear'd, there was no enemy to be seen. For assoon as the Fight ended, and the Night drew on, that they were unperceiv'd, they had left the Field, in hope that their scatter'd Horse would find them in Quarters more remote from the danger. The Victorious Party was so harassed with duty, and tir'd with the Fight, so cast down with the loss of their General, and so destitute of Officers to direct, and Command, what was next to be done (For the Lord *Compton*, the Earl's eldest Son, had receiv'd a shot in the Leg; Sr *Thomas Byron* a shot in the Thigh, whereby they were not able to keep the Field; and many other Officers hurt) that they retir'd to refresh themselves at *Stafford*, after they had taken the Spoil of the Field and bury'd their Dead.

IN this Fight, which was sharp, and short, there were kill'd, and taken Prisoners, of the Parliament Party, above two hundred, and more than that number wounded. For, the Horse Charging among their Foot, more were hurt than kill'd. Eight pieces of their Cannon, and most of their Ammunition was likewise taken. Of the Earl's Party were slain but five and twenty, whereof there were two Captains, some inferior Officers, and the rest Common Men: but there were as many hurt, and those of the Chief Officers. They who had all the Ensigns of Victory, but their General, thought themselves undone; whilst the other side, who had escaped in the Night, and made a hard shift to carry his dead Body with them, hardly believ'd they were losers:

Et, velut æquali bellatum sorte fuisset,
Componit cum classe virum ———

THE truth is, a greater Victory had been an unequal recompence for such a loss. He was a Person of great Courage, Honour, and Fidelity, and not well known till his Evening; having, in the Ease, and Plenty, and Luxury of that too happy *His Character.*

time, indulg'd to himself, with that Licence which was then thought necessary to great Fortunes: but from the beginning of these Distractions, as if he had been awaken'd out of the Lethargy, he never proceeded with a luke-warm Temper. Before the Standard was set up, he appear'd in *Warwick-shire* against the Lord *Brook*, and as much upon his own Reputation as the Justice of the Cause (which was not so well then understood) discountenanced, and drove him out of that County. Afterwards he took the Ordnance from *Banbury*-Castle, and brought them to the King. Assoon as an Army was to be raised, he Levied, with the first, upon his own charge, a Troop of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot, and (not like some other Men, who warily distributed their Family to both sides, one Son to serve the King, whilst his Father, or another Son, engag'd as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his Children to the Quarrel; having four Sons Officers under him, whereof three Charged that day in the Field: And from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a Soldier, no Man more punctual upon Command, no Man more diligent and vigilant in Duty. All distresses he bore like a Common Man, and all wants, and hardnesses, as if he had never known plenty, or ease; most prodigal of his Person to danger; and would often say, "That if he outliv'd these Wars, he was certain never to "have so noble a death. So that it is not to be wonder'd, if, upon such a stroke, the Body that felt it, thought it had lost more than a Limb.

Assoon as it was known where the Enemy rested after their Retreat, the Young Earl of *Northampton* sent a Trumpet to Sr *John Gell*, to desire the Body of his Father, that he might give it such decent burial as became him. *Gell* and *Bruerton*, joyntly, by Letter, demanded, "In exchange for "the dead Body, all their Ammunition, Prisoners, and Can- "non, they had lost at the Battle; which demands being so unreasonable, and against the Law of Arms, the Earl sent again to them, to desire, "That if they would not return the "Corps, that his Chirurgion might have leave to Embalm "it, whereby it might be preserv'd to receive those Rites, "when they should be willing to gratify him, which he pre- "sum'd, upon more dispassionate thoughts, they would be. Their answer to this was as unreasonable as the other, "That they would neither send the Body, nor permit his "Chirurgeons to come to embalm it; presuming, it is probable, that the Piety of the Son would have prevail'd to have their unheard-of Propositions comply'd with.

The State of the Principality of Wales at that time.

And so We shall, for the present, leave these parts, and visit the Principality of *Wales*; of which, hitherto, very little hath

hath been said; and from the Affection whereof, the King had, from the beginning, a very great benefit; it having supply'd him with three or four good Regiments of Foot, in which many of their Gentry were engag'd, before the Battle of *Edge-hill*.

IT hath been before remember'd, that the Marquis of *Hertford* drew with him out of *Wales*, and brought to *Oxford* about *Christmas* near two thousand Men; leaving *Wales* guarded only with the Courage and Fidelity of the Gentry, and Inhabitants. After that, North *Wales* lying most convenient to back *Chester*, and *Shrewsbury* which places, whilst the Enemy was Master of the Field, receiv'd their chief supplies of Men and Provisions from thence; the King always put it under the Government of those to whom he committed those parts. South *Wales* which is much the larger, and richer part of that Dominion, he committed to the charge of the Lord *Herbert*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Worcester*; whom he made his Lieutenant General, adding *Monmouthshire* to his Commission.

The Lord Herbert, Son of the Earl of Worcester made General of South Wales.

THERE were, in the opinion of many, great objections against committing that Employment to that Noble Lord, whose Person many Men lov'd, and very few hated. First, he had no knowledge, or experience in the Martial Profession; then his Religion, being of that sort of Catholicks the People render'd odious, by accusing it to be most Jesuited, Men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the King of favouring Papists and Popery, than he had been yet reproach'd with (for, though he had some Papists entertain'd in his Armies, yet all Men trusted by him in Superior Commands, were Men of unblemish'd Integrity in the Protestant Religion: and in all his Armies, he had but one General Officer, of the contrary Religion, Sr *Arthur Aston*, whom the Papists notwithstanding would not acknowledge for a Papist) this gave opportunity and excuse to many Persons of Quality, and great Interest in those Counties (between whom and that Lord's Family, there had been perpetual Feuds and Animosities) to lessen their Zeal to the King's Cause, out of jealousy of the others Religion; and those Contestations had been lately improv'd with some sharpness, by the Lord *Herbert's* Carriage towards the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*, during the time of his Residence there; when, out of vanity to magnific his own Power, he had not shew'd that due regard to that of the other which he should have had. And no doubt, if he had been of that mind, it would much more have advanced the King's Service, if he would have contributed his full Assistance to another, who more Popularly might have born the Title of such a Command.

BUT on the other side, the necessity of disposing those parts, divided from the rest of the Kingdom, under the Command of some Person of Honour and Interest, was very visible; and the expedition in doing it was as necessary; the Parliament being possess'd of *Glocester*, and *Bristol*, and so having such an influence upon the Trade and Livelyhood of that People, by their absolute Command of the *Severn*, that except there were extraordinary care of keeping them, they would be quickly lost. Besides that, at the same time, there was discourse, in the Houses, "Of sending the Earl of *Pembroke* thi-"ther, whose Estate was very great in those parts, and his Reputation equal. The Parliament had already such footing in *Pembroke-shire*, that many of the principal Gentlemen had declared for Them; and the Harbour of *Milford*-Haven gave their Fleet opportunity to give them all supplies, and relief. This being the State of those parts, the Lord *Herbert* not only offer'd, but desir'd to receive that Command; and engaged himself, "Not only to secure it from the Opposition, "and Malignity of the other Party, but, before the Spring, "to raise such a strength of Horse, and Foot, and to pro-"vide such an Equipage to march with, that might reduce "*Glouceſter*, and be then added to the King's Army, when he "should be ready to take the Field; and all this so much at his own charge (for his Father, who was well able, would furnish Money, as was pretended, upon the King's promise to repay him, when, he should be restor'd to his own) "that he would receive no part of the King's Revenue, or "of such Money, as his Majesty could be able to draw for "the supply of his own more immediate occasions.

THIS was a very great offer, and such as no Man else could so reasonably make. For the Marquis of *Worcester* was generally reputed the greatest Mony'd Man of the Kingdom; and, probably, might not think it an unthrifty thing, rather to disburse it for the King, who might be able to repay it, than to have it taken from him by the other Party; which would be hardly questionable if They prevail'd. The Lord *Herbert* himself was a Man of more than ordinary Affection and Reverence to the Person of the King, and one, who, he was sure, would neither deceive nor betray him. For his Religion, it might work upon Himself, but could not disquiet other Men. For though he were a Papist, he was never like to make others so; and his Reputation and Interest was very great with many Gentlemen of those Counties, who were not at all friends to his Religion. It was not possible to employ any Person of Interest, and Power in those parts (and there were many objections from the Nature, and Manners of that People, against a meer Stranger) against whom there would

would not be some Faction, and Animosity; for the Emulations, and Dissention between Families was general and notorious: and therefore it would be best to choose such a one, who was like to have a greater Faction for him, than against him. And it was to be hoped that the old Grudges, and Prejudices, which had been rather against the House of *Worcester*, and the Popish Religion professed there; than against the Person of this Lord, would have been composed, and declin'd by his fair and gentle Carriage towards all Men (as in truth he was of a civil, and obliging Nature) and by the publick-heartedness of those, who, for the Cause, and Conscience sake, would, it was hoped, Sacrifice all trivial and private Contentions to a Union that must vindicate the Religion, Honour, and Justice of the Kingdom.

The Lord Herbert raises a little Army.

Upon these reasons, and these presumptions, the King granted such a Commission, as is before mention'd to the Lord *Herbert*; who with more expedition than was expected by many, or by others believ'd possible, raised a Body of above fifteen hundred Foot, and near five hundred Horse, very well and sufficiently Arm'd; which increased the merit of the Service.

The Horse he put under the Command of his Brother, the Lord *John Somerset*, a maiden Soldier too; and the Foot under Colonel *Lawley*, whom he made his Major General, a bold and a sprightly Officer. About the middle of *February* he march'd towards *Glocester*, with an ill Omen at his setting out; for a Rabble of the Country People being got together, without Order, or Officer of Name, Barricadoed a little Village in the Forrest of *Deane*, call'd *Cover* (through which he was to pass) and refused to give him entrance; and out of a Window kill'd Colonel *Lawley*, and two Officers more, without hurting a Common Soldier; whereby that Body was destitute of any Person of Experience to Command them. However the Lord *Herbert*, who was himself seldom with his Forces, shortly after placed Colonel *Brett* in that Command; who, without any Skirmish of importance, march'd through the Forrest of *Deane*, and fix'd a Quarter, which contain'd his whole Body, at the *Vineyard*, the Bishop of *Glocester*'s Palace, within less than half a Mile of *Glocester*. And by that means, there being only a long Bridge over the *Severn*, by which Men could come out or go in to *Glocester*, he fully Block'd up the Town on that side, expecting that Prince *Maurice* from *Cirencester*, should take equal care to distress it on the other; which he did to a good degree.

But Sr *William Waller*, with a light Party of Horse, and Dragoons, near two thousand, from the Earl of *Essex*'s Army, had made a quick march through *Wilt-shire* (after his taking

of *Chichester*) and taking, with little loss and trouble, a small Garrison of the King's, consisting of about six or sevenscore at *Malmsbury*, before it was fortified, or provided, made a face of looking towards *Cirencester*; where when he found he was expected, by a suddain Night March, in which he was very dexterous and successful, he posted to the River *Severn*, six Miles West of *Gloucester*, from whence he had appointed many flat Boats to meet him; and in them, in the light day, the Guard of the River being either Treacherously, or Sottishly neglected by the Lord *Herbert*'s Forces, Transported his whole Body, which, upon the advantage of that Pass, might have been resisted by a few Men. Hereupon the Consternation was so great among the new *Welsh* Soldiers, very few of their Officers having ever seen an Enemy, that though their Works were too good to be enter'd by Horse, and Dragoons; though the Avenues were but narrow, in all which they had Cannon planted, and their Numbers very near, if not fully, equal to the Enemy; upon the advance of Sr *William Waller* upon them, without giving, or receiving blow, they fairly sent out to Treat; and as kindly deliver'd up Themselves, and their Arms, upon the single grant of Quarter: A Submission so like a Stratagem, that the Enemy could hardly trust it. Yet, in the end, they made a shift to put near thirteen hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horse, Prisoners into *Gloucester*, the Lord *Herbert* himself being at that time at *Oxford*, and the Lord *John Somerset* with three or four Troops at a safe distance from the rest.

They surprised by Sr William Waller, and Routed.

THIS was the end of that Mushroom-Army, which grew up and perish'd so soon, that the loss of it was scarce apprehended at *Oxford*, because the Strength, or rather the Number, was not understood. But if the Money, which was laid out in Raising, Arming, and Paying that Body of Men, which never advanc'd the King's Service in the least degree, had been brought into the King's Receipt at *Oxford*, to have been imploy'd to the most advantage, I am perswaded the War might have been ended the next Summer. For I have heard the Lord *Herbert* say, "That those preparations, and the other, "which by that Defeat were render'd useless, cost above three-"score thousand pounds; whereof, though much came from the Marquis's Coffers, yet, no doubt, the general Contributions from the Catholicks made a good part: and very considerable Sums were receiv'd by him of the King's Revenue upon Wardships, and other ways: for it was a common practice in those times, for Men to get into Employments upon promises, that they would not do this or that, without which no body else would undertake that Service; and being, upon those terms, receiv'd into it, they immediately did the other,

other, becauſe no other Man would do the Service without it.

THE fame of this prodigious Victory ſo ſubdued all thoſe parts, that Sr *William Waller*, with the ſame ſpirit of celerity, and attended with the ſame Succeſs, flew to *Hereford*; and though a walled Town, and replenish'd with a Garriſon, had That likewiſe deliver'd to him upon the ſame terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more confidence refuſed to be admitted into *Worceſter*, than he thought reaſonable to require it) paſs'd to *Tewkesbury*; which he likewiſe ſurpriſed being newly Garriſon'd; his motion being ſo quick, that though Prince *Maurice* attended him with all poſſible diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light Skirmiſhes; and, having taken this progreſs, return'd ſafe to *Gloceſter*; and from thence to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army; having made no other uſe of his Conqueſts, than the diſhonouring ſo many places, which had ſo quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no one Garriſon) the King's Forces immediately enter'd again. So that his Majeſty's Quarters continued the ſame they were, haraſſed only, and diſcountenanced, nothing ſtreighten'd by this Incurſion; and the Lord *Herbert* again intended new Levies.

Sr W. Waller takes Hereford, and Tewkesbury: both which he preſently left.

HAVING now, with as much clearneſs as I could, remember'd the true State of the King's Affairs, and the condition of the Kingdom, at the end of this year 1642, with which I intend to conclude this ſixth Book; I ſhall, before I return to *Oxford*, to conclude the year, briefly call to remembrance the diſconſolate State of *Ireland*; of which, advantage was always taken againſt the King, to render him odious to the People, as if he countenanced, at leaſt not ſufficiently abhorr'd, that wicked, and unnatural Rebellion. And this Imputation was with ſo great Art inſinuated, that it got credit with many; inſomuch as I have heard ſome, who could make no other Excuſe for adhering to the Parliament, ſay, "They were per-"ſwaded that the King favour'd thoſe Rebels; which, they ſaid, "Could not be without ſome deſign upon the Religion, "Liberty, and Proſperity of *England*. Whereas I can aver truly, upon as good grounds, as ever any Man ſpoke the heart of another, that the King alway's look'd upon it, as the moſt groundleſs, bloody, and wicked Rebellion, that ever poſſeſs'd the Spirits of that People; and was not more griev'd at any one circumſtance of the Domeſtick diſtractions, than, as it hinder'd him from chaſtiſing, and taking Vengeance upon the Other: which from his Soul he deſir'd.

The State of Ireland at that time with reference to the difference between the King and the two Houſes here.

BUT in this diſcourſe of *Ireland*, it cannot be expected, that I ſhould, neither do I intend to mention all the memorable Actions (in which were great Inſtances of God's own deteſtation of thoſe inhuman Rebels, by the ſignal Victories he

gave againſt them) or the other Tranſactions within that Kingdom; but ſhall remember no more of that buſineſs, than had immediate reference to, and dependence on, the difference between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament.

It is ſaid before, that when the firſt viſible rupture was declar'd between them, which was in the buſineſs of *Hull* (which the King underſtood to be a direct levying of War againſt him) in the Proteſtation made by his Majeſty, "That "he would no farther treat, or concur with them, in any Acts "propoſed by them, till he firſt receiv'd reparation, or ſatiſ- "faction in that particular; he always excepted what ſhould any way concern *Ireland*: in which he offer'd to conſent to whatſoever might reaſonably conduce to the reducing thoſe Rebels, and did, after that, concur in ſome Propoſitions of that Nature. Yet it is certain that, from that time, the two Houſes were ſo buſy in preparing the War for *England*, that they did very little prepare for the War of *Ireland*; ſave only by ſome ſmall ſupplies of Money and Proviſions. The King objected to them, "The employing the Monies, raiſed, by "Act of Parliament, for the preſervation and reduction of "*Ireland*, with a ſpecial clauſe that the ſame ſhould not be di- "verted to any other uſe whatſoever, in the ſupporting the "unnatural War, and Rebellion againſt his Majeſty; particu- "larly one hundred thouſand pounds at one time; and that "many Soldiers raiſed under pretence of being ſent into *Ire- "land*, were, contrary to their expectation and engagement, "forced to ſerve under the Earl of *Eſſex* againſt the King; of which, he named, Sr *Faithful Forteſcue*'s Regiment of Horſe, and the Lord *Wharton*'s, and the Lord *Kerry*'s Regiment of Foot.

To this they anſwer'd, "That albeit they had, upon the "urgent occaſions of this Kingdom, ſometimes made uſe of "Monies raiſed, and collected for *Ireland*; yet that they had "in due time repaid it, and that the other Affairs had never "ſuffer'd by the Loan: And for the Men, that it proceed- "ed from his Majeſty's own default; for after they had "raiſed them, with a ſerious intention to ſend them into *Ire- "land*, under the Command of the Lord *Wharton*, the King "refuſed to grant a Commiſſion to him to tranſport them, and "ſo they had been compell'd to uſe them in their own Ser- "vice here.

The King replied, "That it appear'd, they had diverted "that Money to other Uſes than thoſe for which it was pro- "vided; which was manifeſtly unlawful; and that it did not "appear they had again reimburſed it, becauſe very little ſup- "ply was ſent thither, and very much wanted: and for the "Soldiers, that They firſt levied them, without his Majeſty's "leave;

"leave; which they had always before ask'd, for their other "Levies; and being levied, they desir'd a Commission for "the Lord *Wharton* to command them absolutely, without "any dependence upon the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; "which had been never heard of, and which his Majesty re- "fused; but offer'd such a Commission as was granted to "other Men.

ON the other hand, they objected to the King, "The sei- "sing some Cart-Horses at *Chester*, provided for the Train of "Artillery for *Ireland*; that his Forces had taken many "Cloaths, and Provisions, on the Road, which were going "to *Chester* to be transported thither for the relief of the Sol- "diers; and that he entertain'd, and countenanced Men in "his Court, which were Favourers or Actors in that Rebel- "lion: naming the Lord Viscount *Costeloe*, and the Lord *Taffe*, which gave great umbrage to those who were well affected, and as great encouragement to the Rebels there.

To the first, the King confess'd, "He found about sixscore "Horse at *Chester*, which had long lain there; and, at his "remove from *Nottingham*, knowing, the other Horse and "Men, raised for *Ireland*, were then marching with the Earl "of *Essex* against him, he knew not, but these likewise might "be so imploy'd, and therefore in his own necessity took "them for his own draughts. For the Cloaths, which had "been taken by his Soldiers, that it proceeded by the default "of the Parliament; who, after the War was begun, had "sent those Carriages through his Quarters, without sending "to his Majesty for a Safe Conduct, or giving any notice to "him of it till after they were taken: that it was within two "Miles of *Coventry* (which was then in Rebellion) that those "Cloaths were taken; and that, assoon as he knew they were "design'd for *Ireland*, his Majesty had used the best means "he could to recover them; but that the Soldiers, who were "almost naked, had divided them for their own Supplies; and "his Majesty offer'd to give a Safe Conduct at all times for "whatsoever should be design'd for *Ireland*.

THE occasion of the other reproach, "For countenancing "Persons who adher'd to the Rebels, was this. The Lords, *Dillon* [Viscount *Costeloe*] and *Taffe*, had, four Months be- fore, pass'd out of *Ireland* into *England*, having never been in consort with the Rebels, but so much trusted by them, that they desir'd, by Their Hands, to address a Petition to the King; humble enough, desiring "Only to be heard, and of- "fering to submit to his Majesty's single Judgment. With this Petition, and all other instructions, as they pretended, these Lords acquainted the Lords Justices, and Council of *Ire- land*; who were so well satisfied with the Persons employ'd, that

that they granted their Safe Pass, and sent Letters by them of Testimony. They were no sooner Landed in *England*, but they were apprehended, and sent Prisoners to the Parliament, and by them committed with all strictness, "As Agents em-"ploy'd by the Rebels of *Ireland* to the King; and that Cir-cumstance inforced and spread among the People, with all licentious, glosses against the King; who, for that reason took no notice of their restraint, though from his Ministers he receiv'd advertisement of the truth of the whole business. After some time was spent in close imprisonment, these Lords, by Petition, and all other Adresses they could make, press'd to be brought to any kind of Examination and Tryal; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this importunity, their imprisonment was less close; and, by degrees, under a formal restraint (which though more pleasant, was not less costly) had the Liberty of *London*, and from thence, after four Months restraint, without being formally charged with any crime, or brought to any Tryal, which they often desir'd, they escaped, and came to *York*; whither a Messenger from the House of Commons follow'd them, and demanded them as Prisoners.

MANY were of opinion, that they should have been deliver'd back; foreseeing that the Parliament would press the scandal of sheltering them much to the King's disadvantage; and any imputations, "Of countenancing the Rebels of *Ire-"land*, found more credit, and made deeper impression with the People, than any other discourses of "Protecting Malignants, "and Delinquents. On the other side, it was thought unreasonable, to remit Men to an Imprisonment, which appear'd to have been unjust, by their not being proceeded against in so long time; especially when their coming to the King would be declar'd such a crime, that it would be now in their Enemies power to cause them to be punish'd; which before they could not do; at best, it were to deliver them up to the Serjeant of the House of Commons, from whence no Innocence could redeem them, without paying such vast fees, as would amount to a greater Sum than they could probably be supplied with. So that the King, who wish'd that they had rather gone any whither than where He was, resolv'd to take no notice of their escape. And so they continued in His Quarters, and put themselves into the Troops; where they behaved themselves with good Courage, and frankly engaged their Persons in all dangerous Enterprises.

IN these Jealousies, and Contests, the King being visibly and confessedly unable to send Succours of any kind thither, and the Parliament having enough else to do, and, in truth, not taking so much pains to preserve it, as to impute the loss

of

of it to the King, poor *Ireland* got very ſmall relief. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, had receiv'd his diſpatch from the King, before he went to *Shrewſbury*. But when the King thought he would have gone directly to *Cheſter*, and ſo to *Ireland*, his Lordſhip return'd to *London*; which encreaſed the King's jealouſy, and prejudice to him; which his former Carriage, and a Letter writ lately by him from *Nottingham*, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and by Order of Parliament Printed, had begot to a great degree. Shortly after his return to *London*, the Houſe of Commons demanded "To ſee the Inſtructions he had receiv'd from the "King; which, as it was unreaſonable in them, ſo he had receiv'd expreſs Command from the King, "Not to Commu- "nicate them. However, after he had avoided it as long as he could, and They continued peremptory in the demand, in the end, he produced them to be peruſed by the Committee of both Houſes. The truth is, the Earl's condition was very ſlippery, and almoſt impoſſible to be ſafely managed by the moſt dexterous Perſon.

He was deſign'd to that Employment by the King, ſhortly upon the death of the Earl of *Straffford* (or rather before; not without ſome advice from That Earl) with as great circumſtances of Grace and Favour, as could be; and as a Perſon, of whom entirely the King aſſured himſelf, being then ſo ungracious to the Parliament, that as there were ſome ſharp glances at him in that time (which are before remember'd) ſo nothing preſerv'd him from a publick exception, but the Intereſt of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whoſe Siſter he had Married; whom that Party was not willing to irreconcile. After the Rebellion was broke out in *Ireland*, and the King had committed the carrying on the War to the Houſes, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary for his Province, to render himſelf as gracious to that People as was poſſible; and labour'd that with ſo good Effect, and Induſtry, that he omitted that care which ſhould have been obſerv'd in continuing his Intereſt at Court. For the King and Queen grew every day leſs ſatisfied with him; which ſure he did not with warineſs enough provide againſt, though, I believe, he had never unfaithful purpoſes towards either of them; but did ſadly project, by his demeanour, and intereſt in the Houſes, to provide ſo well for *Ireland*, and to go thither in ſo good a condition, that, being once there, he might be able to Serve the King as he ſhould be requir'd.

But one Man is rarely able to act both thoſe parts: For his ſhewing his Inſtructions, he gave a reaſon, which, if he had been free from all other objections, might appear no ill excuſe: "He knew his Inſtructions were ſuch, that, being

"peruſed

"perused by the Committee, could by no misconstruction, or "possible perversion, be wrested to the King's disadvantage; as indeed they never were able, nor ever attempted, to fix any reproach from them upon the King. "Whereas, after "they were so peremptorily requir'd, if he should have as "peremptorily refused to submit, they would have concluded "that there had been somewhat unjustifiable in them, and "upon that jealousy made no scruple of publishing the worst "reproaches upon his Majesty. And it may be, he was not without an imagination, that if by this contest he had drawn the displeasure of the two Houses upon him, as could not be avoided, his misfortune at Court might have suffer'd that contest to have depress'd him. And when he left the King between *Nottingham* and *Shrewsbury*, his condition was so low at Court, that a Man might have imagin'd his Interest would be best preserv'd by being within the Verge of the Parliament's Protection. As his return to *London* was besides the King's expectation, so his stay there was longer than seem'd to be intended by his own proposal; for he stay'd there above two Months, till after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, and both Parties being fix'd in their Winter Quarters; and then, without waiting again on the King; though *Oxford* was very few Miles out of his way, about the end of *November*, he went to *Chester*, with a purpose of Transporting himself for *Ireland*, but without the least appearance of addition of Strength, or Provision from the Parliament; neither were there Ships there, ready to Transport them.

About the end of *November*, four Officers of the Army in *Ireland*, Sr *James Montgomery*, Sr *Hardress Waller*, Colonel *Arthur Hill*, and Colonel *Audly Mervin*, having been employ'd from *Ireland* to sollicite the Parliament for Succours, came from *London* to *Oxford*, and deliver'd a Petition to the King, in which they told him, "That they had Address'd "themselves to the Parliament for Supplies, whose sense of "their Miseries, and inclination to redress them, appear'd "very tender to them; but the present distempers of the King-"dom of *England* were grown so great, that all future pas-"sages, by which comfort and life should be convey'd to that "gasping Kingdom, seem'd totally to be obstructed; so that "unless his Majesty, out of his singular Wisdom, and Fatherly "Care, applied some speedy remedy, his Loyal, and Distress'd "Subjects of that Kingdom must inevitably perish. They ac-"knowledged, his Princely favour and goodness since this "Rebellion, so abundantly express'd in a deep sense, and live-"ly resentment of their bleeding Condition: And therefore, "they besought him, among his other weighty Cares, so to "reflect upon the bleeding Condition of that perishing King-"dom,

"dom, that timely relief might be afforded. Otherwise his "Loyal Subjects there must yield their Fortunes, as a Prey; "their Lives, a Sacrifice; and their Religion a Scorn to the "mercileſs Rebels, powerfully aſſiſted from abroad.

AND indeed the condition of the Proteſtants, in that Kingdom, was very miſerable: for, whilſt the diſtractions of *England* kept them from receiving Succours from thence, the Rebels had Arms, Ammunition, Money, and Commanders, from *Rome*, *Spain*, and *France*; the Pope having ſent a formal avow'd *Nuntio*, to whoſe Juriſdiction the *Iriſh* ſubmitted; and the Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, having ſent great Supplies, and their Agents, to countenance and foment the Rebellion; who gave notable countenance to the Aſſembly and form'd Council for the Rebels, ſettled at *Kilkenny*.

THE King, who well knew this Petition was ſent by the permiſſion of thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, and that the Agents employ'd were Men of notorious diſaffection to him, who looked for ſome ſuch Anſwer as might improve the envy of the People, uſed the Meſſengers with all poſſible grace, and return'd them as gracious an Anſwer: "That, from the be- "ginning of that monſtrous Rebellion, he had Had no greater "Sorrow, than for the bleeding Condition of that his King- "dom. That he had, by all means, labour'd, that timely re- "lief might be afforded to it, and conſented to all Propo- "ſitions, how diſadvantageous ſoever to Himſelf, that had "been offer'd to him to that purpoſe; and, not only at firſt re- "commended their Condition to both his Houſes of Parlia- "ment, and immediately, of his own meer motion, ſent over "ſeveral Commiſſions, and cauſed ſome proportion of Arms, "and Ammunition (which the Petitioners well knew to have "been a great ſupport to the Northern parts of that King- "dom) to be convey'd to them out of *Scotland*, and offer'd "ten thouſand Voluntiers to undertake that War; but had "often preſs'd by many ſeveral Meſſages, that ſufficient Suc- "cours might be haſten'd thither, and other matters of ſmaller "importance laid by, which did divert it; and offer'd, and "moſt really intended, in his own Royal Perſon, to have "undergone the danger of that War, for the defence of his "good Subjects, and the chaſtiſement of thoſe perfidious, and "barbarous Rebels; and in his ſeveral expreſſions of his de- "ſires of Treaty and Peace, he had declar'd, the miſerable "preſent Condition and certain future Loſs of *Ireland*, to be "one of the principal Motives moſt earneſtly to deſire, that "the preſent Diſtractions of This Kingdom might be Com- "poſ'd, and that others would concur with him to the ſame "end.

HE told them, "He was well pleas'd, that his Offers, Con- "currence,

"currence, Actions, and Expreſſions, were ſo rightly under-
"ſtood by the Petitioners, and thoſe who had employ'd them
"(notwithſtanding the groundleſs, and horrid aſperſions which
"had been caſt upon him) but he wiſh'd, that, inſtead of a
"meer general Complaint, to which his Majeſty could make
"no return but of Compaſſion, they could have digeſted, and
"offer'd to him any ſuch deſires, by conſenting to which, he
"might convey, at leaſt in ſome degree, comfort and life to
"That gaſping Kingdom; preſerve his Diſtreſſed, and Loyal
"Subjects of the ſame from inevitably periſhing, and the true
"Proteſtant Religion from being ſcorn'd, and tranpled on,
"by thoſe mercileſs Rebels. And, if the Petitioners could
"yet think of any Such, and propoſe them to his Majeſty, he
"aſſured them, that by his readineſs to conſent, and his thanks
"to them for the propoſal, he would make it appear to them,
"that their moſt Preſſing, Perſonal Sufferings, could not
"make Them more deſirous of relief, than His care of the true
"Religion, and of his faithful Subjects, and of his Duty,
"which obliged him, to his Power, to Protect both, render'd
"Him deſirous to afford it to Them.

THE King being fully inform'd now, as well by this Committee, as from his Miniſters of State in That Kingdom, of the growing power of the Rebels in *Ireland*, and of the weak Reſiſtance his good Subjects were like to make, whoſe only hopes depended upon thoſe Succours which they preſum'd the Lord Lieutenant would bring over with him, and that he was now going thither without the leaſt addition of ſtrength, or probable aſſurance that any would be ſent after him; his Majeſty conſider'd likewiſe, that beſides the damp this naked Arrival of the Lord Lieutenant There muſt caſt upon the minds of all, it would make likewiſe a great alteration in the Conduct of Affairs There. For upon his Landing, the Commiſſion to the Earl of *Ormond*, of Lieutenant General of the Army, would be determined; and there had thoſe jealouſies, and diſreſpects, paſs'd between the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Him, that the Earl of *Ormond* was reſolv'd, no more to continue that Command, but immediately to Tranſport himſelf out of that Kingdom; by which the King ſhould looſe the Service of a Perſon much the moſt Powerful, moſt Able, and moſt Popular within that Kingdom; and who had, with wonderful Courage and Conduct, and almoſt miraculous Succeſs, hitherto reſtrain'd the rage and fury of the Rebels, and indeed a Man ſo accompliſh'd, that he had either no Enemies, or Such who were aſham'd to profeſs they were ſo.

UPON theſe Conſiderations, the King thought fit, for ſome time, till he might farther weigh the whole buſineſs, to ſuſpend the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Journey; and therefore ſent to him

him to *Chester* (where he had lain, in some indisposition of health, above a fortnight; and the Ships being not yet come for his Transportation) "To attend his Majesty at *Oxford*; which he did shortly after *Christmas*, and continued there; the King directing the Earl of *Ormond* (whom about this time he made a Marquis) "To carry on the War as he had done; and, "during the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, to dispose of all "Places, and Offices in the Army which became void. His Majesty likewise at this time made an alteration in the Civil Power; for whereas Sr *William Parsons*, and Sr *John Burlacy*, had continued Lords Justices from, and before the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, the King finding that Sr *William Parsons* (who was a Man of long experience in that Kingdom, and confess'd abilities, but always of suspected reputation) did him all imaginable disservice, and combined with the Parliament in *England*, remov'd him from that Trust; and, in his room, deputed Sr *Harry Tichborne*, a Man of so excellent a fame, that though the Parliament was heartily angry at the remove of the Other, and knew This would never be brought to serve Their turn, they could not fasten any reproach upon the King for this alteration.

ANOTHER circumstance must not be forgotten. After the War broke out in *England*, the Parliament had sent over two of their Members of the Commons (Mr *Raynolds*, and Mr *Goodwyn*) as a Committee into *Ireland*, to reside at *Dublin*, and had given directions to the Lords Justices, "That they "should have leave to be present at their Consultations; which they had; and were no other than Spies upon those, who should presume to deliver any opinions there not agreeable to the sense of the Houses. When the King made that alteration in the Government, he likewise took notice, that strangers were admitted to be present at their Debates, which had never been before practiced; and therefore required them, "That it "might be so no more. Hereupon, the Committee, who had "carried themselves very insolently, and seditiously there, and with notable contempt of the King, and his Authority, were by the Lords Justices, and Council, inhibited from being present at the Council; and thereupon they quickly left the Kingdom, and return'd to *London*; the Parliament unreasonably accusing the King of a new breach of Privilege, for this disrespect to their Members. This was the State of *Ireland*, the War being that Spring prosperously carried on by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Leicester* still staying at *Oxford* with the Title of Lord Lieutenant. And so We will return to *Oxford*, and *London*.

MANY days being past since the return of the Committee of Lords and Commons from *Oxford*, with the King's Answer

ſwer to their Propoſitions, and no Reply been made by the Houſes, or indeed any ſolemn Debate enter'd thereupon (for his Majeſty had every day Information of what paſs'd among them, even in the moſt ſecret Councils) and, on the contrary, preparations more vigorouſly intended for the War, than had been before, in ſending out ſtrong Parties to infeſt the King's Quarters (for beſides the incurſions, and progreſs of Sr *William Waller*, which are before remember'd, Mr *Hambden* had made ſome Attempts upon the *Brill*, a Garriſon of the King's upon the Edge of *Buckingham-ſhire*, but without effect, and with ſome conſiderable loſs) in Levying great Numbers of Men, for the recruiting the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army; and deſigning new extraordinary ways for the raiſing of Money, and aſſociating ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, towards the raiſing new Armies: The King, as well to have the conveniency of ſending to *London* (of which Journies he made good uſe) as to quicken, and neceſſitate them to ſome reply, ſent another Meſſage to them, putting them in mind of

The King puts the two Houſes in mind of his Propoſition for a Ceſſation of Arms.

"The Propoſition he had made for a Ceſſation of Arms, and deſired, "If they approv'd of a Ceſſation, that the day upon "which they thought fit it ſhould begin, and ſuch particulars, "limits, and conditions of it, as were neceſſary to be under-"ſtood and agreed on, before the Ceſſation it ſelf could "actually begin, might be propoſed by them. Since, his Majeſty ſaid, "He ſuppoſed, by the preſent great Preparations "of ſeveral Forces to march ſeveral ways, that till all that "ſhould be agreed upon, They did not conceive Themſelves "obliged to an actual Ceſſation; ſo neither, till Then, did "his Majeſty conceive Himſelf obliged to it; however he "wiſh'd it might be clearly underſtood between them, that "no ſuch imputations as had been formerly, might be laid "upon Him, upon occaſion of any thing that might inter-"vene.

THIS Meſſage put a neceſſity upon them, of entring again upon the Argument, and gave them who deſir'd Peace and Accommodation, an opportunity to preſs for the Debate, which had been craftily laid aſide for the diſpatch of other matters; that Party, which was moſt deeply engaged in the War, and reſolv'd to carry it on, having a notable dexterity in keeping thoſe things from being Debated, in which they found Their ſenſe would not prevail. And at this time, the Number of thoſe in both Houſes, who really deſired the ſame Peace the King did, was (if they had not been overwitted by them) ſuperior to the other. For, beſides that many Perſons, who from the beginning had always diſſented from them, for their eaſe and conveniency had ſtayed among them, very many were convinced in their underſtandings,

that

that they had been miſled; and diſcerned, in what a bottomleſs Gulph of Miſery the Kingdom would be plung'd, if an immediate Compoſure were not made; and ſome of thoſe who had been as fierce as any, and given as great countenance to the kindling the Fire, either out of Conſcience that they had done amiſs, or fear that the King would prevail by Power, or Anger that they found other Men valued above them; in their preſent Diſtraction, or their natural Inconſtancy even in ill, were moſt ſollicitous for a Treaty. So that within few days after the receipt of this Meſſage, both Houſes agreed, "That there ſhould be a Treaty, in which ſo "much of the King's Propoſitions as concern'd the Magazines, "Forts, and Ships, and the Propoſition of both Houſes for the "disbanding the Armies, ſhould be firſt treated on, and con- "cluded, before the proceeding to treat upon any other of the "Propoſitions; and that the Treaty ſhould begin the fourth "of *March*, or ſooner if it might be; and that, from the be- "ginning the time ſhould not exceed twenty days.

Both Houſes agree there ſhould be a Treaty; and they ſend for a ſafe Conduct.

THE Perſons they made choice of to Treat, were the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr *Pierepoint*, Sr *William Armyn*, Sr *John Holland*, and Mr *Whitlock*, for whoſe Safe Conduct they diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to his Majeſty; this reſolution being taken but the laſt day of *February*. As ſoon as the requeſt was preſented, the King return'd a Safe Conduct for the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the four Commoners, but refuſed to admit the Lord *Say* to his preſence, upon the ſame exception he had formerly refus'd Sr *John Evelyn* at *Colebrook*; his Lordſhip being Perſonally excepted from Pardon by a Former Proclamation; but ſignified, "That if they would em- "ploy any other Perſon not within the ſame Rule, he ſhould "as freely come as if he were in the Safe Conduct.

The King grants it to all they name but the Lord Say.

WHETHER the Lord *Say* was nominated by thoſe who believ'd they ſhould be able, upon the refuſal of Him (which they could not but foreſee) to break off all Overtures of farther Treaty; or whether they believ'd, they had ſo far prevail'd by underhand Negotiations at *Oxford*, that he ſhould be admitted, and that he would have been able to perſwade the King to yield to what they propoſed, or at leaſt to have engaged the King to thoſe who would have yielded to him, I know not; but as it was not So inſiſted on at *Weſtminſter* as to break the Treaty, ſo, many were of opinion at *Oxford*, that the King ſhould have admitted him. They ſaid "He was "a wiſe Man, and could not but know, that it would not be "poſſible for him to make any impreſſion upon his Majeſty's "Judgment in the Propoſitions in Debate; and therefore, "that he would never have ſuffer'd himſelf to be deſign'd to "that Negotiation (which, without doubt, by his Intereſt

"in both Houſes he might have prevented) if he did not pur-
"poſe to do ſome ſignal ſervice to his Majeſty. And indeed many believ'd, "That if he had come, and found the King's "goodneſs inclin'd to pardon, and truſt him, that he would "have done the beſt he could, to redeem his former breaches. Others were of Opinion, "That he was ſo far from being in-"clined to ſerve the King, or advance the Treaty, that they "would have ſent him as a Spy, leſt others ſhould; and theſe were the thoughts both at *Oxford* and *London*. But the King, who knew the Lord *Say* as well as any of them, believ'd that it was not in his Power to do any good, and if it had, that it was not in his Will; was reſolv'd not to break his Rule, leſt ſuch a remiſſion might give advantage againſt him in the future: and ſo ſent the Anſwer above remember'd. Together with this deſire of a ſafe Conduct, they ſent his Majeſty word, "That thy had likewiſe conſented, that there "ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms on either ſide, under the Re-"ſtrictions, and Limitations, hereafter following.

The Two Houſes ſend their Terms for a Ceſſation.

1. "THAT all manner of Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, "Money, Bullion, and all other Commodities, paſſing with-"out ſuch a ſafe Conduct as may Warrant their paſſage, may "be ſtay'd and ſeiſed on, as if no Ceſſation was agreed on.

2. "THAT all manner of Perſons, paſſing without ſuch a "Safe Conduct as is mention'd in the Article next going be-"fore, ſhall be apprehended and detain'd, as if no ſuch Ceſ-"ſation were agreed on at all.

3. "THAT his Majeſty's Forces in *Oxford-ſhire* ſhould ad-"vance no nearer to *Windſor* than *Wheatly*, and in *Bucking-"ham-ſhire* no nearer to *Aylesbury* than *Brill*; and that, in "*Berk-ſhire*, the Forces reſpectively ſhall not advance nearer "the one to the other, than now they are: And, that the "Parliament Forces in *Oxford-ſhire* ſhall advance no nearer "to *Oxford* then *Henley*, and thoſe in *Buckingham-ſhire* no near-"er to *Oxford* than *Aylesbury*: and that his Majeſty's Forces "ſhall take no new Quarters, above twelve miles from *Ox-"ford*, any way; and the Parliament Forces ſhall take no new "Quarters, above twelve miles from *Windſor* any way.

4. "THAT no Siege ſhall be begun, or continued againſt "*Gloceſter*; and that his Majeſty's Forces, now employ'd in "the Siege, ſhall return to *Cirenceſter* and *Malmsbury*, or to "*Oxford*, as ſhall be moſt for their convenience; and the Par-"liament Forces, which are in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, ſhall remain in "the Cities of *Gloceſter*, *Briſtol*, and the Caſtle, and Town of "*Berkley*, or retire nearer to *Windſor*, as they ſhall ſee cauſe: "And that thoſe of *Wales*, which are drawn to *Gloceſter*, ſhall "return to their Quarters where they were before they drew "down to *Gloceſter-ſhire*.

5. "THAT

5. "THAT in case it be pretended on either side, that the "Cessation is violated, no Act of Hostility is immediately to "follow, but first the Party complaining is to acquaint the "Lord General on the other side, and to allow three days, "after notice, for satisfaction; and in case satisfaction be not "given, or accepted, then five days notice to be given, before "Hostility begin, and the like to be observ'd in the remoter "Armies, by the Commanders in chief.

6. "LASTLY, that all other Forces, in the Kingdom of "*England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, not before mention'd "shall remain in the same Quarters, and Places, as they are at "the time of Publishing this Cessation, and under the same "conditions as are mention'd in the Articles before. And that "this Cessation shall not extend, to restrain the setting forth, "or employing of any Ships, for the Defence of his Majesty's "Dominions.

ALL which they desired "His Majesty would be pleas'd to "ratify, and confirm: and that this Cessation might begin "upon the fourth of *March* next, or sooner if it might be; and "continue until the five and twentieth of the same Month; "and in the mean time to be publish'd on either side; and that "the Treaty might likewise commence upon the same day; "and the continuance thereof not to exceed twenty days.

THESE Propositions were deliver'd to his Majesty on the first of *March*, which was almost a Month after the Cessation had been proposed by him (for His Propositions were made on the third of *February*) which administer'd cause of doubt, that the Overture was not sincere; since it was hardly possible, that the Cessation could begin so soon as the fourth, by which time, though the King should consent to the terms proposed, upon sight, his Answer could very hardly be return'd to them. But the Articles themselves were such as occasion'd much Debate, and difference of opinion, among those who desired the same thing. The King, after the examination of them with his Privy Council, and at a Council of War, made a Committee out of each, to consider the inconvenience, his consent to them might produce to his Party, if that Cessation, and Treaty, did not Produce a Peace; and the inequality in them, if the Overture pass'd from an equal Enemy according to the Rules of War. Some were of opinion, "That the "Cessations should be consented to by the King, upon the Ar- "ticles propos'd, though they should be thought unequal, not "only because it would be an Act of great grace, and com- "passion to the People, to give them some respit, and taste of "Peace, and the not consenting to it (the reason not being "so easy to be understood) would be as impopular, and

"ungracious; but that, they believ'd, it would at leaſt caſt "the People into ſuch a ſlumber, that much of their fury and "madneſs would be abated; and that they would not be ea- "ſily induced to part with the eaſe they felt, and would look "upon That Party as an Enemy, that robbed them of it; that "it would give an opportunity of charitable Intercourſe, and "revive that freedom of Converſation, which, of it ſelf, upon "ſo great advantage of reaſon, as they believ'd the King's "cauſe gave, would rectify the underſtanding of many who "were miſled; but eſpecially, that it would not only hinder "the recruit of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army (for that no man "would be ſo mad to declare themſelves againſt the King, "when they ſaw a Ceſſation, in order to reſtoring the King "to his Rights) but would leſſen the Forces he had already; "in that the Army conſiſted moſt of Men engag'd by the Pay, "not Affection to the Cauſe; who upon ſuch a remiſſion of "duty as would neceſſarily attend a Ceſſation, would aban- "don a Party which they foreſaw, upon a Peace, muſt be "condemn'd, though it might be ſecure: And whereas all Over- "tures of a Treaty hitherto had avanced their Levies upon "pretence of being in a poſture not to be contemn'd, they be- "liev'd, a real Ceſſation would render thoſe Levies impoſſible.

OTHERS thought "Any Ceſſation diſadvantageous enough "to the King; and therefore, that the terms, upon which it "was to be made, were to be preciſely look'd to: that the "Articles propoſed would only produce a ſuſpenſion of pre- "ſent Acts of Hoſtility, and Blood, among the Soldiers; but "not give the leaſt taſte of Peace, or admit the leaſt benefit "to the People, for that all Intercourſe, and Converſation was "inhibited, in ſo much as no Perſon of the King's Party, "though no Soldier, had liberty to viſit his Wife, or Fa- "mily, out of the King's Quarters, during this Ceſſation; "and the hindering Recruits could only prejudice the King, "not at all the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had at preſent a greater "Army than ever before; and the City of *London* was ſuch "a Magazine of Men, as could ſupply him upon very ſmall "warning. Beſides, though the State of the King's Army "and Quarters, about *Oxford*, was ſuch as might receive "ſome advantage by a Ceſſation; yet, in the Weſt, it was "hoped his Affairs were, in the bud; and the Earl of *New-* "*caſtle* was ſo much Maſter in the North, that if a Peace "enſued not (which Wiſe Men did not believe was ſeriouſly "intended on the Parliament's part, by reaſon the Propoſitions "to be treated on, were ſo unreaſonable, and impoſſible "to be conſented to) ſuch a Ceſſation would hinder the mo- "tion and progreſs of the Earl's good Fortune, and give "time to the Lord *Fairfax*, who was at preſent very low, to

"put

"put himself into such a posture as might give new trouble. And 'tis certain the Northern Forces had then great dread of this Cessation.

To these Considerations was added another of greater moment, and which could be less answer'd by any access of benefit, and advantage on the King's Party. Hitherto the Parliament had raised their vast Sums of Money, for the support of their Army (which could only be supported by constant great Pay) and for the discharge of their other immense Expences, incident to such a Rebellion, from the City of *London*, and principally from their Friends, not daring so rigidly to execute their Ordinances generally, but contented themselves with some severe judgments upon particular Men, whom they had branded with some extraordinary mark of Malignancy, out of *London*, save only that they gleaned among their own Zealots upon voluntary Collections, and plunder'd by their Army, which brought no supply to their Common Stock: And of what they imposed upon Cities, and Towns, wherein they had Garrisons (in which they had been likewise very tender) they had receiv'd very little; not venturing yet, by any general Tax, and Imposition upon the People, to inflame them, and inform them how they meant to invade their Liberty, and their Property, with the jealousy whereof, they had blown them up to all those Swellings, and seditious Humours against the King; and apprehending, that if they should attempt that, any encouragement of strength from any of the King's Armies, would make the whole Kingdom rise against them.

The Houses pass an Ordinance for a weekly Assessment in the whole Kingdom.

But now, after they had agreed to a Treaty, and framed even Articles for a Cessation; they pass'd an Ordinance for a Weekly Assessment throughout the Kingdom, towards the support of the War; by which, was imposed upon the City of *London* the Weekly Sum of ten thousand pounds, and upon the whole Kingdom, no less that a Weekly Payment of thirty three thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds, amounting in the year to one Million seven hundred forty two thousand nine hundred thirty six pounds; a prodigious Sum for a People to bear, who, before this War, thought the payment of two Subsidies in a year, which, in the best times, never amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds, and never in our Age to above an hundred and fifty, an insupportable burthen upon the Kingdom: Which indeed had scarce born the same, under all the Kings that ever Reign'd.

For the speedy and exact Collection whereof, they appointed, by the same Ordinance, Commissioners in each County, such as were sufficiently inclined to, and engaged in

Their designs. To this they added other Ordinances, for exacting the twentieth part, and other payments, throughout the Kingdom; which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in *London*; and, above all, for the Sequestering, and seizing of the Estates of all who adher'd to the King. "Now if a Cessation were consented to by the King, on the "Articles proposed, and thereby the King's Forces lock'd up "within the several limits and narrow bounds, in which they "were contain'd, these Ordinances might be executed through-"out all their Quarters; and thereby vast sums be raised. "Their great Association of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, *Hun-"tington*, *Bedford*, and *Essex* (in neither of which the King "had any visible Party, or one fix'd Quarter) upon which, "the apprehension of the Earl of *New-Castle*'s advance upon "them, kept them from notable pressures, would by this "means yield them a great supply of Men and Money. In "*Somerset-shire*, and *Devon-shire*, whilst Sr *Ralph Hopton* "might hereby be kept from advancing, They might raise "what they would, and might dispose of the Stocks, and per-"sonal Estates of those, whom they had, and would declare "to be Malignant; and so this Cessation, besides the damage, "and prejudice to the Loyal Party, would probably fill the "Rebels Coffers, the emptiness whereof was the most, if "not only, probable way and means to determine the "War.

THESE Considerations made a deep impression upon those, who believ'd the Treaty was not like to produce a Peace; the Number of which was encreased by a new Resolution, at this time enter'd upon, and vigorously prosecuted, "To For-"tify the City of *London*, and to draw a Line about it; which "was executed with marvellous expedition; which, many believ'd, would not have been then done, both for the charge and jealousy of it, if it had not been resolv'd it should not yet return to the King's Obedience. And many Persons of Honour, and Quality, about the King, who had given great life to his Affairs, were so startled with the sense of it, that they address'd themselves together to his Majesty, and besought him, "That they might not lose that now, by an un-"equal Cessation, which had been preserv'd for them, during "the Licence of Hostility; and that His, and Their Enemies, "might not be that way enabled to destroy them, which yet "they durst not attempt to do by any Other. The King here-upon, after solemn Debates in Council, the chief Officers of his Army being present, resolv'd to make such Alterations in the Articles, as might make the terms a little more equal, at least prevent so intolerable disadvantages.

The City of London Fortified.

The King's propositi of Alterations in the two Houses Arti les of Cessation.

1. "To

1. "To the first Article as it was propoſed by them, his "Majeſty fully, and abſolutely conſented.

2. "To the ſecond likewiſe fully, as far as it concern'd "all Officers and Soldiers of the Army; but He propoſed "That all other his Subjects, of what Quality, or Condition "ſoever, might, during the Ceſſation, paſs to and from the "Cities of *Oxford*, or *London*, or any other parts of his Ma"jeſty's Dominions, without any ſearch, ſtay, or impriſon"ment of their Perſons, or ſeiſure, and detention of their "Goods or Eſtates: And that all manner of Trade, and "Commerce, might be open and free between all his Sub"jects, except between the Officers, and Soldiers of either "Army, or for Arms, Ammunition, Money, Bullion, or "Victuals for the uſe of either Army, without a Paſs, or Safe "Conduct; which, his Majeſty told them, "Would be a good "beginning to renew the Trade, and Correſpondence of the "Kingdom, and whereby his Subjects might be reſtor'd to "that Liberty and Freedom they were born to, and had ſo "happily enjoy'd till theſe miſerable diſtractions; and which, "even during this War, his Majeſty had, to his utmoſt, la"bour'd to preſerve; opening the way, by moſt ſtrict Pro"clamations to the Paſſage of all Commodities, even to the "City of *London* it ſelf.

3, 4, 5, 6, To theſe the King likewiſe conſented, with two proviſions: Firſt, "That ſuch Ships as were neceſſary to be "ſent forth, ſhould be commanded by ſuch Perſons as his "Majeſty ſhould approve of. Secondly, that during the Ceſ"ſation, none of his Subjects ſhoud be impriſon'd otherwiſe "than according to the known Laws of the Land, and that "there ſhould be no plundering, or violence offer'd to any of "his Subjects. The firſt of theſe was inſerted (without pur"poſe of inſiſting on it) leſt by the King's conſent to the Article, in the Terms it was propoſed, he might be thought to conſent in any degree to their uſurpation of the Naval Authority. And the ſecond was, to prevent the execution of the Ordinances before mention'd.

And his Majeſty told them, "He hoped, theſe ſmall Al"terations would ſufficiently manifeſt, how ſollicitous he was "for the Good of his People, for whoſe Liberties he ſhould "inſiſt, when in matters meerly concerning Himſelf, he might "deſcend to eaſier Conditions; and how deſirous he was, "that, in this unnatural Contention, no more Blood of his "Subjects might be ſpilt, upon which he look'd with much "Grief, Compaſſion, and Tenderneſs of Heart, even on the "Blood of thoſe, who had lifted up their hands againſt him. And "therefore he doubted not, but both Houſes would conſent "to them. However, if any ſcruples ſhould be made, he was

" willing that the Commiſſioners for the Treaty might never-
" theleſs immediately come to him, and ſo all matters con-
" cerning the Ceſſation might be there ſettled between them.

AFTER this Anſwer return'd by the King, many days paſs'd without any return to Him; and in the mean time another Addreſs was made to his Majeſty, upon which the great Managers at *Loudon* had ſet their Hearts, more than upon the Treaty; and for which indeed they deferr'd their Treaty. They had ſtill a great dependence and confidence upon their Brethren of *Scotland*, and yet that People moved very ſlowly; and, ſince the Earl of *Eſſex* had been ſettled in his Winter Quarters, there had been high Quarrels between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Officers, inſomuch as, upon ſome reproachful words which had been caſt out, many Swords were one day drawn in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, when the Houſes were ſitting, between them; and ſome Blood drawn, which (though the Houſes induſtriouſly labour'd to compoſe it with Declarations " Of their joynt value and reſpect of that Nation with " their own, and that their deſerts could only diſtinguiſh them) gave ſo great umbrage, that many of the *Scots*, ſome of eminent Command, quitted the Service; and it was hoped it would have broke any farther National Combination in Miſchief.

BUT the general inclination to Rebellion maſter'd thoſe particular Conſiderations, and Diſobligations; and, about the end of *February*, to facilitate the King's conſent to the Grand Propoſition for the extirpation of Epiſcopacy) which the two Houſes had been, by the Arts before mention'd, wrought to make; when in truth, there were very few of themſelves deſir'd it; as, when it paſs'd the Houſe of Peers, there were but five Lords preſent) there arriv'd at *Oxford* the Earl of *Lowden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Mr *Alexander Henderſon*, a Man of equal Fame in the diſtractions that aroſe in that Kingdom: the former came as a Commiſſioner from the Lords of the Secret Council of that Kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themſelves, " The Conſervators of the " Peace between the two Kingdoms; and deſir'd to paſs as a Mediator in the differences between the King and the two Houſes, and that the King would give them leave upon the matter to be Umpires between them. The other, Mr *Henderſon*, had a ſpecial employment from the Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, to preſent a Petition from that Body to the King; the which, becauſe it was then thought of a very ſtrange nature, and dialect, and becauſe I ſhall always report the Acts of that Nation (as far as I am oblig'd to mention them) in their own words, I think very convenient to inſert in this place.

BUT

BUT it will be first necessary, for the better understanding one angry clause in it, to remember, that, when the Earl of *New-Castle* march'd into *York-shire*, upon occasion of some Aspersions publish'd against him by the Lord *Fairfax*, "That "his Army consisted only of Papists, and that his design was "to extirpate the Protestant Religion, the Earl set forth a Declaration of the reasons of his marching into that Country, which was, "Upon the desire of the principal Gentlemen, to "rescue, and protect them from the Tyranny of the Parlia- "ment; and then, taking notice of "The scandalous imputa- "tions upon him in point of Religion, after he had vindicated himself from the least suspicion of inclination to Popery, he confess'd "He had granted Commissions to many Papists, "which, as He knew, was, in this case, agreeable to the Laws "of the Kingdom, so he believ'd it very agreeable to the pre- "sent Policy; and that the quarrel between the King and "the two Houses, being not grounded upon any matter of "Religion, the Rebels professing themselves to be of the same "of which his Majesty was clearly known to be, and the Pa- "pists generally at this time appearing very Loyal to him, "which too many Protestants were not, he thought their As- "sistance might very fitly be made use of, to suppress the Re- "bellion of the other. And from thence these Zealous *Scots* concluded, that he preferr'd the Papists, in point of Loyalty, before the Protestants; which was a Calumny of so publick a concernment, that they could not be silent in. Their Petition follows in these words.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty;

The humble Petition of the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland *met at* Edenborough *Jan.* 4. $164\frac{2}{3}$.

The Petition of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland *presented to the King by* Mr Henderson, *sign'd* Jan. 4. $164\frac{2}{3}$.

"OUR Silence, and ceasing to present before your Ma- "jesty our humble thoughts and desires, at this time of Com- "mon danger to Religion, to your Majesty's Sacred Person, "your Crown, and Posterity, and to all your Majesty's Do- "minions, were impiety against God, unthankfulness, and "disloyalty against your Majesty, and indirect approbation "and hardening of the adversaries of Truth and Peace in their "wicked ways, and cruelty against Our Brethren, lying in "such depths of Affliction, and anguish of Spirit; any one of "which crimes were, in us above all others, unexcusable and "would prove us most unworthy of the trust committed un- "to us. The flame of this Common Combustion hath al- "most devour'd *Ireland*, is now wasting the Kingdom of "*England*,

"*England*, and We cannot tell how soon it shall enter upon "Our selves, and set this your Majesty's most Ancient, and "Native Kingdom on fire. If in this woful case, and lamen- "table condition of your Majesty's Dominions, all others "should be silent, it behoveth us to speak; and if Our "Tongues and Pens should cease, our Consciences within us "would cry out, and the stones in the Streets would An- "swer us.

"OUR great grief, and apprehension of danger, is not a "little encreased, partly by the insolence, and presumption of "Papists, and others disaffected to the Reformation of Re- "ligion, who, although for their Number, and Power, they "be not considerable among us, yet, through the success of "the Popish Party in *Ireland*, and the hopes they conceive of "the prevailing Power of the Popish Armies, and the Prela- "tical Faction in *England*, they have of late taken Spirit, and "begun to speak big words against the Reformation of Reli- "gion, and the work of God in this Land; and partly, and "more principally, that a chief praise of the Protestant Reli- "gion (and thereby our not vain, but just gloriation) is, by "the publick Declaration of the Earl of *New-Castle*, General "of your Majesty's Forces for the Northern parts and nearest "unto us, transferr'd unto Papists; who, although they be "sworn Enemies unto Kings, and be as infamous for their "Treasons, and Conspiracies against Princes and Rulers, as "for their known Idolatry, and spiritual Tyranny, yet are "they openly declar'd to be not only good Subjects, or bet- "ter Subjects, but far better Subjects than Protestants: which "is a new, and foul disparagement of the Reform'd Religion "a notable injury to your Majesty in your Honour, a sensible "Reflection upon the whole Body of this Kingdom, which is "impatient, that any Subjects should be more Loyal than "They; but abhorreth, and extremely disdaineth, that Pa- "pists, who refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance, should be "compared with them in Allegiance, and Fidelity; and which "(being a strange Doctrine from the Mouth, or Pen of pro- "fess'd Protestants) will suffer a hard construction from all the "Reform'd Kirks.

"WE therefore, your Majesty's most humble and loving "Subjects, upon these and the like Considerations, do humbly "entreat, that your Majesty may be pleased, in your Princely "Wisdom, first to consider, that the intentions of Papists, di- "rected by the Principles of their Profession, are no other "than they have been from the beginning, even to build their "Babel, and to set up there execrable Idolatry, and Anti- "Christian Tyranny, in all your Majesty's Dominions; to "change the face of your two Kingdoms of *Scotland*, and

"*England*,

"*England*, into the similitude of miserable *Ireland*; which is "more bitter to the People of God, your Majesty's good Sub- "jects, to think upon, than death; and whatsoever their pre- "sent pretences be, for the defence of your Majesty's Person "and Authority, yet, in the end, by their Arms, and Power, "with a display'd Banner, to bring that to pass against your "Royal Person, and Posterity, which the Fifth of *November*, "never to be forgotten, was not able by their subtle and un- "dermining Treason to produce; or, which will be their "greatest Mercy, to reduce your Majesty, and your King- "doms, to the base and unnatural Slavery of their Monarch, "the Pope: and next, that your Majesty, upon this unde- "niable evidence, may timously and speedily apply your Royal "Authority, for disbanding their Forces, suppressing their "Power, and disappointing their Bloody and Mercileſs Pro- "jects.

"And for this end, We are with greater earnestness than "before, constrain'd to fall down again before your Majesty, "and, in all Humility, to renew the supplication of the late "general Assembly, and our own former Petition in Their "name, for Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Church "Government in all your Majesty's Kingdoms, and, to this "effect, for a meeting of some Divines to be holden in *Eng-* "*land*, unto which, according to the desire of your Majesty's "Parliament, some Commissioners may be sent from this Kirk; "that, in all points to be proposed, and debated, there may "be the greater Consent, and Harmony. We take the bold- "ness to be the more instant in this our humble desire, be- "cause it concerneth the Lord Jesus Christ so much in His "Glory, your Majesty in your Honour, the Kirk of *England* "(which we ought to tender as our own Bowels, and whose "Reformation is more dear unto us than our Lives) in Her "happiness, and the Kirk of *Scotland* in her purity, and peace; "former experience, and daily sense teaching us, that, with- "out the Reformation of the Kirk of *England*, there is no hope "or possibility of the continuance of Reformation Here.

"The Lord of Heaven and Earth, whose Vice-Gerent "your Majesty is, calleth for this great work of Reformation "at your hands; and the present Commotions, and Troubles "of your Majesty's Dominions, are either a preparation, in "the mercy of God, for this blessed Reformation and Unity "of Religion (which is the desire, prayers, and expectation "of all your Majesty's good Subjects in this Kingdom) or, "which they tremble to think upon, and earnestly deprecate, "are (in the justice of God, for the abuse of the Gospel, the "tolerating of Idolatry, and Superstition, against so clear a "light, and not acknowledging the day of Visitation) the be-

"ginning

"ginning of such a doleful desolation, as no Policy or Power "of Man shall be able to prevent, and as shall make your Ma- "jesty's Kingdoms, within a short time, as miserable, as they "may be happy by a Reformation of Religion. God forbid "that, whilst the Houses of Parliament do protest their desire "of the Reformation of Religion in a Peaceable, and Parlia- "mentary way, and pass their Bills for that end in the parti- "culars; that your Majesty, the Nurse-Father of the Kirk of "Christ, to whose care the custody and vindication of Reli- "gion doth principally belong, should, to the provoking of "the Anger of God, the stopping of the influence of so many "blessings from Heaven, and the grieving of the Hearts of "all the Godly, frustrate our expectation, make our hopes "asham'd, and hazard the loss of the Hearts of all your good "Subjects; which, next unto the truth, and unity of Reli- "gion, and the safety of your Kingdoms, are willing to hazard "their Lives, and spend their Blood, for your Majesty's Ho- "nour, and Happiness.

"We are not ignorant, that the work is great, the difficul- "ties and impediments many; and that there be both Moun- "tains, and Lyons in the way; the strongest lett, till it be "taken out of the way, is the Mountain of Prelacy: And no "wonder, if your Majesty consider, how many Papists, and "Popishly affected, have, for a long time, found Peace, and "Ease, under the shadow thereof; how many of the Prelatical "Faction have thereby their life and being; how many pro- "phane, and worldly Men, do fear the Yoke of Christ, and "are unwilling to submit themselves to the obedience of the "Gospel; how many there be, whose Eyes are dazled with "the external Glory and Pomp of the Kirk; whose minds are "miscarried with a conceit of the Governing of the Kirk by "the Rules of human Policy; and whose Hearts are affrighted "with the apprehensions of the dangerous consequences, which "may ensue upon alterations. But when your Majesty, in "your Princely and Religious Wisdom, shall remember, from "the Records of former times, how against the Gates of Hell, "the force and fraud of wicked and worldly Men, and all "panick fears of danger, the Christian Religion was first "planted; and the Christian Kirk thereafter reform'd: And, "from the condition of the present times, how many, from the "experience of the Tyranny of the Prelates, are afraid to dis- "cover themselves, lest they be revenged upon them hereafter "(whereas Prelacy being remov'd, they would openly profess "what they are, and joyn with others in the way of Reforma- "tion) all obstacles, and difficulties shall be but matter of the "manifestation of the Power of God, the principal worker; "and means of the greater Glory to your Majesty, the prime "Instrument.

"The

"THE Intermixture of the Government of Prelates with "the Civil State, mention'd in your Majesty's Answer to "Our former Petition, being taken away, and the right Go- "vernment by Assemblies, which is to be seen in all the Re- "form'd Kirks, and wherein the Agreement will be easy, "being settled; the Kirk, and Religion, will be more pure, and "free from mixture, and the Civil Government more sound "and firm. That Government of the Kirk must suit best "with the Civil State, and be most useful for Kings and "Kingdoms, which is best warranted by God, by whom Kings "do Reign, and Kingdoms are establish'd. Nor can a Refor- "mation be expected in the common and ordinary way, ex- "press'd also in your Majesty's Answer. The Wisest and most "Religious Princes have found it impossible, and implying a "Repugnancy, since the Persons to be Reform'd, and Re- "formers, must be diverse; and the way of Reformation must "be different from the corrupt way, by which defection of "Workmen, and corruption in Doctrine, Worship, and Go- "vernment, have enter'd into the Kirk. Suffer Us therefore, "Dread Soveraign, to renew our Petitions for this Unity of "Religion, and Uniformity of Kirk Government, and for a "meeting of some Divines of both Kingdoms, who may pre- "pare matters for your Mejesty's View, and for the Exami- "nation and Approbation of more full Assemblies. The Na- "tional Assembly of this Kirk, from which We have Our "Commission, did promise, in their thanksgiving for the many "favours express'd in your Majesty's Letter, their best endea- "vour to keep the People under their Charge in Unity, and "Peace, and in Loyalty, and Obedience to your Majesty, and "your Laws, which, We confess, is a duty well beseeming the "Preachers of the Gospel.

"BUT We cannot conceal how much both Pastors and "People are griev'd, and disquieted with the late reports of "the success, boldness and strength of Popish Forces in *Ire- "land*, and *England*; and how much danger from the power "of so malicious, and bloody Enemies, is apprehended to the "Religion, and Peace of this Kirk, and Kingdom, conceiv'd "by them to be the spring, whence have issued all their Ca- "lamities, and Miseries. Which We humbly remonstrate "to your Majesty as a necessity requiring a General Assembly, "and do earnestly supplicate for the Presence, and Assistance "of your Majesty's Commissioner, and the day to be appoin- "ted; that by universal consent of the whole Kirk, the best "course may be taken for the preservation of Religion, and "for the averting of the great Wrath, which they conceive "to be imminent to this Kingdom. If it shall please the Lord, "in whose hand is the heart of the King, as the Rivers of "waters,

"waters to turn it whitherſoever he will, to incline your "Majeſty's heart to this through Reformation; no more to "tollerate the Maſs, or any part of Romiſh Superſtition, or "Tyranny; and to Command that all good means be uſed "for the converſion of your Princely Conſort, the Queen's "Majeſty (which is alſo the humble deſire of this whole Kirk "and Kingdom) your joynt Comfort ſhall be multiplied "above the days of your Affliction, to your incredible joy; "your Glory ſhall ſhine in brightneſs above all your Royal "Progenitors, to the admiration of the World, and the terror "of your Enemies: and your Kingdom ſo far abound in "righteouſneſs, peace, and proſperity, above all that have "been in former Generations, that they ſhall ſay, *It is good "for Us, that We have been afflicted.*

THIS Petition was not ſtranger in it ſelf, than in the Circumſtances that attended it; for it was no ſooner preſented to the King (if not before) than it was ſent to *London*, and Printed, and communicated with extraordinary induſtry to the People; that they might ſee, how far the *Scotiſh* Nation would be engag'd for the deſtruction of the Church; and the Meſſenger who preſented it, Mr *Henderſon*, confeſs'd to his Majeſty, that he had three or four Letters to the moſt active and ſeditious Preachers about *London*, from Men of the ſame ſpirit in *Scotland*. Upon this provocation, the King might have very reaſonably proceeded againſt Mr *Henderſon*, who was neither included in his Safe Conduct (as the Lord *Lowden*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners were) nor had any Authority from the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom (who were qualified with large powers) to countenance his Employment; being ſent only from the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly (who were not anthoriſed by their own conſtitutions, to make any ſuch Declaration) and there being then no Aſſembly ſitting; which it ſelf, with all their new Privileges, could not, with any colour of Reaſon, or Authority, have tranſacted ſuch an Inſtrument. However the King, who well knew the Intereſt, and Influence the Clergy had upon the People of that Kingdom; and that, whilſt they pretended to remove them from all ſecular Employment, they were the principal Inſtruments, and Engines, by which the whole Nation was wrought to Sedition; Reſolv'd, not only to uſe the Perſon of Mr *Henderſon* very graciouſly, and to protect him from thoſe Affronts, which he might naturally expect in a Univerſity (eſpecially, He having uſed ſome grave and learned Doctors with great inſolence, who went civilly to him to be inform'd, what Arguments had prevail'd with him, to be ſo profeſs'd an Enemy to the Church of *England*, and to give

give him some information in the Argument; with whom he superciliously refus'd to hold any discourse) but to return an Answer with all possible Candour to the Petition it self; and so, before he enter'd upon the other Address, made by the Lord *Lowden*, and the rest, he return'd (after very solemn Debates in Council, where the Earl of *Lanerick* the Secretary for *Scotland*, and other Lords of *Scotland*, who were of the Privy Council, were present, and fully concurr'd, with many expressions of their detestation of the manners of their Country-men, yet with assured confidence that they would not be corrupted to any Act of Hostility) to Mr *Henderson*, and, with all expedition, by other hands into *Scotland*, this Answer; which likewise I think fit to insert in the very words, that Posterity may know how tender and provident the King always was, to prevent any misunderstanding of Him, and his Actions with that People; and consequently any Commotions in that Kingdom; which was the only thing, he fear'd might contribute to, and continue the distractions in This.

His Majesty's Answer to the late Petition presented unto him by the Hands of Mr Alexander Henderson *from the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of* Scotland.

"We receiv'd lately a Petition from you, by the hands of "Mr *Alexander Henderson*, to the which We intended to "have given an Answer, as soon as We had transacted the "business with the other Commissioners, address'd to Us "from the Conservators of the Treaty of that our Kingdom. "But finding the same to be publish'd in Print, and to be "dispersed throughout our Kingdom, to the great danger of "scandalizing of our well affected Subjects; who may inter- "pret the bitterness, and sharpness of some expressions, not "to be so agreeable to that regard, and reverence, which is "due to our Person, and the matter of the Petition it self to "be reproachful to the Honour and Constitution of this "Kingdom: We have been compell'd, the more strictly to "examine, as well the Authority of the Petitioners, as the "matters of the Petition it self, and to publish our Opinion of "both, that our Subjects of both Kingdoms may see how "equally just, and sensible, We are of the Laws, and Honour "of both our Kingdoms. *His Majesty's Answer to the Petition* March 20. 1642.

"And first, upon perusal of the Petition, We required "to see the Commission, by which the Messenger who brought "the Petition, or the Persons who sent him, are Qualified to "intermeddle in Affairs so Forreign to their Jurisdiction, and "of so great Concernment to this our Kingdom of *England*.

"Upon

"Upon examination whereof, and in defence of the Laws, "and Government of this our Kingdom, which We are trust-"ed, and sworn to defend, We must profess that the Petiti-"oners, or the General Assembly of Our Church of *Scotland*, "have not the least Authority, or Power to intermeddle, or "interpose in the Affairs of this Kingdom, or Church; "which were settled, and establish'd by the proper Laws of "this Land, and, till they be alter'd by the same competent "Power, cannot be inveigh'd against without a due sense of "Us, and this Nation; much less can they present any Ad-"vice or Declaration to our Houses of Parliament against the "same; or to that purpose, send any Letters, as they have "now done, to any Ministers of Our Church Here; who, "by the Laws of this Land, cannot correspond against the same.

"THEREFORE, We do believe that the Petitioners, "when they shall consider how unwarranted it is by the Laws "of that Kingdom, and how contrary it is to the Laws of "This, to the professions they have made to each other, "and how unbecoming in it self, for Them to require, the "ancient, happy, and establish'd Government of the Church "of *England* to be alter'd, and conform'd to the Laws, and "Constitutions of another Church, will find themselves misled "by the information of some Persons Here, who would wil-"lingly engage the Petitioners to foment a difference, and "division between the two Kingdoms, which We have, with "so much Care, and Industry, endeavour'd to prevent; not "having labour'd more to quench the combustion in this "Kingdom, than We have to hinder the like from either "devouring *Ireland*, or entring into *Scotland*; which, if all "others will equally labour, will undoubtedly be avoided. "But we cannot so easily pass over the mention of *Ireland*, "being mov'd to it by the scandalous Aspersions, that have "been often cast upon Us, upon that Subject, and the use "that hath been made of the woful distractions of that King-"dom, as of a Seminary of fears, and jealousies, to beget the "like distractions in This; which lest they may have farther "influence, We are the more willing to make our Innocence "appear in that particular.

"WHEN first that horrid Rebellion begun, We were in "Our Kingdom of *Scotland*; and the sense We had then of "it, the expressions We made concerning it, the Commissi-"ons, together with some other Assistance, We sent imme-"diately into that Kingdom, and the instant recommendation "We made of it to both our Houses of Parliament in *Eng-*"*land*, are known to all Persons of Quality there and then "about Us. After Our return into *England*, our ready con-"curring to all the desires of both Houses, that might most

"speedily

"ſpeedily repreſs that Rebellion, by paſſing the Bill of preſ-
"ſing, and in it a Clauſe, which quitted a Right challeng'd
"by all, and enjoy'd by many of our Predeceſſors, by parting
"with our Rights in the Lands Eſcheated to Us by that Re-
"bellion, for the encouragement of Adventurers; by empty-
"ing our Magazines of Arms and Ammunition for that Ser-
"vice (which We have ſince needed for our neceſſary De-
"fence, and Preſervation) by conſenting to all Bills for the
"raiſing of Money for the ſame, though containing unuſual
"Clauſes, which truſted both Houſes without Us with the
"manner of diſpoſing it: Our often preſſing both Houſes, not
"to neglect that Kingdom, by being diverted by conſidera-
"tions, and diſputes, leſs concerning both Kingdoms: Our
"offer of raiſing ten thouſand Voluntiers to be ſent thither;
"and our ſeveral offers to engage our own Royal Perſon, in
"the ſuppreſſion of that horrid Rebellion, are no leſs known
"to all this Nation, than our perpetual earneſtneſs, by our
"Forreign Miniſters, to keep all manner of Supplies from
"being Tranſported for the relief of the Rebels, is known to
"ſeveral Neighbouring Princes; which if all good Subjects
"will conſider, and withal how many of the Men, and how
"much of the Money raiſed for that end, and how much
"time, care, and induſtry, have been diverted from that em-
"ployment, and employ'd in this unnatural War againſt Us
"(the true cauſe of the preſent miſeries, and want, which
"our *Britiſh* Armies there do now endure) they will ſoon
"free Us from all thoſe Imputations, ſo ſcandalouſly and
"groundleſly laid upon Us; and impute the continuance of
"the combuſtion of that miſerable Kingdom, the danger it
"may bring upon our Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and
"the beginning of this doleful Deſolation, to thoſe who are
"truly guilty of it.

"For Unity in Religion, which is deſired, We cannot
"but Anſwer, that We much apprehend, leſt the Papiſts may
"make ſome advantage of that expreſſion, by continuing
"that ſcandal with more Authority, which they have ever
"heretofore uſed to caſt upon the Reformation, by interpret-
"ing all the differences in Ceremony, Government, or indif-
"ferent opinions between ſeveral Proteſtant Churches, to be
"differences in Religion; and leſt our good Subjects of *Eng-*
"*land*, who have ever eſteem'd themſelves of the ſame Re-
"ligion with you, ſhould ſuſpect themſelves to be eſteem'd
"by You to be of a contrary; and that the Religion which
"They, and their Anceſtors have held, ever ſince the bleſſed
"Reformation, and in, and for which, they are reſolv'd to
"die, is taxed, and branded of falſehood, or inſufficiency, by
"ſuch a deſire.

"For Uniformity in Church Government, We conceiv'd "the Answer (formerly given by Us at *Bridgenorth*, 13th "*October* 1642) to the former Petition in this Argument, "would have satisfied the Petitioners; and is so full, that We "can add little to it; *viz.* That the Government here esta- "blish'd by the Laws, hath so near a Relation, and inter- "mixture with the Civil State (which may be unknown to "the Petitioners) that till a compos'd digested Form, be pre- "sented to Us, upon a free Debate of both Houses in a Par- "liamentary way, whereby the consent and approbation of "this whole Kingdom may be had, and We, and all our "Subjects may discern, what is to be left in, or brought in, "as well as what is to be taken away; We know not how "to consent to any Alteration, otherwise than such an Act "for the ease of Tender Consciences in the matter of Cere- "monies, as We have often offer'd; and that This, and any "thing else that may concern the Peace of the Church, and "the advancement of God's true Religion, may be soberly "discuss'd, and happily effected, We have formerly offer'd, "and are still willing, that Debates of that nature may be "enter'd into by a Synod of Godly, and Learned Divines, to "be regularly chosen according to the Laws, and Customs of "this Kingdom: To which We shall be willing that some "Learned Divines of our Church of *Scotland* may be likewise "sent, to be present, and offer, and debate their Reasons. With "this Answer the Petitioners had great reason to acquiesce, "without enlarging the matter of their former Petition, only "with better expressions against the establish'd Government, "and Laws of their Neighbour Nation (as if it were contrary "to the word of God) with whom they have so lately en- "ter'd into a strict Amity, and Friendship.

"But We cannot enough wonder, that the Petitioners "should interpose themselves, not only as fit Directors, and "Judges, between us, and our two Houses of Parliament, "in business so wholly concerning the Peace, and Govern- "ment of this our Kingdom; and in a matter so absolutely "entrusted to us, as what new Laws to consent, or Not to "consent to; but should assume, and publish, that the desire "of Reformation in this Kingdom is in a Peaceable and Par- "liamentary way; when all the world may know, that the "proceedings Here have been, and are, not only contrary to "all the Rules and Precedents of former Parliaments, but de- "structive to the Freedom, Privilege and Dignity of Parlia- "ments themselves: that We were first driven by Tumults, "for the safety of Our life, from our Cities of *London* and "*Westminster*; and have been since pursued, fought withal, "and are now kept from thence by an Army, raised and paid,

"as

"as is pretended, by the two Houſes, which conſiſt not of "the fourth part of the Number they ought to do; the reſt "being either driven from thence by the ſame violence, or "expell'd, or impriſon'd, for not conſenting to the Treaſons "and unheard of Inſolencies practiſed againſt Us. And if the "Petitioners could believe theſe proceedings to be in a Peace-"able, and Parliamentary way, they were very unacquainted "with the order, and conſtitution of this Kingdom, and not "ſo fit Inſtruments to promote the Reformation, and Peace, "they ſeem to deſire.

"We cannot believe the intermixture of the preſent Ec-"cleſiaſtical Government with the Civil State, to be other "than a very good Reaſon; and that the Government of the "Church ſhould be by the Rules of human Policy, to be "other than a very good Rule, unleſs ſome other Government "were as well Proved, as Pretended, to be better warranted "by the Word of God.

"Of any Bills offer'd to Us for Reformation, We ſhall not "now ſpeak, they being a part of thoſe Articles upon which "We have offer'd, an expect to treat: But cannot but won-"der, by what Authority, you prejudge our Judgment herein, "by denouncing God's Anger upon Us, and our hazard of "the loſs of the hearts of all our good Subjects, if We con-"ſent not unto them. The influence of ſo many bleſſings "from Heaven, upon the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, and our "Father of bleſſed Memory, and the acknowledgment of "Them by all Proteſtant Churches, to have been careful "Nurſes of the Church of Chriſt, and to have excellently "diſcharged their duties, in the Cuſtody, and Vindication of "Religion; and the Affection of their Subjects to them, do "ſufficiently aſſure Us, that We ſhould neither ſtop the in-"fluence of ſuch bleſſings, nor grieve the hearts of all the God-"ly, nor hazard the loſs of the hearts of our Good Subjects, "although We ſtill maintain, in this Kingdom, the ſame eſta-"bliſh'd Eccleſiaſtical Government which flouriſh'd in Their "times, and under Their ſpecial protection.

"We doubt not, but our Subjects of *Scotland* will reſt "abundantly ſatisfied with ſuch Alterations in their own "Church, as We have aſſented unto; and not be perſwaded "by a meer Aſſertion, that there is no hope of continuance of "what is There ſettled by Law, unleſs that be likewiſe alter'd "which is ſettled here. And our Subjects of *England* will "never depart from their dutiful Affection to Us, for not "conſenting to new Laws, which, by the Law of the Land, "they know We may as juſtly reject, if We approve not of "them, as either Houſe hath power to prepare for, or both, "to propound to Us. Nor are you a little miſtaken, if either

"you believe the generality of this Nation, to deſire a Change "of Church Government, or that moſt of thoſe, who deſire it, "deſire by it to introduce that which You only eſteem a Re- "formation; but are as unwilling to ſubmit to what You call "the Yoke of Chriſt, and obedience to the Goſpel, as thoſe "whom You call prophane and worldly Men; and ſo equally "averſe both to Epiſcopacy, and Presbytery, that, if they "ſhould prevail in this particular, the abolition of the One, "would be no inlet to the Other; nor would your hearts be "leſs griev'd, your expectations leſs fruſtrated, your hopes "leſs alham'd, or your Reformation more ſecured. And the "Petitioners, upon due conſideration, will not find themſelves "leſs miſtaken in the Government of all the Reform'd "Churches, which, they ſay, is by Aſſemblies, than they are "in the beſt way of Reformation; which ſure is beſt to be "in a Common, and Ordinary way, where the Paſſion, or "Intereſt of particular Men may not impoſe upon the pub- "lick; but alteration be then only made, when, upon calm "Debates, and evident, and clear reaſon, and convenience, the "ſame ſhall be generally conſented to for the Peace and Se- "curity of the People; and thoſe who are truſted by the "Law, with ſuch Debates, are not deveſted of that truſt, upon "a General charge of Corruptions, pretended to have enter'd "by that way; and of being the Perſons to be Reform'd, and "ſo unfit to be Reformers. And certainly, the like Logick, with "the like Charges, and Pretences, might be uſed to make the "Parliament it ſelf an incapable Judge of any Reformation, "either in Church, or State.

"For the general expreſſions in the Petition againſt Pa- "piſts, in which the Petitioners may be underſtood to charge "us with Compliance and even Favour to their opinions; We "have taken all occaſions to publiſh to the world our practice "and reſolution in the true Proteſtant Reform'd Religion: "and We are verily perſwaded, there is no One Subject, in "either of our Dominions, who at all knows us, and hath "obſerv'd our life, but is, in his Soul, ſatisfied of our con- "ſtant Zeal and unmoveable Affection to that Religion, and of "our true diſlike of, and hearty Oppoſition to Popery. And "as We willingly conſented, at our being in *Scotland*, to all "Acts propoſed to Us, for the diſcountenancing, and the re- "forming the Papiſts in that our Kingdom; ſo, by our Pro- "clamations for the putting of all Laws ſeverely in execution "againſt Recuſants; and by not refuſing any one Bill, pre- "ſented to Us to that purpoſe, in this Kingdom; and by our "perpetual and publick profeſſions of readineſs, with the ad- "vice of our two Houſes of Parliament, prepared for Us in "a deliberate and orderly way, to find ſome expedient to per-

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"fect ſo good a work; We conceiv'd, we had not left it "poſſible for any Man to believe us guilty of tolerating any "part of the Romiſh Tyranny or Superſtition; or to ſuſpect, "that the Converſion of our deareſt Conſort was not ſo much "our deſire, that the Acceſſion of as many Crowns as God "hath already beſtow'd on us, would not be more welcome "to us than that day: A bleſſing, which it is our daily Prayer "to the Almighty to beſtow upon Us.

"But We might well have expected from the Peti- "tioners, who have in their Solemn, National Covenant, lit- "terally ſworn ſo much care of the ſafety of our Perſon, and "cannot but know in how much danger That hath been, and "ſtill is, by the power and threats of Rebellious Armies, that "they would as well have remember'd the 23d of *October*, as "the 5th of *November*; and as well have taken notice of the "Army raiſed, and led againſt Us by the Earl of *Eſſex*, which "hath actually Aſſaulted, and endeavour'd to Murder Us; "which We know to abound in *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and "other Sectaries; and in which We have reaſon (by Pri- "ſoners We have taken, and the evidence they have given) "to believe there are many more Papiſts (and many of thoſe "Forreigners) than in all our Army; as have adviſed Us, "to disband out of the Army of the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, "which is raiſed for our defence; the Papiſts in that Army; "who are known to be no ſuch Number, as to endanger their "obtaining any power of building their Babel, and ſetting "up their Idolatry; and whoſe Loyalty he hath reaſon to "commend (though he was never ſuſpected for favouring "their Religion) not before that of Proteſtants, but of ſuch "as Rebel under that Title; and whoſe Aſſiſtance is as due "to Us, by the Law of God and Man, to reſcue Us from "Domeſtick Rebellion, as to defend Us from Forreign In- "vaſion; which We think no Man denies to be lawful for "them to do. But We do ſolemnly declare, and proteſt, that "God ſhall no ſooner free Us from the deſperate, and rebel- "lious Arms taken up againſt Us, but We ſhall endeavour "to free Our ſelves and Kingdom from any fear of danger "from the other, by diſarming them, according to the Laws "of this Land; as We ſhall not fail to ſend our Commiſ- "ſioner to the Aſſembly, at the time appointed for it by the "Laws of *Scotland*.

"To conclude, We deſire, and require the Petitioners (as "becomes good, and pious Preachers of the Goſpel) to uſe "their utmoſt endeavours, to compoſe any diſtraction in opi- "nions, or miſunderſtandings, which may, by the Faction "of ſome turbulent Perſons, be raiſed in the minds of Our "good Subjects of that our Kingdom; and to infuſe into them

"a true sense of Charity, Obedience, and Humility, the great "principles of the Christian Religion; that they may not "suffer themselves to be transported with things that they do "not understand, or think themselves concern'd in the Go-"vernment of another Kingdom, because it is not according "to the Customs of that in which they live; but that they "dispose themselves, with modesty, and devotion, to the Ser-"vice of Almighty God; with duty, and affection, to the "obedience of Us, and our Laws (remembring the singular "grace, favour, and benignity, We have always express'd to "that our Native Kingdom) and with Brotherly, and Chri-"stian Charity one towards another: And we doubt not but "God, in his mercy to Us and Them, will make Us instru-"ments of his Blessings upon each other, and both of Us, in "a great measure, of Happiness, and Prosperity, to the whole "Nation.

The Transactions of the Earl of Lowden and other Scotish Commissioners at Oxford: that they might be Mediators, and for a Parliament in Scotland.

THE Lord *Lowden* and the other Lay-Commissioners, who were Persons entirely guided by him, and of inferior Quality, gave the precedence to this Petition, which they call'd matter of Religion; and press'd not their own Commission, till the King had declar'd, and publish'd his Answer to the other; and though they pretended not to have any Authority to say any thing in that engagement of the Commissioners of the Assembly; yet the Lord *Lowden* used all importunity, and arguments, to perswade the King in private, to consent to the alteration of the Government of the Church; assuring him, "That it would be a means, not only to hinder his Subjects "of *Scotland* from adhereing to the Parliament; but that it "would oblige them, to assist his Majesty to the utmost, in "the vindication of all his Rights. But he quickly found the King too strongly fix'd to be sway'd in a case of Conscience, by a consideration of Convenience; and his Lordship under-took to give no other Arguments.

HE betook himself then with his Companions to their own proper, and avow'd Errand; which consisted of two parts: The One, to offer "The Mediation of the Conservators of the "Peace of that Kingdom, for the composure of the differences "between the King and the two Houses; The Other, "To "desire his Majesty, that he would send out his Precepts to "Summon a Parliament in *Scotland*. These desires, and any Arguments to inforce them, they always deliver'd to the King himself in writing; declining any Address to his Ministers, or any debates with his Council, lest it might seem to lessen the Grandeur and Absoluteness of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But the King always brought those papers which he receiv'd from them, to his Council; and receiv'd their Advice, what Answers,

Anſwers to return. For the firſt, of Mediation, they pretended a Title and obligation to it; by a Clauſe in the Act of Pacification made at the beginning of this Parliament; which Clauſe was: "That the Peace to be then eſtabliſh'd, might "be inviolably obſerv'd, in all time to come, it was agreed, "that ſome ſhould be appointed by his Majeſty, and the Par-"liaments of both Kingdoms, who, in the interim betwixt "the ſitting of the Parliaments, might be careful, that the "Peace then happily concluded might be continued; and who "ſhould endeavour by all means to prevent all troubles, and "diviſions; and if any debate and difference ſhould happen "to ariſe, to the diſturbance of the Common Peace, they "ſhould labour to remove, or compoſe them, according to "their power; it being ſuppoſed, that for all their proceed-"ings of this kind, they ſhould be anſwerable to the King's "Majeſty and the Parliament; and if any thing ſhould fall "out that ſhould be above their power, and could not be re-"medied by them, they ſhould inform themſelves in the par-"ticulars, and repreſent the ſame to the King's Majeſty, and "the enſuing Parliament; that, by their Wiſdoms and Au-"thority, all occaſion and cauſes of troubles might be remo-"ved, and the Peace of the Kingdom might be perpetual to all "Poſterity. And it was declar'd, that the power of the Com-"miſſion ſhould be reſtrain'd to the Articles of Peace in that "Treaty.

THIS Clauſe, and the whole Statute, being carefully peruſed, and examined before his Majeſty in his Council, the King return'd an Anſwer to them in writing.

The King's Anſwer to them in both particulars.

"THAT He could not find any colour, or pretence of "Authority, to be granted by that Act of Parliament, by "which the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* could conceive them-"ſelves intereſted in a faculty of Mediation; that the Clauſe, "mention'd by them (beſides that there was no ſuch Com-"miſſion granted as was mention'd in that Clauſe, nor any "Commiſſioners named for thoſe purpoſes) related only to "the differences that might grow between the two Nations; "and only upon the Articles of that Treaty, which, his Ma-"jeſty ſaid, had been, and ſhould be inviolably obſerv'd by "Him. That the differences between his Majeſty and his two "Houſes of Parliament, had not the leaſt Relation to the "Peace between the two Kingdoms, but to his unqueſtion-"able, and long enjoy'd Rights, which his Rebellious Sub-"jects endeavour'd, by Force, to wreſt from Him; and con-"cern'd the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; which, as "they could not be ſuppoſed to be known to the Conſerva-"tors of the Peace of *Scotland*,, ſo they could not have any "poſſible Cogniſance of them. That it might give great

"Umbrage to his Subjects of *England*, if he should consent "to what they now proposed; and, instead of confirming, "and continuing the Peace, breed jealousies between the Na- "tions; and therefore he could not admit of any such Me- "diation as They proposed; but that he hoped the Treaty, "which he now expected, would beget so good an understand- "ing between Him and his two Houses, that a Peace might "ensue; towards which he would expect nothing from his "Subjects of *Scotland*, but their Prayers.

This gave them no satisfaction, but they insisted still on their right by that Clause; which, without any Reason or Argument to perswade others to be of their mind, they said, "They "conceiv'd, laid that obligation upon them of interposition; to which the King still gave the same Answer.

For their other demand of a Parliament in *Scotland*, the case stood thus: The King, at his last being in *Scotland*, had, according to the Precedent he had made Here, granted an Act for Triennial Parliaments in that Kingdom; and, at the close of that present Parliament, had ratified another Act, by which a certain day was appointed, for the Commencement of the next; which day was to be on the first *Tuesday* of *June*, in the year 1644, except the King should call one sooner; which he had power to do. So that the question was only, whether the calling a Parliament sooner in that Kingdom, was like to advance His Service, and to contribute to the Peace of This? In the disquisition whereof, there needed no Arguments, that such a Convention could not then produce benefit to the King; the entire Government of that People being in those Persons, who had contriv'd those dismal alterations. On the other hand, all Men thought it very happy for the King, that without His consent, there could be no Parliament in *Scotland*, till *June* 1644; which was more than fourteen Months from this time: till when, how disinclin'd soever the whole Nation should be, there was as much Assurance as could possibly be, from that People, that the Parliament would not be able to procure any avow'd supply from that Kingdom: It being the expres's words in the late Act of Pacification, "That the Kingdom of *England* should not denounce, or make "War against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without consent of "the Parliament of *England*; as on the other part, it was enacted, "That the Kingdom of *Scotland* should not denounce, "or make War against the Kingdom of *England*, without the "consent of the Parliament of *Scotland*. And in case any of "the Subjects of either of the Kingdoms should arise in Arms, "or make War against the other Kingdom, or Subjects there- "of, without consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, "whereof they are Subjects, or upon which they do depend,

"that

"that they ſhould be held, reputed, and demanded, as Tray-"tors to the Eſtates, whereof they are Subjects. And, that "both the Kingdoms, in that caſe, ſhould be bound to con-"cur in the repreſſing of thoſe that ſhould happen to ariſe in "Arms, or make War, without conſent of their own Parlia-"ment.

So that whoever believ'd that thoſe People could be contain'd by any obligations, Divine, or Humane, thought it impoſſible, by theſe clear Texts, that any Forces could be raiſed there to invade *England*, and diſturb his Majeſty, till *June* 1644; before which time, there was hope the King might ſo far prevail, that the ſpirit of the Rebellion might be broken, and Men return again to their Underſtanding, and Allegiance. Therefore to that demand, the King return'd Anſwer, "That "againſt the time by which they could legally demand a Par-"liament (naming the day) "He would iſſue out his Writs, "and there being no emergent Cauſe to do it ſooner, he "would forbear to put his Subjects there to that trouble, which "thoſe meetings how neceſſary ſoever, would naturally carry "with them.

When they perceiv'd that they ſhould not receive ſatiſfaction in either of their Propoſals, and (which it may be troubled them more) that the King was ſo wary in his Anſwers, and ſo clearly expreſs'd the Reaſons, and Juſtice of them, that they ſhould have no Arguments to apply to the paſſion, or intereſt, of their Country-men; which they expected at leaſt (For in that, in which he was moſt ſtedfaſtly reſolv'd, the preſervation of the Government of the Church, he expreſs'd no more to them, than, "That being a matter of "ſo great importance, and having ſo near Relation to the Ci-"vil Government, and Laws of *England*, They could not be "competent Conſiderers of it; but that He would do what "ſhould be moſt ſafe, and neceſſary for the peace and welfare "of his Subjects, who were moſt concern'd in it) At laſt rather curſorily, and as matter of Ceremony at parting, than of moment, they deſir'd "The King's Leave, and Paſs to go to "*London*, having, as they ſaid, "Some buſineſs there before "their return into their own Country.

This was, by many, thought a thing of ſo ſmall moment, that the King ſhould readily grant it; ſince it was evident, that it was in their own power to go thither without his leave; for they were neceſſarily to return through the Enemies Quarters; and being once there, they might chooſe whether they would go directly home, or viſit *London*. And therefore that requeſt was thought but an inſtance of their Modeſty, that they might not return without one thing granted to them, at their requeſt. But the King look'd upon it as no indifferent thing;

thing; and their asking a business that they needed not ask, was enough to demonstrate, that there was more in it than appear'd. And he well knew, there was a great difference between their going to *London* with His Pass, and Licence, than without it, which they might easily do. They had now publickly declar'd their Errand, and claim'd a Title, and Legal Capacity to undertake the business of Mediation; which would be so far from being rejected there, that they would be thankfully receiv'd, and admitted to a power of Umpirage. If upon, or after this claim, the King should grant them His Pass, it would, by their Logick, more reasonably conclude his Assent, than many of those inferences which they drew from more distant Propositions; and having that ground once, his Majesty's not consenting to what those grave Mediators would propose, and afterwards, as Arbitrators, award, should be quarrel sufficient for the whole Nation to Engage. And therefore the King expressly denied his Pass, and Safe Conduct; and told them plainly the reason why he did so; and requir'd them, "Since he had denied to consent to that, which could "be the only ground of their going to *London*, that they "should first return to those that sent them, before they at- "tempted that Journey: if they did otherwise, they must "run the hazard of Persons, whom his Majesty would not "countenance with his Protection. And the truth is, though they might very well have gone to *London*, they could not have return'd thence to *Scotland* (except they would have submitted to the inconvenience and hazard of a Voyage by Sea) without so much danger from the King's Quarters in the North (*York*, and *New-Castle* being at His devotion) that they could not reasonably promise themselves to escape.

The Parliament's Commissioners to treat, came to Oxford.

WHILST this was in agitation, the Committee from the Parliament for the Treaty, to wit, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr *Pierpoint*, Sr *W. Armyn*, Sr *John Holland*, and Mr *Whitlock* came to *Oxford*; who shortly took notice of the *Scotish* Commissioners desires, and also desired on Their behalf, "That they might have his Majesty's leave to go to *London*: but being quickly answer'd, "That That request would not fall "within either of the Propositions agreed to be treated of, "they modestly gave over the Intercession: and in the end, the Lord *Lowden*, and his Country-men, return'd directly to *Scotland*, staying only so long in the Garrisons of the Enemy, through which they were reasonably to pass, as to receive such Animadversions, and to entertain such Communication, as they thought most necessary.

ASSOON

ASSOON as the Committee arriv'd at *Oxford*, they were very graciously receiv'd by the King; his Majesty always giving them Audience in Council, and they withdrawing into a private Chamber prepared for them, whilst their Proposals, which they still deliver'd in writing, were consider'd, and debated before the King. They declar'd, "That they "were first to Treat of the Cessation, and till that was con- "cluded, that they were not to enter upon any of the other "Propositions; with which his Majesty was well pleased, pre- suming that they had brought, or had power to give, con- sent to the Articles proposed by him; which he rather be- liev'd, when they read the preamble to the Articles; in which it was declar'd, "That the Lords and Commons being still "carried on with a vehement desire of Peace, that so the "Kingdom might be freed from the desolation, and destru- "ction, wherewith it was like to be overwhelm'd, had consi- "der'd of the Articles of Cessation with those alterations, and "additions, offer'd by his Majesty; unto which they were "ready to agree in such manner as was express'd in the en- "suing Articles. After which, were inserted the very Articles had been first sent to the King, without the least condescension to any one alteration, or addition, made by him; neither had the Committee power to recede or consent to any alter- ation, but only to publish it, if the King consented in Terms, and then, and not till then, to proceed to Treat upon the other Propositions.

The Treaty begins upon the Proposals of Cessation; but that takes no effect.

THIS the King look'd upon as an ill Omen; other Men as a plain Contempt, and Stratagem, to make the People believe by their sending their Committee, that they did desire a Treaty and a Cessation, yet, by limiting them so strictly, to frustrate Both, and to cast the Envy of it upon the King. Hereupon, the next day, the King sent a Message to them, which he pub- lish'd, to undeceive the People; farther pressing "The weight "and consequence of his former exceptions, and alterations; "and the inconvenience that proceeded from not granting "their Committee power to alter so much as verbal Expres- "sions: so that, if the King should consent to the Articles, as "they were propos'd, he should not only submit to great dis- "advantages; but some such, as themselves would not think "reasonable to oblige him to. As by that Article wherein they "reserv'd a power to send out a Fleet, or what Ships They "thought good, to Sea; they were not at all restrain'd, from "sending what Land Forces they pleas'd, to any part of the "Kingdom; so that, when the Cessation ended, they might "have new, and greater Armies throughout the Kingdom, than "they had when it begun; which, he presum'd, they did not "intend; being a thing so unequal, and contrary to the nature "of a Cessation.

"THEN

"THEN in the Articles they last sent, they styl'd their "Forces, the Army raised by the Parliament, the which if his "Majesty should consent to, he must acknowledge, either, "that He consented to the raising that Army, or that He was "no part of the Parliament: neither of which, He conceiv'd, "they would oblige him to do. And therefore, He desired, "that their Committee might have liberty to Treat, Debate, "and agree upon the Articles; upon which They, and all "the World should find, that he was less sollicitous for his "own Dignity, and Greatness, than for his Subjects Ease, and "Liberty. But if that so reasonable, equal, and just desire of "His, should not be yielded unto, but the same Articles still "insisted upon, though his Majesty, next to Peace, desired a "Cessation, yet, that the not agreeing upon the One, might "not destroy the hopes of, nor so much as delay the Other; "He was willing to Treat, even without a Cessation, upon "the Propositions themselves, in that order that was agreed; "and desir'd their Committee might be enabled to that effect. "In which Treaty he would give, He said, "All his Subjects "that satisfaction, that if any security to enjoy all the Rights, "Privileges, and Liberties, due to them by the Law, or that "happiness in Church and State, which the best times had "seen, with such farther Acts of Grace, as might agree with "his Honour, Justice, and Duty to his Crown, and which "might not render him less able to Protect his Subjects, ac-"cording to his Oath, would satisfy them; his Majesty was "confident, in the Mercy of God, that no more precious Blood "of this Nation would be thus miserably spent.

THIS Message produced Liberty to the Committee to enter upon the Treaty it self, upon the Propositions, though the Cessation should not be agreed to: and shortly after they sent reasons to the King, why they consented not to the Cessation in such manner, and with those limitations, as He had proposed. 1. They alledg'd, "That, if they should grant "such a free Trade, as the King desir'd, to *Oxford*, and other "places, where his Forces lay, it would be very difficult, if "not impossible, to keep Arms, Ammunition, Money, and "Bullion, from passing to his Army: However, it would "be exceeding advantageous to his Majesty, in supplying his "Army with many necessaries, and making their Quarters a "Staple for such Commodities as might be vented in the ad-"jacent Counties; and so draw Money thither; whereby "the Inhabitants would be better enabled by Loans, and "Contributions, to support his Army. As this advantage to "Him was very demonstrable, so it was very improbable, that "it would produce any supply to Them; and, in a Treaty "for Cessation, those Demands could not be thought reason-

"able

"able that were not indifferent, that is, equally advantageous "to both Parties. 2. That to Demand the approving the "Commanders of the Ships, was, to desire to add the strength "of the one Party to the other, before the differences were "ended; against all Rules of Treaty. And to make a Cessa- "tion at Sea, was to leave the Kingdom naked to Forreign "Forces, and the Ports open for His supplies of Arms, and "Ammunition. But for conveying any Forces, by those "means, from one part to the other, they would observe the "Articles, by which that was restrain'd. 3. For the expres- "sion of the Army raised by the Parliament, they were con- "tented it should be alter'd, and the name of the two Houses "used. 4. For the Committing none, but according to the "known Laws of the Land, that is, by the ordinary Proces "of Law, it would follow, that no Man must be committed "by Them for supplying the King with Arms, Money, or "Ammunition; for, by the Law of the Land, the Subject "might carry such goods from *London* to *Oxford*: The Sol- "diers must not be committed who do run from their Co- "lours, and refuse any duty in the Army; no Man should be "committed, for not submitting to necessary supplies of Mo- "ney: so that if it should be yielded to, in his Majesty's sense, "they should be disabled to restrain supplies from their Ene- "mies, and to govern, and maintain their own Soldiers; and "so, under a disguise of a Cessation, should admit that which "would necessarily produce the dissolving of their Army, and "destruction of their Cause. And, they said, "It was not "probable, that his Majesty would suffer the same inconve- "niences by that Clause; for that they believ'd he would in- "terpret, that what his General did by Vertue of His Com- "mission, was and would be done according to the known "Laws of the Land; whereas he had deny'd, that those "known Laws gave any power to the two Houses of Par- "liament, to raise Arms; and so, consequently, their General "could not exercise any Martial Laws. So that under the "specious shew of Liberty, and Law, They should be alto- "gether disabled to defend their Liberties and Laws; and his "Majesty would enjoy an absolute Victory, and Submission, "under pretence of a Cessation, and Treaty. They said, "being, by a necessity inevitable, enforced to a Defensive "War, and therein warranted both by the Laws of God and "Man, it must needs follow, that, by the same Law, they "were enabled to raise means to support that War; and "therefore they could not relinquish that power of laying "Taxes upon those who ought to joyn with them in that "Defence, and the necessary way of Levying those Taxes "upon them, in case of refusal; for otherwise their Army "must needs be dissolv'd.

THOUGH

THOUGH these Reasons were capable, in a sad, and composed Debate, of full Answers, and many things would naturally have flow'd from them, to disprove the Practice and Assertions of the framers of them; yet it was very evident, that they carried such a kind of reason with them, as would prevail over the understandings of the People; and that the King, by not consenting to the Cessation, as it was propos'd by them, would be generally thought to have rejected any; which could not but have an ill influence upon his Affairs: and therefore his Majesty sent them, as soon as he had weighed this late Message, which he well discern'd was not form'd to satisfy him, but to satisfy the People against Him, an Answer; in which he explain'd the ill consequence of many of their Assumptions, and inforced the importance of his former demands on the behalf of the People; however, he offer'd "To "admit the Cessation upon the matter of their own Articles; "so that he might not be understood to consent to any of "those unjust, and illegal powers, which they exercised upon "the Subjects. But from henceforward, the Houses declin'd "any farther Argument, and Debate concerning the Cessation; and directed their Committee, "To expedite the Treaty upon "the Propositions: the Particulars whereof being transacted in the beginning of the year 1643. I shall refer the Narrative to the next Book; intending in This, only to comprehend the Transactions to the end of 1642.

I AM perswaded if the King had, upon the receipt of the Articles for the Cessation, when they were first sent to him, frankly consented to it, it would have prov'd very much to his advantage; and that His Army should very much have encreased by it, and the Other been impair'd; and that it would have been very difficult for the Parliament to have dissolv'd it, if once begun, or to have determin'd the Treaty. But besides the reasons before mention'd, the consideration of the Northern Forces, and the restraining them within their old Quarters, who seem'd to be in a condition of marching even to *London* it self, prevail'd very far with the King; or rather (which indeed was the main reason, and render'd every other Suggestion of Weight) the jealousy that they did not intend to consent to, or admit any Peace, but such a one as his Majesty might not admit, made all the preliminary Debates the more insisted on.

I CANNOT but insert one Particular, which may hereafter be thought of some signification. It was now the time of the year when, by the custom of the Kingdom, the King's Judges *Itinerant* used to go the Circuits throughout *England*, and *Wales*, to administer Justice to the People; and to enquire into all Treasons, Felonies, Breaches of the Peace, and other Misde-

Misdemeanours; which were any where committed contrary to the known Laws; and they were sworn to judge according to those known Laws, the study and knowledge whereof was their Profession.

The advice and desires of the two Houses concerning Goal-delivery.

THE Lords and Commons now sent to the King a special Message, "To advise, and desire him, that, in regard of "the present distractions, which might hinder both the Judges, "and the People, from reforting to those places where such "meetings might be appointed, the Assizes and Goal-delivery "might not be holden; but that it might be deferr'd, until it "should please God to restore Peace unto his People.

His Majesty's Answer.

THE King return'd them Answer; "That the present "bloody distractions of the Kingdom, which he had used all "possible means to prevent, and would still to remove, did "afflict his Majesty under no consideration more, than of the "great interruption, and stop it made in the Course and Pro-"ceedings of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws; where-"by his good Subjects were robb'd of the Peace, and Secu-"rity they were born to. And therefore, as much as in "Him lay, he would advance that only means of their hap-"pines; at least, they should see that their Sufferings that "way, proceeded not from his Majesty; and since they might "now expect, by the Law, Statutes and Customs of the "Kingdom, the Assizes and General Goal-delivery in every "County, his Majesty thought not fit to Command the con-"trary; but would take severe, and precise order, that None "of his Subjects should receive the least prejudice, as they re-"paired thither by any of his Forces, which rule he should be "glad to see observ'd by others. And then he hoped, by the "execution of the Laws, even those publick Calamities might "have some abatement, and the Kingdom recover its former "Peace, and Prosperity.

The two Houses make an Ordinance to forbid the next Assizes, and Goal-delivery.

BUT this Answer was not more satisfactory than others they had usually receiv'd from Him; and therefore they betook themselves to their old, try'd Weapon, and made an Ordinance, "That all Judges and Justices of Assize, and *Nisi* "*prius*, and Justices of *Oyer*, and *Terminer*, and Goal-delivery "should forbear to execute any of their said Commissions, or "to hold or keep any Assizes, or Goal-Delivery, at any time "during that Lent Vacation; as they would Answer the con-"tempt, and neglect thereof before the Lords and Com-"mons in Parliament. This was the first avow'd Interrup-tion and Suspension of the publick Justice, that happen'd, or that was known ever before in that kind; and gave the People occasion to believe, that what the Parliament did (what pretence soever there was of Fundamental Laws) was not so warrantable by that Rule, since they labour'd so much to supprefs

preſs that Inquiſition. It was not in the King's power to help this; for beſides that the example of *Judge Mallet*, who, the Circuit before, had been forcibly taken from the Bench by a Troop of Horſe, as is before remember'd, terrified all the Judges (and there were very few Counties in *England*, in which they could have been ſecure from the like Violence) the Records, upon which the Legal Proceedings were to be, were at *London*; and ſo the exerciſe of the Law ceaſed throughout the Kingdom, ſave only in ſome few Counties, whither the King ſent ſome Judges of Aſſize, and into others, his Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; by virtue whereof, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and many others, were as legally attainted of High Treaſon, as the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors could direct.

An Account, and Character of the Privy Counſellors then attending the King, and thoſe who ſtayed with the two Houſes. Mr Hyde made Chancellor of the Exchequer.

THE Treaty, as is ſaid, being managed at the Council Table, the Pride of the Parliament having refuſed to Treat with any but the King himſelf, and his Majeſty reſolving to tranſact all by the Advice and Opinion of his Privy Council, it will be ſeaſonable in this place to ſet down the Names of all thoſe Privy Counſellors, who attended the King: there being at this time a new one added to the number; for in the time between the return of the Commiſſioners to *London*, and their coming back to the Treaty, Sr *John Colepepper* being preferr'd to be Maſter of the Rolls, Mr *Hyde* was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, till that time, though he was known to be truſted in matters of the greateſt importance, was not under any Character in the Court: And when We have named thoſe, who according to their duty did wait upon the King, We ſhall likewiſe name thoſe, who, being under the ſame obligation, ſtayed and acted with the Parliament againſt him.

Of the Lord Littleton.

THE Lord *Littleton* was keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, of whom ſo much hath been ſaid before, that there is no need of Enlargement upon him in this place. His parts, which in the profeſſion of the Law were very great, were not very applicable to the buſineſs now in hand; and though, from the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, the King had confidence enough in him, to leave the Seal in his Cuſtody, and he would have been glad to have done any ſervice; yet, by ill fortune, he had drawn ſo great a diſeſteem upon him from moſt Men, that he gave little Reputation to the Council, and had little Authority in it.

Of the Duke of Richmond.

THE Duke of *Richmond*, as he was of the nobleſt extraction, being neareſt allied to the King's Perſon of any Man who was not deſcended from King *James*; ſo he was very worthy of all the grace and favour the King had ſhew'd him; who had taken great care of his Education, and ſent him into

France

France, *Italy*, and *Spain*, where he was created a Grandee of that Kingdom; and as soon as he return'd, though he was scarce one and twenty years, of Age, made him a Privy Councellor; and shortly after, out of his abundant kindness to both Families, married him to the sole Daughter of his dead Favourite, the Duke of *Buckingham*; with whom he receiv'd twenty thousand pound in portion; and his Majesty's bounty was likewise very great to him; so that, as he was very eminent in his Title, he was at great ease in his Fortune. He was a Man of very good parts, and an excellent understanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of himself, that he was sometimes led by Men who judged much worse. He was of a great, and haughty Spirit, and so punctual in point of Honour, that he never swerv'd a tittle. He had so entire a Resignation of himself to the King, that he abhorr'd all Artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those, who, how Powerful soever, faild in their duty to his Majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice by them, as one that would have no Quarter, upon so infamous Terms, as but looking on whilst his Master was ill used. As he had receiv'd great Bounties from the King, so he Sacrificed all he had to his Service, as soon as his occasions stood in need of it; and lent his Majesty, at one time twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the War begun, engaged his three Brothers, all Gallant Gentlemen, in the Service; in which they all lost their Lives. Himself liv'd, with unspotted Fidelity, some years after the Murder of his Master, and was suffer'd to put him into his Grave; and Died, without the comfort of seeing the Resurrection of the Crown.

Of the Marquis of Hertford.

THE Marquis of *Hertford* was a Man of great Honour, and Fortune, and Interest in the Affection of the People; and had always undergone hard measure from the Court, where he long receiv'd no Countenance, and had no design of making advantage from it. For, though he was a Man of very good parts, and conversant in books, both in the Latin and Greek Languages, and of a clear Courage, of which he had given frequent Evidence; yet he was so wholly given up to a Country life, where he liv'd in Splendour, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for Business: Besides his particular Friendship with the Earl of *Essex*, whose Sister he had Married, his greatest Acquaintance and Conversation had been with those who had the Reputation of being best affected to the Liberty of the Kingdom, and least in love with the humour of the Court; many of whom were the chief of those who engaged themselves most factiously, and furiously against the King. But as soon as he discern'd their

violent purposes against the Government establish'd, before he suspected their blacker designs, he severed himself from them; and from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurr'd with them in any one Vote dishonourable to the King, or in the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*. He did accept the Government of the Prince of *Wales*, as is mention'd before, purely out of obedience to the King; and, no doubt, it was a great service; though for the performance of the Office of a Governour, he never thought himself fit, nor meddled with it. He left *York*, as is remember'd, to form an Army for the King in the West, where his Interest was; but he found those parts so corrupted, and an Army from the Parliament was poured down so soon upon him, that there was nothing for the present to be done worthy of his presence; so that he sent the small party, that was with him, farther West to *Cornwal*; where, by degrees, they grew able to raise an Army, with which they joyn'd with him afterwards again, and himself return'd to the King at *Oxford*, about the time when the Treaty begun.

Of the Earl of Southampton.

THE Earl of *Southampton* was indeed a great Man in all respects, and brought very much Reputation to the King's Cause. He was of a nature much inclin'd to Melancholy, and being born a younger Brother, and his Father, and his Elder Brother dying upon the point together, whilst he was but a Boy, he was at first much troubled to be call'd *My Lord*, and with the noise of Attendance; so much he Then delighted to be alone. He had a great Spirit; he had never had any conversation in the Court, nor obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it; which made it believ'd, that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions of being severe towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the Parliament, no Man was more courted by the Managers of those Designs. He had great dislike of the High Courses, which had been taken in the Government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*, for some exorbitant proceedings. But, as soon as he saw the ways of reverence and duty towards the King declined, and the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford* to exceed the limits of Justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their proceedings. He was a Man of great sharpness of Judgment, a very quick Apprehension, and that readiness of Expression upon any suddain Debate, that no Man deliver'd himself more advantageously, and weightily, and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no Man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon the Court, or purpose to have any; but wholly pursued the publick Interest. It was

long

long before he could be prevail'd with to be a Counſellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bed-Chamber; and receiv'd both Honours the rather, becauſe, after he had refus'd to take a Proteſtation, which both Houſes had order'd to be taken by all their Members, They had likewiſe Voted, "That no Man ſhould be capable of any Pre-"ferment in Church or State, who refus'd to take the ſame; and he would ſhew how much he contemn'd thoſe Votes. He went with the King to *York*; was moſt ſollicitous, as hath been ſaid, for the offer of Peace at *Nottingham*; and was with him at *Edge-hill*; and came and ſtayed with him at *Oxford* to the end of the War, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards Peace; and as no Man was more punctual in performing his own duty, ſo no Man had more Melancholy apprehenſions of the iſſue of the War; which is all ſhall be ſaid of him in this place, there being frequent occaſions to mention him, in the continuance of this diſcourſe.

Of the Earl of Leiceſter.

THE Earl of *Leiceſter* was a Man of great parts, very converſant in Books, and much addicted to the Mathematicks; and though he had been a Soldier, and Commanded a Regiment, in the Service of the States of the United Provinces, and was afterwards employed in ſeveral Embaſſies, as in *Denmark*, and in *France*, was in truth rather a Speculative than a Practical Man; and expected a greater Certitude in the conſultation of buſineſs, than the buſineſs of this world is capable of: which temper prov'd very inconvenient to him through the courſe of his Life. He was, after the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, by the concurrent kindneſs and eſteem both of King and Queen, call'd from his Embaſſy in *France*, to be Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and, in a very ſhort time after, unhappily loſt that kindneſs and eſteem: And being, about the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, ready to Embark at *Cheſter*, for the execution of his Charge, he was requir'd to attend his Majeſty, for farther Inſtructions, at *Oxford*; where he remain'd; and though he was of the Council, and ſometimes preſent, he deſired not to have any part in the buſineſs; and lay under many reproaches and jealouſies, which he deſerv'd not: For he was a Man of Honour, and Fidelity to the King, and his greateſt misfortunes proceeded from the ſtaggering, and irreſolution in his Nature.

Of the Earl of Briſtol.

THE Earl of *Briſtol* was a Man of a grave aſpect, of a preſence that drew reſpect, and of long experience in Affairs of great Importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favour of King *James* to his Perſon (for he was a very handſome Man) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improv'd by good Education at home and abroad, ſent Embaſſadour into *Spain*, before he was thirty years of Age,

and afterwards in ſeveral other Embaſſies; and at laſt, again into *Spain*; where he Treated, and Concluded the Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and that Infanta; which was afterwards diſſolv'd. He was by King *James* made of the Privy Council, Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſehold, an Earl, and a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, and was then cruſh'd by the power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the prejudice the Prince himſelf had contracted againſt him, during his Higneſs's being in *Spain*; upon which he was impriſon'd upon his return; and after the Duke's death, the King retain'd ſo ſtrict a Memory of all that Duke's Friendſhips and Diſpleaſures, that the Earl of *Briſtol* could never recover any admiſſion to Court; but liv'd in the Country, in eaſe, and plenty in his Fortune, and in great Reputation with all who had not an implicit Reverence for the Court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appear'd in the head of all the diſcontented Party; but quickly left them, when they enter'd upon their unwarrantable Violences, and grew ſo much into their diſfavour, that after the King was gone to *York*, upon ſome expreſſions he us'd in the Houſe of Peers in Debate, they Committed him to the Tower; from whence being releas'd, in two or three days, he made haſte to *York* to the King; who had before reſtor'd him to his place in the Council, and the Bed-Chamber. He was with him at *Edgehill*, and came with him from thence to *Oxford*; and, at the end of the War, went into *France*; where he died; that Party having ſo great an Animoſity againſt him, that they would not ſuffer him to live in *England*, nor to compound for his Eſtate, as they ſuffer'd others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a Man of great parts, and a Wiſe Man, yet he had been for the moſt part ſingle, and by himſelf in buſineſs; which he managed with good ſufficiency; and had liv'd little in conſort, ſo that in Council he was paſſionate, and ſupercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much paſſion, and was too voluminous in diſcourſe; ſo that he was not conſider'd there with much reſpect; to the leſſening whereof no Man contributed more than his Son, the Lord *Digby*; who ſhortly after came to ſit there as Secretary of State, and had not that reverence for his Father's Wiſdom, which his great experience deſerv'd, though he fail'd not in his Piety towards him.

Of the Earl of New-Caſtle.

THE Earl of *New-Caſtle* was a Perſon well bred, and of a full and plentiful Fortune; and had been choſen by the King to be Governour to the Prince of *Wales*, and made of the Council, and reſign'd that Office of Governour to the Marquis of *Hertford*, for the reaſons which have been mention'd. He was not at *Oxford*, but remain'd at *New-Caſtle*, with the King's

King's Commiſſion to be General of thoſe Parts; being a Man of great Courage, and ſignal Fidelity to the Crown, of whom there will be more occaſion hereafter to enlarge.

THE Earl of *Berk-ſhire* was of the Council, but not yet at *Oxford*; having been, about, or before the ſetting up of the Standard, taken Priſoner in *Oxford-ſhire*, and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had ſome purpoſe to have executed the Commiſſion of Array in that County; but they afterwards ſet him at Liberty, as a Man that could do them no harm any where; and then he came to *Oxford*, with the Title, and pretences of a Man, who had been impriſon'd for the King, and thereby merited more than his Majeſty had to give. His Affection for the Crown was good, but his Intereſt little. *of the Earl of Berkſhire and others.*

THE Lord *Dunſmore* had been made a Privy Counſellor, after ſo many, who had deſerv'd worſe, had been call'd thither; and was ready to do whatever he was directed; he was a Man of a rough, and tempeſtuous Nature, violent in purſuing what he wiſh'd, without judgment, or temper to know the way of bringing it to paſs; however, he had ſome kind of power with froward and diſcontented Men; at leaſt he had credit to make them more indiſpoſed. But his greateſt Reputation was, that the Earl of *Southampton* Married his Daughter, a beautiful and a worthy Lady.

THE Lord *Seymour*, being Brother to the Marquis of *Hertford*, was a Man of Intereſt, and Reputation; he had been always very Popular in the Country; where he had liv'd out of the grace of the Court; and his parts, and judgment, were beſt in thoſe things which concern'd the good husbandry and the Common adminiſtration of Juſtice to the People. In the beginning of the Parliament, he ſerv'd as Knight of the Shire for *Wiltſhire*, where he reſided; and behaving himſelf with leſs violence in the Houſe of Commons, than many of his old Friends did, and having a great Friendſhip for the Earl of *Strafford*, he was, by His interpoſition, call'd to the Houſe of Peers; where he carried himſelf very well in all things relating to the Crown; and when the King went to *York*, he left the Parliament, and follow'd his Majeſty, and remain'd firm in his Fidelity.

THE Lord *Savil* was likewiſe of the Council, being firſt Controller, and then Treaſurer of the Houſhold, in recompence of his diſcovery of all the Treaſons and Conſpiracies, after they had taken effect, and could not be puniſh'd. He was a Man of an Ambitious and Reſtleſs Nature; of Parts and Wit enough; but, in his diſpoſition, and inclination, ſo Falſe, that he could never be believ'd, or depended upon. His particular Malice to the Earl of *Strafford*, which he had ſuck'd in

in with his Milk (there having always been an immortal Feud between the Families; and the Earl had shrewdly overborn his Father) had engaged him with all Persons who were willing and like to be able to do Him mischief. And so, having opportunity when the King was at the *Berks*, and made the first unhappy Pacification, to enter into Conversation, and Acquaintance, with those who were then employ'd as Commissioners from the *Scots*, there was a secret intelligence enter'd into between them from that time; and he was a principal Instrument to engage that Nation, to march into *England* with an Army; which they did the next year after. To which purpose, he sent them a Letter, sign'd with the Names of several of the *English* Nobility, inviting them to enter the Kingdom, and making great promises of Assistance; which Names were forged by himself, without the privity of those who were named. And when all this mischief was brought to pass, and he found his credit in the Parliament not so great as other Mens, he insinuated himself into credit with some body, who brought him to the King or Queen, to whom he confess'd all he had done to bring in the *Scots*, and who had Conspired with him, and all the secrets he knew, with a thousand Protestations "To repair all by future Loyalty and Service; for which he was promised a White Staff, which the King had then resolv'd to take from Sr *Henry Vane*, who held it with the Secretaries Office; which he had accordingly; though all his discovery was of no other use, than that the King knew many had been False, whom he could not Punish; and some, whom he could not suspect. When the King came to *York*, where this Lord's Fortune, and Interest lay, his Reputation was so low, that the Gentlemen of Interest, who wish'd well to the King's Service, would not communicate with him; and, after the King's remove from thence, the Earl of *New-Castle* found cause to have such a jealousy of him, that he thought it necessary to imprison him; and afterwards sent him to *Oxford*; where he so well purged himself, that he was again restor'd to his Office. But in the end he behaved himself so ill, that the King put him again out of his place, and committed him to Prison, and never after admitted him to his Presence; nor would any Man of Quality ever after keep any correspondence with him.

Of the Lord *Falkland*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, there hath been so much said before, that there is no occasion to add to it in this place. There will be reason too soon to lament the unhappy death of the former; and the latter, who never fail'd in his Fidelity, will be very often mention'd throughout the ensuing discourse.

Secretary *Nicholas* was a very honest, and industrious Man,

Man, and always verſed in buſineſs; which few of the other were, or had been. After ſome time ſpent in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and then in the Middle Temple, he liv'd ſome years in *France*; and was afterwards Secretary to the Lord *Zouch*, who was a Privy Counſellor, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; and thereby he underſtood all that Juriſdiction, which is very great, and excluſive to the Admiral. And when that Lord, many years after, ſurrender'd that Office to the King, to the end that it might be conferr'd upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Secretary was likewiſe preferr'd with the Office; and ſo, in a ſhort time, became Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as of the Cinque Ports; and was entirely truſted, and eſteem'd by that great Favourite. After his death, he continued in the ſame place, whilſt the Office was in Commiſſion, and was then made Clerk of the Council, from whence the King call'd him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary *Windebank* fled the Kingdom; upon his Majeſty's own obſervation of his Virtue, and Fidelity, and without any other recommendation: and he was in truth, throughout his whole Life, a Perſon of very good Reputation, and of ſingular Integrity.

THERE remain only two of the Council then at *Oxford*, who are not yet named, Sr *John Banks*, who had been Attorney General, and was then Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, a Grave, and a Learned Man in the profeſſion of the Law; and Sr *Peter Wych*, who had been Embaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*; from whence he return'd very little before the Troubles, and gratified Sr *Thomas Jermyn* very liberally for his White Staff, when the Court was very Low, and ſo was made a Privy Counſellor, and Controller of the Houſhold. He was a very honeſt, plain Man; and dyed very ſhortly after the Treaty, and was ſucceeded by Sr *Chriſtopher Hatton*, a Perſon of great Reputation at that time, which in few years he found a way to diminiſh.

Of thoſe the Privy Counſellors who ſtay'd with the Parliament.

OF thoſe who were of the King's Council, and who ſtay'd and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland* may well be reckon'd the chief in reſpect of the Antiquity and Splendour of his Family, his great Fortune, and Eſtate, and the general Reputation he had among the greateſt Men, and his great Intereſt, by being High Admiral of *England*. Though he was of a Family, that had lain under frequent blemiſhes of want of Fidelity to the Crown, and his Father had been long a Priſoner in the Tower, under ſome ſuſpicion of having ſome knowledge of the Gun-powder Treaſon; and after he was ſet at Liberty, by the Mediation and Credit of the Earl of *Carliſle*, who had without, and againſt his conſent Married his Daughter, he continued, to his death, un-

Of the Earl of Northumberland.

der such a restraint, that he had not liberty to live and reside upon his Northern Estate: Yet this Lord's Father was no sooner dead, than the King pour'd out his Favours upon him in a wonderful measure: he begun with conferring the Order of the Garter upon him, and shortly after made him of his Privy Council; when a great Fleet of Ships was prepared, by which the King meant that his Neighbour Princes should discern, that he intended to maintain, and preserve his Soveraignty at Sea, he sent the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral of that Fleet, a much greater than the Crown had put to Sea, since the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, that he might breed him for that Service, before he gave him a more absolute Command. And after he had, in that Capacity, exercised himself a year or two, the King made him Lord High Admiral of *England*; which was such a quick succession of Bounties and Favours, as had rarely befallen any Man, who had not been attended with the Envy of a Favourite. He was, in all his deportment, a very great Man, and that which look'd like Formality, was a punctuality in preserving his Dignity, from the invasion and intrusion of bold Men, which no Man of that Age so well preserv'd himself from. Though his Notions were not large or deep, yet his temper, and reservedness in discourse, and his reservedness in speaking, got him the Reputation of an able, and a Wise Man; which he made evident in the excellent Government of his Family, where no Man was more absolutely obeyed; and no Man had ever fewer idle words to Answer for; and in debates of importance, he always express'd himself very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above Him, as he thought Himself above other considerable Men, he would have been a good Subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the King, made him lyable to the impressions, which they who approach'd him by those Addresses of Reverence, and Esteem, that usually insinuate into such Natures, made in him. So that after he was first prevail'd upon, not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was oblig'd to (which is a very pestilent corruption) he was, with the more Facility, led to concur in what, in Duty and Fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done. And so, he concurr'd in all the Counsels which produced the Rebellion, and stay'd with them to support it; which is as much as is necessary to say of him in this place, since there will be often occasion hereafter to mention him, with some enlargement.

Of the Earl of Pembroke.

THE Earl of *Pembroke* hath been enough mention'd in a better conjuncture of time, when his Virtues were thought greater than they were, and his Vices very little discern'd. Yet by what was then said, his Nature and his Parts might be well

well enough underſtood, and as neither the One, nor the Other were improvable, ſo they were liable to be corrupted by any Aſſaults; his Underſtanding being eaſy to be impoſed upon, and his Nature being made up of very ſtrong Paſſions. Whilſt there was Tranquillity in the Kingdom, he enjoy'd his full ſhare in Pomp and Greatneſs; the largeneſs and plentifulneſs of his Fortune being attended with reverence, and dependence from the People where his Eſtate and Intereſt lay, and where indeed he was a great Man; getting an affection and eſteem from Perſons who had no dependence upon him, by his magnificent Living, and diſcourſing highly of Juſtice, and of the Proteſtant Religion; inveighing bitterly againſt Popery, and telling what he uſed to ſay to the King; and ſpeaking frankly of the overſights of the Court, that he might not be thought a Slave to it. He had been bred from his Cradle in the Court; and had that perfection of a Courtier, that as he was not wary enough in offending Men, ſo he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his Inferiors, and to impute it to his Paſſion, and ask Pardon for it; which made him be thought a well natur'd Man. Beſides, he had an Office which, at that time, entitled him to the exerciſe of ſome Rudeneſs, and the good Order of the Court had ſome dependence upon his Incivilities.

THERE were very few great Perſons in Authority, who were not frequently offended by him, by ſharp and ſcandalous diſcourſes, and invectives againſt them, behind their backs; for which they found it beſt to receive ſatisfaction by Submiſſions, and Profeſſions, and Proteſtations, which was a Coin he was plentifully ſupplied with for the payment of all thoſe Debts; whilſt the King retain'd only ſome kindneſs for him, without any great eſteem of him. But, from the beginning of the Parliament, when he ſaw, and heard a People ſtout enough to inveigh againſt the King's Authority, and to fall upon thoſe Perſons, whom he had always more fear'd than lov'd; and found that there were two Armies in the Kingdom, and that the King had not the entire Command of either of them; when the Decrees of the Star-Chamber, and the Orders and Acts of the Conncil, in all which he had concurr'd, were call'd in queſtion, and like to be made penal to thoſe, who would not redeem their paſt Errors by future Service; his Fear, which was the Paſſion always predominant in him, above all his Cholor and Rage, prevail'd ſo far over him, that he gave himſelf up into the hands of the Lord *Say*, to diſpoſe of him as he thought fit, till the King took the white Staff from him, and gave it to the Earl of *Eſſex*, as hath been related at large before.

FROM this time, he took himſelf to be abſolv'd from all obligations,

obligations, and dependence upon the Court, which he had liv'd too long in to be willing to quit; and therefore the more cloſely adher'd to Them by whoſe Power he thought he might get thither again; and for ſome time, entertain'd the hope of obtaining the other Superior White Staff; which remain'd then in the King's hand by the departure of the Earl of *Arundel* into the parts beyond the Seas. But when he ſaw that Staff given to the Duke of *Richmond*, who was then made Lord Steward of the Houſhold, he gave over thoſe weak imaginations, and concurr'd roundly in all the Lord *Say* propoſed; and was ſo weak ſtill as to believe They never meant to Rebel againſt the King; or that the King could long ſubſiſt, without putting himſelf into Their hands. When they had any thing to do in the Weſt, as the exerciſe of the Militia, or executing any other Ordinance, they ſent him into the Country, and ſhew'd him to the People under the Conduct of two or three Members of the Houſe, in whom they could Confide; and he talk'd "Of the King's evil Counſel-"lors, who carried him from his Parliament; and of the Ma-"lignants; and againſt Scandalous Miniſters; whilſt none of his old Friends came near him. And when they were reſolv'd no longer to truſt the Iſle of *Wight* in the hands of the Earl of *Portland*, who had been long the King's Governour there, and had an abſolute power over the Affections of that People, They preferr'd the poor Earl of *Pembroke* to it, by an Ordinance of Parliament; who kindly accepted it, as a Teſtimony of their Favour; and ſo got into actual Rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to ſay more of him, and leſs could not be ſaid to make him known.

Of the Earl of Eſſex.

THE Earl of *Eſſex* hath been enough mention'd before; his Nature, and his Underſtanding have been deſcrib'd; his former diſobligations from the Court, and then his Introduction into it, and afterwards his being diſplaced from the Office he held in it, have been ſet forth; and there will be occaſion, hereafter, to renew the diſcourſe of him; and therefore it ſhall ſuffice in this place, to ſay, that a weak Judgment, and ſome Vanity, and much Pride, will hurry a Man into as unwarrantable, and as violent Attempts, as the greateſt, and moſt unlimited, and inſatiable Ambition will do. He had no Ambition of Title, or Office, or Preferment, but only to be kindly look'd upon, and kindly ſpoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own Fortune: and without doubt, no Man in his Nature more abhorr'd Rebellion than he did, nor could he have been led into it by any open and tranſparent Temptation, but by a thouſand diſguiſes and couzenages. His Pride ſupplied his want of Ambition, and he was angry to ſee any other Man more reſpected than himſelf, becauſe he thought

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he deſerv'd it more and did better requite it. For he was in his Friendſhips juſt, and conſtant; and would not have practiced fouly againſt thoſe he took to be Enemies. No Man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of Loyalty to the King, whilſt he thought himſelf Wiſe enough to know what Treaſon was. But the new Doctrine and diſtinction of Allegiance, and of the King's Power in and out of Parliament, and the new Notions of Ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his Underſtanding, and made him quit his own, to follow Theirs, who, he thought, wiſh'd as well, and judg'd better than himſelf. His Vanity diſpoſed him to be his Excellency; and his Weakneſs, to believe that he ſhould be the General in the Houſes, as well as in the Field; and be able to govern their Counſels, and reſtrain their Paſſions, as well as to Fight their Battles; and that, by this means, he ſhould become the Preſerver, and not the Deſtroyer of the King and Kingdom. With this ill grounded Confidence, he Launch'd out into that Sea, where he met with nothing but Rocks and Shelves, and from whence, he could never diſcover any ſafe Port to Harbour in.

Of the Earl of Saliſbury.

THE Earl of *Salisbury* had been born and bred in Court, and had the advantage of a deſcent from a Father, and a Grand-father, who had been very Wiſe Men; and great Miniſters of State in the Eyes of *Chriſtendom*; whoſe Wiſdom and Virtues died with them, and their Children only inherited their Titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King *James*; from which time he continued ſo obſequious to the Court, that he never fail'd in overacting all that he was requir'd to do. No Act of Power was ever propoſed, which he did not advance, and execute his part with the utmoſt Rigour. No Man ſo great a Tyrant in his Country, or was leſs ſway'd by any motives of Juſtice or Honour. He was a Man of no words, except in Hunting, and Hawking. In matters of State, and Council, He always concurr'd in what was propoſed for the King, and cancell'd and repair'd all thoſe Tranſgreſſions, by concurring in all that was propoſed againſt Him, aſſoon as any ſuch Propoſitions were made. Yet when the King went to *York*, He likewiſe attended upon his Majeſty; and, at that diſtance, ſeem'd to have recover'd ſome Courage, and concurr'd in all Counſels which were taken to undeceive the People, and to make the proceedings of the Parliament odious to all the World. But, on a ſuddain, he cauſed his Horſes to attend him out of the Town, and having placed freſh ones at a diſtance, he fled back to *London*, with the expedition ſuch Men uſe, when they are moſt affraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was requir'd

quir'd of him; and when the War was ended, and *Cromwell* had put down the House of Peers, he got himself to be chosen a Member of the House of Commons; and sat with them, as of their own Body; and was esteem'd accordingly.

Of the Earl of Warwick.

THE Earl of *Warwick* was of the King's Council too, but was not wonder'd at for leaving the King, whom he had never well serv'd; nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that Honour, which, he knew, was conferr'd upon him in the croud of those whom his Majesty had no esteem of, or ever proposed to Trust; so his business was to joyn with those to whom he ow'd his Promotion. He was a Man of a pleasant, and Companiable Wit, and Conversation; of an universal Jollity; and such a licence in his Words, and in his Actions, that a Man of less Virtue could not be found out; so that one might reasonably have believ'd, that a Man so qualified, would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a Nation, and Kingdom. But with all these faults, he had great Authority and Credit with that People, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his House the Rendezvous of all the Silenced Ministers, in the time when there was Authority to Silence them, and spending a good part of his Estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their Devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispensed with, He became the head of That Party; and got the Style of a Godly Man. When the King revoked the Earl of *Northumberland's* Commission of Admiral, He presently accepted the Office from the Parliament; and never quitted their Service; and when *Cromwell* disbanded that Parliament, he betook himself to the protection of the Protector; Married his Heir to his Daughter; and liv'd in so entire a Confidence, and Friendship with him, that when the Protector dy'd, he exceedingly lamented him. He left his Estate, which before was Subject to a vast Debt, more improv'd and repair'd, than any Man who Traffick'd in that desperate Commodity of Rebellion

Of the Earl of Holland.

THE Earl of *Holland* had grown up under the shadow of the Court, and had been too long a Counsellor before, and contributed too much to the Counsels which had most prejudiced the Crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed Attendance. But he chose to stay with the Parliament; and there hath been enough said of him before, and more must be said hereafter. And therefore it shall suffice now, to say, that there was a very froward Fate attended all, or most of the Posterity of that Bed, from whence he and his Brother of *Warwick* had their original; though he, and some others among them, had many very good Parts, and excellent Endowments

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THE Earl of *Manchester*, of the whole Cabal, was, in a thousand respects, most unfit for the Company he kept. He was of a gentle, and a generous Nature; civilly bred; had Reverence and Affection for the Person of the King, upon whom he had attended in *Spain*; lov'd his Country with too unskilful a tenderness; and was of so excellent a Temper, and Disposition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface those Marks: Insomuch as he was never guilty of any rudeness towards those he was obliged to oppress, but perform'd always as good Offices towards his old Friends, and all other Persons, as the iniquity of the Time, and the nature of the Employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few. *Of the Earl of Manchester.*

HE was at last dismiss'd, and remov'd from any Trust, for no other reason, but because he was not Wicked enough. He married first into the Family of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and, by his Favour, and Interest, was call'd to the House of Peers in the life of his Father; and made Baron of *Kimbolton*, though he was commonly treated and known by the Name of the Lord *Mandevil*; and was as much addicted to the service of the Court as he ought to be. But the death of his Lady, and the Murder of that great Favorite, his second Marriage with the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the very narrow, and restrain'd maintenance, which he receiv'd from his Father, and which would in no degree defray the expences of the Court, forced him too soon to retire to a Country Life; and totally to abandon both the Court, and *London*; whither he came very seldom in many years. And in this retirement, the discountenance which his Father underwent at Court, the conversation of that Family into which he was Married, the bewitching Popularity, which flow'd upon him with a wonderful torrent, and the want of those Guards which a good Education should have supplied him with, by the clear Notion of the Foundation of the Ecclesiastical, as well as the Civil Government, made a great impression upon his Understanding (for his Nature was never corrupted, but remain'd still in it's Integrity) and made him believe that the Court was inclin'd to hurt, and even to destroy the Country; and from particular Instances to make general, and dangerous conclusions. They who had been always Enemies to the Church prevail'd with him to lessen his reverence for it, and having not been well instructed to defend it, he yielded too easily to those who confidently assaulted it; and thought it had great errors, which were necessary to be reform'd; and that all means are lawful to compass that which is necessary. Whereas the true Logick is, that the thing desir'd is not necessary,

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if the ways are unlawful which are propoſed to bring it to paſs. No Man was courted with more application, by Perſons of all conditions, and qualities; and his Perſon was not leſs acceptable to thoſe of ſteddy and uncorrupted Principles, than to thoſe of deprav'd inclinations. And in the end, even his Piety adminiſter'd ſome excuſe to him; for his Father's infirmities, and tranſgreſſions, had ſo far expoſed him to the inquiſition of Juſtice, that the Son found it neceſſary to procure the Aſſiſtance, and Protection of thoſe who were ſtrong enough to violate Juſtice it ſelf; and ſo he adhered to thoſe who were beſt able to defend his Father's Honour, and thereby to ſecure his own Fortune; and concurr'd with them in their moſt violent deſigns, and gave reputation to them. And the Court as unskilfully took an occaſion too ſoon to make him deſperate, by accuſing him of High Treaſon, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his Intentions, at leaſt, as innocent as any of the leading Men.

It is ſome Evidence, that God Almighty ſaw his heart was not ſo malicious as the reſt, that he preſerv'd Him to the end of the confuſion; when he appear'd as glad of the King's Reſtoration, and had heartily wiſh'd it long before, and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the Rebellion, gave ſo manifeſt tokens of Repentance as He did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealouſy, and hatred of *Cromwell*, as one who abominated the Murder of the King, and all the Barbarous proceedings againſt the Lives of Men in cold Blood; the King upon his return receiv'd him into grace and favour, which he never after forfeited by any undutiful behaviour.

Of the Lord Say.

The laſt of thoſe Counſellors which were made after the faction prevail'd in Parliament, who were all made to advance an Accommodation, and who adhered to the Parliament, was the Lord *Say*; a Man, who had the deepeſt hand in the original Contrivance of all the Calamities which befel this unhappy Kingdom, though he had not the leaſt thought of diſſolving the Monarchy, and leſs of levelling the Ranks, and Diſtinctions of Men. For no Man valued himſelf more upon his Title, or had more Ambition to make it greater, and to raiſe his Fortune, which was but moderate for his Title. He was of a proud moroſe, and ſullen Nature; converſed much with Books, having been bred a Scholar, and (though nobly born) a Fellow of New College in *Oxford*; to which he claim'd a right, by the Alliance he pretended to have from *William* of *Wickham*, the Founder; which he made good by a far fetch'd Pedigree, through ſo many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguiſhes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that College had been ſeldom without

out one of that Lord's Family. His parts were not quick, but so much above many of his own Rank, that he had always great Credit, and Authority in Parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppose the Court; and He had, with his Milk, suck'd in an implacable Malice against the Government of the Church. When the Duke of *Buckingham*, proposed to himself, after his return with the Prince from *Spain*, to make himself Popular, by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a short time he was, he resolv'd to embrace the Friendship of the Lord *Say*; who was as sollicitous to climb by that Ladder. But the Duke quickly found him of too imperious, and pedantical a Spirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations; and so cast him off; and from that time he gave over any pursuit in Court, and liv'd narrowly in the Country; having conversation with very few, but such who had great Malignity against the Church and State, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them instructions how to behave themselves with caution, and to do their Business with most security; and was in truth the Pilot, that Steer'd all those Vessels which were freighted with Sedition to destroy the Government.

He found always some way to make professions of duty to the King, and made several undertakings to do great Services, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made haste to possess himself of any Preferment he could compass, whilst his Friends were content to attend a more proper conjuncture. So he got the Mastership of the Wards shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, and was as sollicitous to be Treasurer after the death of the Earl of *Bedford*; and, if he could have satisfied his Rancour in any degree against the Church, he would have been ready to have carried the Prerogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was mischief enough done, he would have stopped the current, and have diverted farther Fury; but he then found he had only Authority and Credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much Contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone.

of Sr Henry Vane the elder.

The last of the Counsellors who stayed with the Parliament, was Sr *Henry Vane*; who had so much excuse for it, that, being thrown out of Court, he had no whither else to go; and promis'd himself to be much made of by Them, for whose sakes only he had brought that infamy upon himself. He was of very ordinary parts by Nature, and had not cultivated them at all by Art; for he was Illiterate. But being of a stirring and boisterous disposition, very industrious, and very bold, he still wrought himself into some employment. He had been acquainted with the vicissitudes of Court, and had

had undergone some severe Mortification, by the disfavour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the beginning of the King's Reign. But the Duke was no sooner dead (which made it believ'd that he had made his Peace in his life time, for the King was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any Man who was eminently in the Duke's disfavour) but he was again brought into the Court, and made a Counsellor and Controller of the Household; which place he became well, and was fit for, and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good Subject. For he had not inclination to change, and in his judgment he had liked the Government both of Church, and State; and only desired to raise his Fortune, which was not great, and which he found many ways to improve. And he was wont to say, "That he never "had desired other preferment; and believ'd, that Marquis "*Hamilton* (with whom he had never kept fair quarter) when "he first proposed to him to be Secretary of State, did it to "affront him; well knowing his want of Ability for the dis-"charge of that Office. But, without doubt, as the fatal preferring him to that place was of unspeakable prejudice to the King, so his receiving it was to his own destruction. His malice to the Earl of *Strafford* (who had unwisely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt) transported him to all imaginable thoughts of Revenge; which is a Guest, that naturally disquiets, and tortures those who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and That disposed him to sacrifice his Honour and Faith, and his Master's interest, that he might ruin the Earl, and was buried Himself in the same ruin; for which being justly chastised by the King, and turn'd out of his Service, he was left to his own despair; and though he concurr'd in all the malicious designs against the King, and against the Church, he grew into the hatred, and contempt, of those who had made most use of him; and died in universal reproach, and not contemn'd more by any of his Enemies, than by his own Son; who had been his principal Conductor to Destruction.

We now pass to the Transactions in the Treaty it self, which was in the beginning of the Year 1643.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE
Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK VII.

Mic. III. 11.

The heads thereof judge for reward, and the Prieſts thereof teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord, and ſay, Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us.

Mic. VII. 4.

The beſt of them is as a brier; the moſt upright is ſharper then a thorn-hedge: the day of thy watchmen, and thy viſitation cometh; now ſhall be their perplexity.

The Sum of the demands and conceſſions of both ſides upon the firſt Article of the Treaty.

WHEN the Treaty was firſt conſented to by the two Houſes, they order'd that it ſhould be upon the firſt Propoſition made by his Majeſty, and the firſt Propoſition made by Themſelves, and that thoſe ſhould be firſt concluded on, before they proceeded to Treat upon any of the other Propoſitions. So that the Committee, in the firſt place, applied themſelves to his Majeſty, upon his own firſt Propoſition, which was, "That his "own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Forts, and Ships, which "had been taken, or kept from him by Force, ſhould be forth- "with reſtored to him. To which the Committee anſwer'd; "That the two Houſes had made uſe of his Majeſty's own Re- "venue but in a very ſmall proportion, which in a good part "had been employ'd in the maintenance of his Children, ac-

"cording to the allowance eſtabliſh'd by himſelf. And the "Houſes would ſatisfy what ſhould remain due to his Majeſty "of thoſe Sums, which they had receiv'd; and would leave the "ſame to him for the time to come. And they deſired likewiſe, "that his Majeſty would reſtore what had been taken for his "uſe, upon any of the Bills aſſign'd to other purpoſes by ſeve-"ral Acts of Parliament, or out of the proviſion made for the "War of *Ireland*: That all the Arms, and Ammunition "taken out of his Magazines ſhould be deliver'd into his "Stores, and whatſoever ſhould be wanting they would ſup-"ply in kind, according to the Proportions they had receiv'd: "but they propoſed, the Perſons, to whoſe charge thoſe pub-"lick Magazines ſhould be committed, being nominated by "his Majeſty, might be ſuch, as the two Houſes of Parlia-"ment might Confide in, and that his Majeſty would reſtore "all ſuch Arms and Ammunition, as had been taken for his "uſe, from the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Towns.

"THAT the two Houſes would remove the Garriſons out "of all Towns, and Forts in their hands, wherein there were "no Garriſons before theſe Troubles, and ſlight all Fortifica-"tions made ſince that time, and thoſe Towns, and Forts, "to continue in the ſame condition they were in before; and "that thoſe Garriſons ſhould not be renewed, or the Fortifi-"cations repair'd without conſent of his Majeſty, and both "Houſes of Parliament. That the Towns, and Forts, which "were within the juriſdiction of the Cinque Ports, ſhould be "deliver'd into the hands of ſuch a Noble Perſon, as the King "ſhould appoint to be Warden of the Cinque Ports, being "ſuch a one as they ſhould Confide in. That *Portſmouth* "ſhould be reduced to the number of the Garriſon, as was at "that time when the Lords and Commons undertook the cu-"ſtody of it; and that all other Forts, Caſtles, and Towns, "in which Garriſons had been kept, and had been ſince the "beginning of theſe Troubles taken into Their care, and cu-"ſtody, ſhould be reduced to the ſame eſtabliſhment they had "in the year 1636, and ſhould be ſo continued; and that all "thoſe Towns, Forts, and Caſtles, ſhould be deliver'd up "into the hands of ſuch Perſons of Quality, and Truſt, to be "likewiſe nominated by his Majeſty, as the two Houſes "ſhould Confide in. That the Warden of the Cinque Ports, "and all Governours, and Commanders of Towns, Caſtles, "and Forts, ſhould keep the ſame Towns, Caſtles, and Forts, "reſpectively, for the Service of his Majeſty, and the ſafety "of the Kingdom; and that they ſhould not admit into them "any Forreign Forces, or any other Forces rais'd without his "Majeſty's Authority, and Conſent of the two Houſes of "Parliament; and they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavour to

"ſuppreſs

"suppress all Forces whatsoever raised without such Autho-
"rity, and Consent; and they should seise all Arms, and
"Ammunition, provided for any such Forces.

"THEY likewise propos'd to the King that he would re-
"move the Garrison out of *New-Castle*, and all other Towns,
"Castles, and Forts, where any Garrisons had been placed
"by him since these Troubles; and that the Fortifica-
"tions might be likewise slighted, and the Towns and Forts
"left in such state as they were in the year 1636; and that all
"other Towns and Castles in his hands, wherein there had
"been formerly Garrisons, might be committed to such Per-
"sons nominated by him, as the Houses should Confide in,
"and under such Instructions as were formerly mention'd;
"and that the new Garrisons should not be renew'd, or the
"Fortifications repair'd, without the consent of the King and
"both Houses of Parliament. That the Ships should be deli-
"ver'd into the charge of such a Noble Person, as the King
"should nominate to be Lord High Admiral of *England*, and
"the two Houses Confide in; who should receive that Office
"by Letters Patents, *quam diu se bene gesserit*, and should have
"power to nominate, and appoint all Subordinate Comman-
"ders and Officers, and have all other powers appertaining to
"the Office of High Admiral; which Ships he should employ
"for the defence of the Kingdom, against all Forreign Forces
"whatsoever, and for the safeguard of Merchants, securing
"of Trade, and the guarding of *Ireland*, and the intercept-
"ing of all supplies to be carried to the Rebels; and should
"use his utmost endeavours to suppress all Forces, which should
"be raised by any Person without his Majesty's Authority,
"and Consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and
"should seise all Arms, and Ammunition, provided for sup-
"ply of any such Forces.

To this Answer, by which they required at least to go whole Sharers with him in his Soveraignity, the King replied, "That he knew not what proportion of his Revenue had "been made use of by his two Houses, but he had reason to "believe, if much of it had not been used, very much re-"main'd still in their hands; his whole Revenue being so "stopp'd, and seised on, by the orders of one or both Houses, "even to the taking of his Money out of his Exchequer, and "Mint, and Bonds (forced from his Cofferers Clerk) for the "Provisions of his Houshold; that very little had come to "his use for his own support, but he would be well content-"ed to allow whatsoever had been employed in the mainte-"nance of his Children, and to receive the Arrears due to "himself, and to be sure of his own for the future. He was "likewise willing to restore all Monies taken for his use, by

"any Authority from him, upon any Bills assign'd to other "purposes, being assured he had receiv'd very little or nothing "that way: and he expected likewise, that satisfaction should "be made by them for all those several vast sums, receiv'd, "and diverted to other purposes, by orders of one or both "Houses, which ought to have been paid by the Act of Pa-"cification to his Subjects of *Scotland*, or employ'd for the "discharge of the debts of the Kingdom; or, by other Acts "of Parliament, for the relief of his poor Protestant Subjects "in *Ireland*. For what concern'd his Magazines, he was con-"tent that all the Arms, and Ammunition, taken out of his "Magazines, which did remain in the hands of both Houses, "or of Persons employ'd by them, should be, as soon as the "Treaty was concluded, deliver'd into the Tower of *London*; "and that whatsoever should be wanting of the Proportions "taken by them should be supplied by them, with all conve-"nient speed in kind; which, he said, should be committed "to, and continued in, the Custody of the sworn Officers, to "whose places the same belong'd: and if any of those Offi-"cers had already forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit that "Trust, by any misdemeanours, his Majesty would by no "means defend them from the Justice of the Law. That he "always intended to restore such Arms, and Ammunition, "which he had been compell'd to take from any Persons, and "Places, when his own had been taken from him; and would "make them recompence as soon as his own Stores were re-"stored to him.

"To whatsoever they proposed for the slighting all Forti-"fications, and reducing all Garrisons, which had been made "since the beginning of the Troubles, and leaving them in "the State they were before, the King fully, and absolutely "consented; and that the old Castles, and Garrisons, should "be reduced to their Ancient proportion, and establishment; "but for the Governours, and Commanders of them, he said, "that the Cinque Ports were already in the Custody of a No-"ble Person, against whom he knew no just exception, and "who had such a legal interest therein, that he could not, with "Justice, remove him from it, until some sufficient cause "were made appear to him: but he was very willing, if he "should at any time be found guilty of any thing that might "make him unworthy of that Trust, that he might be pro-"ceeded against according to the Rules of Justice. That the "Government of the Town of *Portsmouth*, and all other Forts, "Castles, and Towns, as were formerly kept by Garrisons, "should be put into the hands of such Persons, against whom "no just exceptions could be made; all of them being, be-"fore these Troubles, by Letters Patents granted to several

"Persons,

"Perſons, againſt any of whom he knew not any exceptions, "who ſhould be remov'd if juſt cauſe ſhould be given for the "ſame. The Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all other Go- "vernours, and Commanders of the Towns, and Caſtles, "ſhould keep their Charges, as by the Law they ought to do, "and for the King's Service, and ſafety of the Kingdom; and "they ſhould not admit into any of them Forreign Forces, "or other Forces raiſed, or brought into them contrary to "the Law; but ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs "ſuch Forces, and ſhould ſeiſe all Arms, and Ammunition, "which by the Laws, and Statutes of the Kingdom, they "ought to ſeiſe.

To that part which concern'd the Ships, the King told them, "That he expected his own Ships ſhould be deliver'd "to him, as by the Law they ought to be; and that when "he ſhould think fit to nominate a Lord High Admiral of "*England*, it ſhould be ſuch a Perſon againſt whom no juſt "exception could be made; and if any ſhould be, he would "always leave him to his due Tryal, and Examination; and "he would grant his Office to him by ſuch Letters Patents, as "had been uſed. In the mean time he would govern the "Admiralty by Commiſſion, as had been in all times ac- "cuſtom'd; and whatſoever Ships ſhould be ſet out by Him "or his Authority, ſhould be employ'd for the defence of "the Kingdom againſt all Forreign Forces whatſoever, for the "Safeguard of Merchants, Securing of Trade, Guarding of "*Ireland*, and the intercepting of all Supplies to be carried "to the Rebels; and they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours "to ſuppreſs all Forces, which ſhould be raiſed, by any Per- "ſon whatſoever, againſt the Laws and Statutes of the King- "dom, and to ſeiſe all Arms and Ammunition provided for "the ſupply of any ſuch Forces.

It is evident to all Men where the difference now lay be- tween them, being whether the King would reſerve the diſ- poſal of thoſe Offices and Places of Truſt to Himſelf, which all Kings had enjoy'd, and was indeed a part of his Regality, or whether he would be content with ſuch a Nomination, as, being to paſs, and depend upon their approbation, no Man ſhould ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by Him. The Committee, upon his Majeſty's Anſwer, deſir'd to know, "whether he did intend, that both Houſes ſhould expreſs "their Confidence of the Perſons, to whoſe truſt thoſe Places "were to be committed; for that they were directed by their "Inſtructions, that, if his Majeſty was pleaſed to aſſent there- "unto, and to nominate Perſons of Quality to receive the "charge of them, that they ſhould certify it to both Houſes "of Parliament, that thereupon they might expreſs their Con-

"fidence in those Persons, or humbly desire his Majesty to "name others, none of which Persons to be remov'd during "three years next ensuing, without just cause to be approv'd "by both Houses; and if any should be so remov'd, or die "within that space, the Persons, to be put in their Places, to "be such, as the two Houses should confide in. The King answer'd, "That he did not intend, that the Houses should "express Their Confidence of the Persons, to whose Trusts "those Places should be committed, but only that they should "have liberty, upon any just exception, to proceed against "any such Persons according to Law; his Majesty being re- "solv'd not to Protect them against the Publick Justice. "When any of the Places should be void, he well knew the "Nomination, and free Election of those, who should suc- "ceed, to be a right belonging to, and inherent in his Ma- "jesty; and having been enjoy'd by all his Royal Progeni- "tors, He could not believe his well affected Subjects desir'd "to limit him in that Right; and desir'd they would be sa- "tisfied with this Answer, or give him any reasons to alter "his Resolution, and he would comply with them.

THEY told him, "There could be no good and firm Peace "hoped for, if there were not a cure found out for the Fears "and Jealousies; and they knew none sure, but this which "They had proposed. The King reply'd, "That he rather "expected reasons grounded upon Law, to have shew'd him, "by the Law, that he had not that Right he pretended, or "that They had a Right Superior to His, in what was now "in question; or that they would have shew'd him some le- "gal reason, why the Persons trusted by him were incapable "of such a Trust; than that they would only have insisted up- "on Fears, and Jealousies, of which as he knew no ground, "so he must be ignorant of the Cure. That the Argument "they used might extend to the depriving him of, or at least "sharing with him in, all his just Regal Power; since Power, "as well as Forces, might be the object of Fears and Jea- "lousies, and there would be always a Power left to hurt, "whilst there was any left to protect and defend. He told them, "If he had as much inclination, as he had more right, "to Fears and Jealousies, he might with more reason have "insisted upon an addition of Power, as a Security to enable "him to keep his Forts, when he had them, since it ap- "pear'd it was not so great, but that they had been able to "take them from him, than they to make any difficulty to "restore them to him in the same case they were before. "But, he said, as he was himself content with, so, he took "God to Witness, his greatest desire was, to observe always "and maintain the Law of the Land; and expected the same

"from

"from his Subjects; and believ'd the mutual obſervance of "that Rule, and neither of them to fear what the Law fear'd "not, to be, on both parts, a better Cure for that dangerous "Diſeaſe of Fears and Jealouſies, and a better means to eſta- "bliſh a happy and perpetual Peace, than for him to diveſt "himſelf of thoſe Truſts, which the Law of the Land had ſet- "tled in the Crown alone, to preſerve the Power, and Dignity "of the Prince, for the better Protection of the Subject, and "of the Law, and to avoid thoſe dangerous diſtractions, which "the Intereſt of any Sharers with him, would have infallibly "produced.

THE Committee neither offer'd to Anſwer his Majeſty's Reaſons, nor to oppoſe other Reaſons to weigh againſt them; but only ſaid, "That they were Commanded by their Inſtru- "ctions, to inſiſt upon the deſires of both Houſes formerly "expreſs'd. To which the King made no other Anſwer, "than that he conceiv'd it all the Juſtice in the World for him "to inſiſt, that what was by Law his own, and had been "contrary to Law taken from him, ſhould be fully reſtored "to him, without conditioning to impoſe any new limita- "tions upon Him, or his Miniſters, which were not formerly "requir'd from them by the Law; and he thought it moſt "unreaſonable, to be preſs'd to diminiſh his own juſt Rights "Himſelf, becauſe others had violated and uſurped them. This was the ſum of what paſs'd in the Treaty upon that Propoſition.

To the firſt Propoſition of the two Houſes, "That his "Majeſty would be pleaſed to disband his Armies, as they "likewiſe would be ready to disband all their Forces, which "they had raiſed, and that he would be pleaſed to return to "his Parliament: The King anſwer'd, "That he was as ready "and willing that all Armies ſhould be disbanded, as any "Perſon whatſoever; and conceiv'd the beſt way to it, would "be a happy and ſpeedy concluſion of the preſent Treaty; "which, if both Houſes would contribute as much as He "would do to it, would be ſuddainly effected. And as He "deſir'd nothing more than to be with his two Houſes, ſo He "would repair thither aſſoon as he could poſſibly do it with "his Honour and Safety.

THE Committee ask'd him, "If by a happy and ſpeedy "concluſion of the preſent Treaty, he intended a concluſion "upon the two firſt Propoſitions, or a concluſion of the Treaty "in all the Propoſitions of both parts. The King, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny the disbanding of the Armies, till all the Propoſitions were agreed, ſome where- of would require much time, anſwer'd, "That he intended "ſuch a concluſion of, or in the Treaty, as there might be a

"clear evidence to Himſelf, and his Subjects, of a future "Peace, and no ground left for the continuance, or growth "of thoſe bloody Diſſenſions; which, he doubted not, might "be obtain'd, if both Houſes would conſent that the Treaty "ſhould proceed without farther interruption, or limitation "of days. They ask'd him, "What he intended ſhould be "a clear evidence to him, and his good Subjects, of a future "Peace, and no ground left for the continuance, and growth "of thoſe bloody Diſſenſions? His Majeſty told them, "If the concluſion of the preſent Treaty upon his firſt Pro-"poſition, and the firſt Propoſition of both Houſes, ſhould "be ſo full, and perfectly made, that the Law of the Land "might have a full, free, and uninterrupted courſe, for the "defence, and preſervation of the Rights of his Majeſty, and "of themſelves, and the reſt of his Subjects, there would "be thence a clear evidence to Him, and all Men, of a fu-"ture Peace; and it would be ſuch a concluſion as he in-"tended, never meaning that both Armies ſhould remain "undisbanded until the Propoſitions on both ſides were fully "concluded. To the other clauſe of their own Propoſition concerning the King's return to the Parliament, they ſaid, "They had no Inſtructions to treat upon it; which the King much wonder'd at; and finding that they had no other Authority to Treat, or Debate what was neceſſary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to preſs him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding; and that the Forces in the North, where he had a great Army, and they had none, might be firſt disbanded, he endeavour'd to draw them to ſome Propoſitions upon his Return to the Parliament; from whence expedients would naturally reſult, if they purſued that heartily, which would conclude a general Peace. And it ſeem'd very ſtrange, that, after ſo many diſcourſes of the King's abſence from the Houſes, from whence they had taught the People to believe that moſt of the preſent Evils flow'd, and proceeded, when a Treaty was now enter'd upon, and that was a part of their own firſt Propoſition, that their Committee ſhould have no Inſtructions, or Authority to Treat upon it. After this, they receiv'd new Inſtructions, "To declare to his Majeſty the deſire of both "Houſes, for his coming to his Parliament; which, they ſaid, "they had often expreſs'd with full offers of ſecurity to his "Royal Perſon, agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance, and "they knew no cauſe why he might not repair thither with "Honour, and Safety. When the King found he could not engage them in that Argument to make any particular Overture, or Invitation to him; and that the Committee, who expreſs'd willingneſs enough, had not in truth the leaſt power

to

to promote, or contribute to an accommodation, leſt they ſhould make the People believe, that he had a deſire to continue the War, becauſe he conſented not to their Propoſition of disbanding the Armies, he ſent this Meſſage, by an expreſs of his own, to the two Houſes, after he had firſt communicated it to their Committee.

Oxford April 12th 1683.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to the two Houſes of Apr. 12. 1643.

"To ſhew to the whole World, how earneſtly his Majeſty "longs for Peace, and that no ſucceſs ſhall make him deſire "the continuance of his Army to any other end, or for any "longer time, than that, and until, things may be ſo ſettled, "as that the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted "courſe, for the Defence, and Preſervation of the Rights of "his Majeſty, both Houſes, and his good Subjects:

1. "ASSOON as his Majeſty is ſatisfied in his firſt Propo- "ſition, concerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and "Forts, in which he deſires nothing, but that the juſt, known, "legal Rights of his Majeſty (devolv'd to him from his Pro- "genitors) and of the Perſons truſted by him, which have "violently been taken from both, be reſtor'd unto him, and "unto them; unleſs any juſt and legal exception againſt any "of the Perſons truſted by him (which are yet unknown to "his Majeſty) can be made appear to him:

2. "ASSOON as all the Members of both Houſes ſhall be "reſtor'd to the ſame capacity of Sitting, and Voting in Par- "liament, as they had upon the firſt of *January* 1641; the "ſame, of right, belonging unto them by their Birth-rights, "and the free Election of thoſe that ſent them; and having "been Voted from them for adhering to his Majeſty in theſe "diſtractions; his Majeſty not intending that this ſhould ex- "tend either to the Biſhops, whoſe Votes have been taken "away by Bill, or to ſuch, in whoſe places, upon new Writs, "new Elections have been made:

3. "ASSOON as his Majeſty, and both Houſes, may be "ſecur'd from ſuch Tumultuous Aſſemblies, as to the great "breach of the Privileges, and the high diſhonour of Parlia- "ments, have formerly Aſſembled about both Houſes, and "aw'd the Members of the ſame; and occaſion'd two ſeveral "Complaints from the Lords Houſe, and two ſeveral deſires "of that Houſe to the Houſe of Commons, to joyn in a De- "claration againſt them; the complying with which deſire "might have prevented all theſe miſerable diſtractions, which "have enſued; which ſecurity, his Majeſty, conceives, can be "only ſettled by adjourning the Parliament to ſome other "place, at the leaſt twenty Miles from *London*, the choice of "which his Majeſty leaves to both Houſes:

"HIS

"His Majeſty will moſt chearfully and readily conſent, "that both Armies be immediately disbanded, and give a pre- "ſent meeting to both his Houſes of Parliament at the time, "and place, at, and to which, the Parliament ſhall be agreed "to be Adjourn'd: His Majeſty being moſt confident, that "the Law will then recover due Credit and Eſtimation; and "that upon a free Debate, in a full and peaceable Convention "of Parliament, ſuch proviſions will be made againſt Seditious "Preaching, and Printing againſt his Majeſty, and the eſta- "bliſh'd Laws, which have been one of the chief cauſes of "the preſent diſtractions, and ſuch care will be taken concern- "ing the legal, and known Rights of his Majeſty, and the "Property, and Liberty of his Subjects, that whatſoever hath "been publiſh'd, or done, in or by colour of any illegal De- "claration, Ordinance, or Order of one or both Houſes, or "any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power "to raiſe Arms without his Majeſty's conſent, will be in ſuch "manner recalled, diſclaimed, and provided againſt, that no "ſeed will remain for the like to ſpring out of for the future, "to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the "very being of it. And in ſuch a Convention his Majeſty "is reſolv'd, by his readineſs to conſent to whatſoever ſhall "be propoſed to him, by Bill, for the real good of his Sub- "jects (and particularly for the better diſcovery, and ſpeedier "Conviction of Recuſants; for the Education of the Children "of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion; for "the prevention of practices of Papiſts againſt the State; and "the due Execution of the Laws, and true Levying of the Pe- "nalties againſt them) to make known to all the World, how "cauſeleſs thoſe Fears, and Jealouſies have been, which have "been raiſed againſt him; and by that ſo diſtracted this mi- "ſerable Kingdom. And if this offer of his Majeſty be not "conſented to (in which he asks nothing for which there is "not apparent Juſtice on his ſide, and in which he defers "many things highly concerning both Himſelf, and People, "till a full, and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which "in Juſtice he might now require) his Majeſty is confident, "that it will then appear to all the World, not only who is "moſt deſirous of Peace, and whoſe fault it is that both Ar- "mies are not now disbanded; but who have been the true "and firſt cauſe, that this Peace was ever interrupted, or "thoſe Armies raiſed, and the beginning, or continuance of "the War; and the deſtruction, and deſolation of this poor "Kingdom (which is too likely to enſue) will not, by the "moſt intereſted, paſſionate, or prejudicate Perſon, be im- "puted to his Majeſty.

To

To this Message the two Houses return'd no Answer to the King, but requir'd the Committee to return to *Westminster* (having been in *Oxford* with his Majesty just twenty days) with such positive circumstances, that the House of Commons enjoyn'd Their Members to begin their Journey the same day; which they obey'd; though it was so late, that they were forced to very inconvenient Accommodations; and at their return, some of them were look'd upon with great Jealousy; as Persons engaged by the King, and disinclin'd to the Parliament; and this Jealousy prevail'd so far, that Mr *Martin* open'd a Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland* to his own Lady, presuming he should therein have discover'd some combination; and this insolence was not disliked.

Many were of opinion, that the King was too severe in this Treaty, and insisted too much upon what is his own by Right, and Law; and that if he would have distributed Offices and Places liberally to particular Men, which had been a condescension in Policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossess'd of his own Power. And I have heard this alledg'd by many, who at that time were extremely violent against all such Artifices. The Committee themselves (who at that time perfectly abhorr'd the proceedings of the Parliament, or rather the power, and superiority of the Earl of *Essex*) seem'd exceedingly desirous of such an accommodation, as all good Men desir'd; and to believe, that if the King would have condescended so far, as to nominate the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Lord High Admiral, that it would have made so great a division in the Houses, that the Treaty would have been continued, and his Majesty been satisfied in all the other Propositions. And the Earl of *Northumberland*, to private Friends, did make as full Professions of future Service to his Majesty, and as ample Recognitions of pass'd Errors, and Mistakes, as could reasonably be expected from a wary Nature, before he could be sure what reception such Professions, and Vows would find. But the King thought the Power and Interest of that Committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the Treaty, in which they seem'd heartily to engage themselves. And he was resolv'd at least to have a probable Assurance of the conclusion, before he would offer such concessions, as taking no effect, might prove prejudicial to him: As particularly, the nominating the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Admiral (though he would willingly have done it, at the price and pledge of an Honourable Peace) would have discontented all who had, how unreasonably soever, promised themselves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unseasonable easiness (from which imputation it concern'd the King, at that

that time, as much to purge himſelf, as of unmercifulneſs and revenge) upon promiſes, and hopes, to have readmitted a Man to a charge, and truſt, he had ſo fatally betray'd, and broken againſt as ſolemn promiſes, and obligations, at the leaſt, as he could now enter into; and therefore it concern'd the King to be ſure of ſome advantage, in lieu of this viſible hazard.

I AM one of thoſe who do believe that this obligation, at this time, lay'd upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, with ſuch other circumſtances of kindneſs, as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude, and faithfulneſs in him (for as, originally, he had, I am perſwaded, no evil purpoſes againſt the King; ſo he had now ſufficient diſdain and indignation againſt thoſe who got him to tread their Ways, when he had not their Ends) and that it would have made ſome rent and diviſion in the two Houſes (which could not but have produced ſome benefit to the King) and that it might probably have procured ſome few days addition for the continuance of the Treaty; the avow'd ground of denying it, being, becauſe the King had not, in the leaſt degree, conſented to any one thing propoſed by them: but, I confeſs, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a Peace, or given the King any advantage, or benefit in the War: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touch'd before. For, beſides that the ſtirring and Active Party, who carried on the War, were neither gracious to the Earl of *Northumberland*, nor He to them, their Favourite at Sea being then the Earl of *Warwick*, who had the poſſeſſion of the Fleet, and whom alone they believ'd fit to be truſted with the Navy; whoever calls to mind what was done in the Houſes, during the time of the Treaty, and by Their directions; that by their own Authority they directed all the Lands of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, to be ſequeſter'd, and inhibited their Tenants to pay any Rent to them; that under pretence of ſearching for Arms, and taking away ſuperſtitious Pictures, they cauſed the Queen's Chapel at *Somerſet* Houſe (where ſhe was to exerciſe her devotion, if they ever meant ſhe ſhould return again to *London*) to be moſt licentiouſly rifled; in which Licenſe with impunity, her Lodgings were plunder'd, and all her furniture, and goods of value, taken away and imbezell'd; that there was an Order made in the Houſe of Commons, when They ſent Their Meſſengers every day to *Oxford* without any Formality, or Controul, "That whatſoever Perſon ſhould come from *Oxford*, or "any part of the King's Army to *London*, or the parts adjacent, "without the Warrant of both Houſes of Parliament, or of "the Lord General the Earl of *Eſſex*, he ſhould be appre-

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"hended as a Spy and Intelligencer, and be proceeded againſt "according to the rules and grounds of War; by Virtue of which Order of the Houſe of Commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a Servant of the King's, for diſcharging the duty of his place, was executed; which ſhall be anon remember'd; all which except the execution of that Man, was tranſacted during the time of the Treaty at *Oxford*.

WHOSOEVER remembers the other Propoſition upon which the Treaty was founded, and the Bills then preſented to the King for his Royal Aſſent; that there was no unreaſonable thing demanded in the nineteen Propoſitions, which was not comprehended in theſe fourteen, and many additions made that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, and the whole frame of the Government of the Church; and another Bill for the calling an Aſſembly of Divines, nominated by themſelves (which was a preſumption, as contrary to the Policy and Government of the Kingdom, as the moſt extravagant Act they had done) conſiſting of Perſons the moſt deeply engaged in the moſt unwarrantable Acts that had been done; and yet his Majeſty was requir'd to promiſe to paſs ſuch other Bills for ſettling of Church Government, as, upon conſultation with that Aſſembly of Divines, ſhould be reſolv'd on by both Houſes of Parliament: That all the other Bills then preſented to the King for his Royal Aſſent, and inſiſted on, by their fourth Propoſition, though they had ſpecious and popular Titles, contain'd many Clauſes in them contrary to common Equity, and the Right of the Subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known Juſtice of the Kingdom; and therefore, beſides the time and circumſtances of the paſſing thoſe Acts (when the Nation was in blood) not like to meet with his Majeſty's Approbation; I ſay, whoſoever remembers, and conſiders all this (to ſay nothing of the limitations by which their Committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the Reſolutions of the two Houſes, and to receive the King's Anſwer, which might as effectually have been done, by any one ſingle ordinary Meſſenger) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the King's conſenting to make any one Perſon among them High Admiral of *England*, would have been a means to have reſtored the Kingdom to a preſent Peace, and the King to his juſt Rights and Authority: And if all theſe conſiderations be not ſufficient to render that ſuppoſition improbable, that, which follows next in order of Story, will abundantly confute it.

ON *Saturday* the 15th of *April*, which was the very day on

on which the Treaty expired at *Oxford*, being the last of the twenty days which were first assign'd, and to which no importunity of the King's could procure an Addition, the Earl of *Essex* march'd with his whole Army from *Windsor*, and sat down before *Reading*; which preparation would not have been so exactly made, and the resolution so punctually taken, if they had meant any reasonable concessions from the King should have frustrated that vast charge, and determin'd all farther Contentions. The Earl had never before been in the head of so gallant an Army, which consisted of about sixteen thousand Foot, and above three thousand Horse, in as good an Equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a Siege, as could be expected from an Enemy which knew no wants, and had the Command of the Tower of *London*, and all other Stores of the Kingdom. In the Town were above three thousand Foot, and a Regiment of Horse consisting of near three hundred; the Fortifications were very mean to endure a form'd Siege, being made only to secure a Winter Quarter, and never intended for a standing Garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolv'd at a Council of War at *Oxford*, "That "before the end of *April* (before which time it was conceiv'd the Enemy would not adventure to take the Field) Sr *Arthur Aston* should slight those Works, and draw off his Garrison to the King; and that which made it less able to bear a Siege, than the weakness of their Works, was their want of Ammunition; for they had not forty Barrels of Powder; which could have held a brisk and a daring Enemy but a short time. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foresight, so it was not capable of being supplied, at least in that proportion as was worthy the name of a Supply. For the King had no Port nor Friend, by which he could bring Ammunition to *Oxford*; neither had he been yet able to set up any Manufacture for any considerable supply. So that what he brought up with him after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which was the remainder of the four hundred Barrels brought by the Ship call'd the *Providence*, before the setting up of his Standard, had serv'd for all his expeditions, being distributed into the several Garrisons; and was still to furnish all his growing occasions; and that Magazine now at *Reading* (which was no greater than is before mention'd) was yet double to what was in any other place, *Oxford* only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred Barrels of Powder and in no one place Match proportionable to that little Powder: And this defect is wholly to be imputed to the lowness and streightness of the King's Condition; for there was no want of industry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent and supply it.

The Earl of Essex marches to Besiege Reading Apr. 15. being the last day of the Treaty.

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NOTWITHSTANDING all these difficulties, the Town look'd upon the Enemy with Courage and Contempt enough; and to say the truth, both Officers and Soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a War could be expected; and they had no apprehension of want of Victual, with which they were abundantly stored. The Soldiers without, were for the most part, newly levied, and few of their Officers acquainted with the way and order of Assaulting Towns; and this was the first Siege that happen'd in *England*. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full View of the Ground, their General advised with his Council of War, in what manner, he should proceed, whether by Assault, or approach; in which there was great diversity of opinions. "The Works "were weak; the Number of the Assailants sufficient; all ma- "terials in readiness; they believ'd the Soldiers in the Town "full of Apprehensions, and a very considerable Party of the "Inhabitants disaffected to the Garrison, who in the time of "a Storm would be able to beget a great distraction. They "might be able to Storm it in so many places at once, that the "number of the Soldiers within would not be able to defend "all; and if they prevail'd in any One, their whole Body of "Horse might enter, and be immediately Masters of the Town. "If they prevail'd this way, their Army would have that Repu- "tation, and carry that terror with it, that no power of the "King's would hereafter be able to abide it; but they might "march over the Kingdom, and subdue every part of it; "whereas if they delayed their work, and proceeded by way "of Approach, these in the Town would recover heart, and "after they had digested the present Fears and apprehensions, "contemn their danger; and their own Soldiers, who were "yet fresh and vigorous, would every day abate in Courage, "and their Numbers in a few weeks lessen as much by sick- "ness and duty, as they should probably do by an Assault. On the other hand it was objected, "That the Army consisted "most of new Levies (and in truth there were not, of all that gallant Army that was at *Edge-hill*, among the Foot, three thousand Men) "Who would be hardly brought to begin upon "so desperate Service; that it was the only Army the Parlia- "ment had, upon which all their hopes, and welfare depend- "ed; and if, in the Spring, it should receive an Eminent foil, "they would not recover their Courage again all the Sum- "mer. That they were not only to look upon the taking of "*Reading*, but, pursuing that in a reasonable way, to keep "themselves in a posture and condition to end the War by a "Battle with all the King's Forces; which would no doubt "apply themselves to their relief; and no place under Hea- "ven could be so commodious for them to try their Fortune

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"in, as That. Whereas if they should hastily engage themselves upon an Assault, and receive a Repulse, and should "be afterwards forced to rise to Fight with the King, they "should never make their Men stand; and then their Cause "was lost. As for the danger of Sickness among the Soldiers, who were not acquainted with hardship, it was urged, "That "though it were earlier in the year than the Armies usually "march'd into the Field, yet they had much better accommodation and provision than Armies use to have; their "Horse (to whom that time of the year is commonly most "hazardous, through the want of Forrage) being plentifully "provided for with Hay and Oats by the benefit of the River, "and all supplies being sent for the Foot out of *London*.

And in truth 'tis hardly credible what vast quantities (besides the Provisions made in a very regular way by the Commissioners) of excellent Victual ready dress'd, were every day sent in Wagons and Carts from *London* to the Army, upon the voluntary contributions from private Families, according to their Affections to the good Work in hand: the Common People being perswaded, that the taking of *Reading* would destroy all the King's hopes of an Army; and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon these Arguments and Debates (in which all these reasons were consider'd on both sides) the Major part of the Council inclined, and with that the General complied, to persue the business by Approach. It was reported, that the Officers of Horse in the Council were all for a Storm, and the Foot Officers for approaching. The chief Care and Oversight of the Approaches was committed to *Philip Skippon*, a Man often mention'd in the first part of this History, who had been an old Officer, and of good experience in the low Countries, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, by the absolute power of the two Houses; and without the chearful concurrence of the Earl of *Essex*; though Sr *John Merrick*, who had executed that place by his Lordship's choice from the beginning, was preferr'd to be General of the Ordnance.

The Approaches advanced very fast, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the Town lying so low, that they had easily raised many Batteries, from whence they shot their Cannon into the Town at a near distance, but without any considerable execution; there being fewer lost by that Service, than will be believ'd, and but one man of Note, Lieutenant Colonel *D' Ews* a young Man of notable Courage, and Vivacity, who had his Leg shot off by a Cannot Bullet, of which he speedily and very chearfully died. From the Town there were frequent Sallies with good Success; and very many Soldiers, and some Officers, of the Enemy were

were kill'd; more, hurt; who were sent to Hospitals near *London*; and those that were sent to *London*, as many Cart-Loads were, were brought in the night, and disposed with great secrecy, that the Citizens might take no notice of it; the Stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly set down, though pursued then with great industry; insomuch as some were punish'd for reporting that there were many Soldiers kill'd, and hurt before *Reading*; and it was a mark of Malignity to believe those reports: so unfit the People were to be trusted with all truths.

WITHIN a week after the beginning of the Siege, Sr *Arthur Aston* the Governour being in a Court of Guard near the Line which was nearest to the Enemies Approaches, a Cannon shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was cover'd with Brick-tyle, a piece whereof, the shot going through, hit the Governour in the head, and made that impression upon him, that his senses shortly fail'd him, so that he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own Person, but incompetent for Counsel or Direction; so that the chief Command was devolv'd to Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was the eldest Colonel of the Garrison. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King, for there was not in his Army an Officer of greater Reputation, and of whom the Enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at *Oxford*, a Party from thence under the Command of Mr *Willmot* the Lieutenant General of the Horse, without any signal opposition, put in a supply of Powder, and a Regiment of five hundred Foot into the Town, and receiv'd Advertisment from thence of the Governour's hurt, and that they must expect to be reliev'd within a week, beyond which time they should not be able to hold out. How ill the King was provided for such an expedition, will best appear by remembring how his Forces were then scatter'd, and the present posture he was then in at *Oxford*.

THE nimble and the successful marches of Sr *William Waller*, whom We left triumphing in *Wales*, after his strange surprize of the Lord *Herbert*'s Forces near *Glocester*, caused the King to send Prince *Maurice* with a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great success as speed, after his success at *Hynam*; and to make the shame of those Officers the less, with the spirit of Victory doubled upon him, he came before *Hereford*, a Town very well Affected, and reasonably well Fortified, having a Strong Stone Wall about it, and some Cannon, and there being in it some soldiers of good Reputation, and many Gentlemen of Honour, and Quality; and three or four hundred Soldiers, besides the Inhabitants well Arm'd; yet, without

the loss of one Man on either side, to the admiration of all, who then heard it, or ever since heard of it, he perswaded them fairly to give up the Town, and yield themselves Prisoners upon Quarter; which they did, and were presently by him sent for their better security to *Bristol*.

Sr William Waller *takes* Hereford:

Comes before Worcester: *is repulsed;*

From thence he march'd to *Worcester*, where his conquests met some stop; for though the Town was not so strong, nor the Garrison so great (I mean of Soldiers; for the Inhabitants were more) as *Hereford*, nor one Officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy War, the Inhabitants had the Courage to resolve not to admit any Summons or Messenger from him; and when his Drum, against all signs made to him from the Walls not to Approach, did notwithstanding refuse to return without delivering his Message, they shot at him, and kill'd him; and when Sr *William Waller* himself, to revenge that Affront, march'd with his whole Body towards them (there being only an old Gate without Bridge, or Work before it, to hinder his entrance into the Town) they entertain'd him so roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loss of some Officers, and about twenty Common Men; after which, his Men having not been accustom'd to such usage, he got over the *Severn* again, and with quick night marches, so avoided Prince *Maurice* (who took no less pains to meet with him) that with some few light Skirmishes, in which he receiv'd small loss, he carried his Party safe, and full of Reputation, through *Glocester* to the Earl of *Essex*'s Army before *Reading*; himself being sent for to *London*, upon a design that must be hereafter mention'd.

The great want at *Oxford* (if any one particular might deserve that Style, where all necessary things were wanted) was Ammunition; and the only hope of supply was from the North; yet the passage from thence so dangerous, that a Party little Inferiour in strength to an Army was necessary to convey it; for, though the Earl of *New-Castle*, at that time, was Master of the Field in *York-shire*, yet the Enemy was much Superior in all the Counties between that County and *Oxford*; and had planted many Garrisons so near all the Roads that the most private Messengers travell'd with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that escaped. To clear these obstructions, and not without the design of guarding and waiting on the Queen to *Oxford*, if her Majesty were ready for that Journey, at least to secure a necessary supply of Powder, Prince *Rupert* resolv'd in Person to march towards the North, and about the beginning of *April* (the Treaty being then at *Oxford*, and there being hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at least that the Earl of *Essex* would not have taken the Field till *May*) his Highness, with a Party of twelve hundred

Prince Rupert *marches towards the North.*

hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and ſix or ſeven hundred Foot, march'd towards *Lichfield*; which if he could reduce, and ſettle there a Garriſon for the King, lay moſt convenient for that Northern Communication; and would with it diſſolve other little adjacent holds of the Enemies, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through *Bromicham*, a Town in *Warwick-ſhire* before mention'd, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected Diſloyalty to the King, as any place in *England*. It is before remember'd, that the King in his march from *Shrewsbury*, notwithſtanding the eminent malignity of that People, had ſhew'd as eminent compaſſion to them; not giving way that they ſhould ſuffer by the undiſtinguiſhing licence of the Soldier, or by the ſeverity of his own Juſtice; which clemency of his, found ſo unequal a return, that, the next day after his remove thence, the Inhabitants of that place ſeiſed on his Carriages, wherein were his own Plate, and Furniture; and Conveyed them to *Warwick* Caſtle; and had from that time, with unuſual induſtry and vigilance, apprehended all Meſſengers who were employed, or ſuſpected to be ſo, in the King's Service; and though it was never made a Garriſon by direction of the Parliament, being built in ſuch a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being Fortified, yet they had ſo great a deſire to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the King's good Subjects, that they caſt up little ſlight works at both ends of the Town, and Barricadoed the reſt, and voluntarily engaged themſelves not to admit any intercourſe with the King's Forces.

In this poſture Prince *Rupert* now found them, having in the Town with them at that time a Troop of Horſe, belonging to the Garriſon of *Lichfield*, which was grown to that ſtrength, that it infeſted thoſe parts exceedingly; and would in a ſhort time have extended it ſelf to a powerful Juriſdiction. His Highneſs harldly believing it, poſſible, that when they ſhould diſcover his Power, they would offer to make Reſiſtance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more Important deſign, ſent his Quarter-Maſters thither to take up his Lodging; and to aſſure them, "That if they be-"haved themſelves peaceably, they ſhould not ſuffer for what "was paſt: But they had not Conſciences good enough to believe him, and abſolutely refuſed to let him Quarter in the Town; and from their little Works, with Mettle equal to their Malice, they diſcharged their ſhot upon him; but they were quickly over-power'd, and ſome parts of the Town being fired, they were not able to contend with both Enemies; and, diſtracted between both, ſuffer'd the Aſſailant to enter without much loſs; who took not that vengeance upon them they deſerv'd, but made them expiate their Tranſgreſſions with pay-

Takes Bromicham.

ing a less Mulct, than might have been expected from their Wealth, if their Wickedness had been less.

In the Entrance of this Town, and in the too eager pursuit of that loose Troop of Horse that was in it, the Earl of *Denbigh* (who from the beginning of the War, with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a Voluntier in Prince *Rupert's* Troop, and been engag'd with singular Courage in all enterprizes of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the Head and Body with Swords, and Poll-Axes; of which, within two or three days, he died. Had it not been for this ill accident (and to remember the dismal inequality of this contention, in which always some Earl, or Persons of great Honour or Fortune fell, when after the most signal Victory over the other side, there was seldom lost a Man of any known Family, or of other Reputation, than of Passion for the Cause in which he fell) I should not have mention'd an Action of so little moment, as was this of *Bromicham*; which I shall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a Clergy Man, who was here kill'd at the entering of the Town, after he had not only refused quarter, but provoked the Soldier by the most odious revilings, and reproaches of the Person and Honour of the King, that can be imagin'd, and renouncing all Allegiance to him; in whose pockets were found several Papers of Memorials of his own obscene, and scurrilous behaviour with several Women, in such loose expressions, as modest ears cannot endure. This Man was the principal Governour, and Incendiary of the rude People of that place against their Soveraign. So full a qualification was heightned measure of malice and disloyalty for this Service, that it weighed down the Infamy of any other lewd and vicious behaviour.

From *Bromicham*, the Prince, without longer stay than to remove two or three slight Garrisons in the way, which made very little resistance, march'd to *Lichfield*, and easily possess'd himself of the Town, which lay open to all Comers; but the Close (containing the Cathedral Church, and all the Clergy Men's Houses) was strongly fortified, and resolv'd against him. The Wall, about which there was a broad and deep Mote, was so thick, and strong, that no Battery the Prince could raise, would make any impression; the Governour, one Colonel *Rouswell*, very resolute; and the Garrison of such Men as were most transported with Superstition to the Cause, in which they engaged, and in Number equal to the ground they were to keep, and their Provisions ample for a longer time than it was fit the Prince should stay before it. So that it was believ'd, when his Highness had in vain endeavour'd to procure it by Treaty, he would not have engaged

gaged before it; for his ſtrength conſiſted, upon the matter, wholly in Horſe; his Foot and Dragoons being an inconſiderable Force for ſuch an Attempt. But whether the Difficulties were not throughly diſcern'd, and weigh'd at firſt, or whether the importance of the place was thought ſo great, that it was worth an equal hazard, and adventure, he reſolv'd not to move 'till he had tried the uttermoſt; and to that purpoſe, drew what addition of Force he could out of the Country, to ſtrengthen his handful of Foot; and perſwaded many Officers, and Voluntiers of the Horſe to alight, and bear their parts in the Duty; with which they chearfully and gallantly comply'd; and in leſs than ten days, he had drawn the Mote dry, and prepar'd two Bridges for the graff. The Beſieged omitted nothing that could be perform'd by vigilant, and bold Men; and kill'd and wounded many of the Beſiegers; and diſappointed, and ſpoiled one Mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the Morning, the Prince having prepared all things in readineſs for the Aſſault, he ſprung another Mine; which ſucceeded according to wiſh, and made a breach of twenty foot in the Wall, in a place leaſt ſuſpected by thoſe within; yet they defended it with all poſſible Courage and Reſolution, and kill'd and hurt very many; ſome, Officers of prime Quality; whereof the Lord *Digby*, Colonel *Gerrard*, Colonel *Wagſtaffe*, and Major *Leg*, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had enter'd the breach, they continued the diſpute ſo fiercely within (the narrowneſs of the breach, and the aſcent not ſuffering many to enter together, and no Horſe being able to get over) that after they had kill'd Colonel *Uſher*, and ſome other good Officers, and taken others Priſoners (for both Colonel *Wagſtaffe*, and *William Leg* were in their hands) they compell'd the Prince to conſent to very honourable Conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himſelf a gainer by the Bargain. And ſo the Garriſon march'd out with fair reſpect, and the Prince's teſtimony of their having made a Couragious Defence; his Highneſs being very glad of his Conqueſt, though the purchaſe had ſhrewdly ſhaken his Troops, and robb'd him of many Officers and Soldiers he much valued. *and Litchfield, and returns to the King.*

At this time, either the day before, or the day after this Action, Prince *Rupert* receiv'd a poſitive Order from the King, "To make all poſſible haſte, with all the ſtrength he "had, and all he could draw together from thoſe parts, to the "Relief of *Reading*; which was in the danger We but now left it. Upon which his Highneſs, committing the Government of *Litchfield* to Colonel *Baggot*, a Son of a good and powerful Family in that Country, and appointing his Troops to make what haſte was poſſible after him, himſelf with a few

Servants came to *Oxford* to attend the King, whom he found gone towards *Reading*.

THE importunity from that Garrison for Relief, was so peremptory, and the concernment so great in their Preservation, that the King found it would not bear the necessary delay of Prince *Rupert*'s returning with his Forces; and therefore his Majesty in Person, with those Horse and Foot which he could speedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in *Oxford*, or in any other Garrison, advanced towards *Reading*; hoping, and that was the utmost of his hope, that he might with the Assistance of the Garrison, be able to force one Quarter, and so draw out his Men; and by the advantage of those Rivers which divided the Enemy, and by the Passes, be able to retire to *Oxford*; for being joyn'd, he could not have equalled one half of the Enemies Army. When the King drew near the Town, the day being pass'd whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves Relief, he was encounter'd by a Party of the Enemy, which defended their Post, who being quickly seconded by Supplies of Horse and Foot from all their Quarters, after a very sharp Conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the King's Party, Commanded by the Earl of *Forth* himself [the General] consisting of near one thousand Musqueteers, were forced to retire to their Body; which they did the sooner, because those of the Town made no semblance of endeavouring to joyn with them; which was what they principally rely'd upon. The reason of that was, the Garrison not seeing their Relief coming, had sent for a Parley to the Enemy, which was agreed to, with a Truce for so many hours, upon which Hostages were deliver'd; and a Treaty begun, when the King came to Relieve it. Upon the view of the Enemies strength, and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the small Forces of the King would not be able to raise the Siege, or to joyn with those in the Town; and in this Melancholick conclusion his Majesty retired for the present, resolving to make any other reasonable Attempt the next day. In the mean time, some Soldiers found means to escape out of the Town, and Colonel *Fielding* himself in the Night came to the King, and told him the State they were in; and "That they were in Treaty, "and believ'd he might have very good Conditions, and li- "berty to march away with all their Arms and Baggage; which was so welcome News, that the King bid him, Prince *Rupert* being then present, "That if he could procure such "Conditions, he should accept them: for indeed the Men and the Arms were all that the King desir'd, the loss of either of which was like to prove fatal to him. The King continued still at *Nettlebeck*, a Village seven or eight Miles distant

distant from *Reading*, to attend the success of the Treaty; resolving, if it succeeded not, to try the utmost again for their Redemption; but all Men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon the Treaty, the next day these Articles were agreed on.

Reading surrender'd upon Articles Apr. 27

1. "THAT the Governour, Commanders, and Soldiers, "both Horse and Foot, might march out with Flying Colours, "Arms, and four Pieces of Ordnance, Ammunition, Bag and "Baggage, light Match, Bullet in Mouth, Drums beating, and "Trumpets sounding.

2. "THAT they might have free passage to his Majesty's "City of *Oxford*, without interruption of any of the Forces "under the Command of his Excellency the Earl of *Essex*; "provided the said Governour, Commanders, and Soldiers, "use no Hostility until they come to *Oxford*.

3. "THAT what Persons were accidentally come to the "Town, and shut up by the Siege, might have liberty to pass "without interruption; such Persons only excepted, as had "run away from the Army under the Command of the Earl "of *Essex*.

4. "THAT they shall have fifty Carriages for Baggage, sick, "and hurt Men.

5. "THAT the Inhabitants of the Town of *Reading* should "not to be prejudiced in their Estates, or Persons, either by "Plundering or Imprisonment; and that they who would "leave the Town, might have free leave, and passage, safely "to go to what place they would, with their goods, within "the space of six Weeks after the Surrender of the Town.

6. "THAT the Garrison should quit the Town by twelve "of the Clock the next Morning; and that the Earl of *Essex* "should provide a Guard for the Security of the Garrison Sol-"diers, when they begun to march.

UPON these Articles, sign'd by the Earl of *Essex*, the Town was deliver'd on the 27th day of *April* (being within a fortnight after the Siege begun) and the Garrison march'd to the King, who stay'd for them, and with him to *Oxford*. But at their coming out of the Town, and passing through the Enemies Guards, the Soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully used, but many of them disarm'd, and most of the Waggons plunder'd, in the presence of the Earl of *Essex* himself, and the Chief Officers; who seem'd to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unrulineſs of the Common Men being so great. As this breach of the Articles was very notorious, and inexcusable, so it was made the rise, foundation, and excuse for barbarous injustice of the same kind

throughout the greateſt part of the War; inſomuch as the King's Soldiers afterward, when it was their part to be preciſe in the obſervation of Agreements, mutinouſly remember'd the violation at *Reading*; and thereupon exerciſed the ſame Licenſe; from thence, either ſide having ſomewhat to object to the other, the requiſite honeſty and juſtice of obſerving Conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after Violated.

THERE had been, in the Secret Committee for the carrying on the War, forming thoſe deſigns, and adminiſtring to the expences thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they ſhould not march directly with their Army to Beſiege *Oxford*, where the King and the Court was, rather than *Reading*; and if they had taken that Reſolution, as Mr *Hambden*, and all they who deſir'd ſtill to ſtrike at the Root, very earneſtly inſiſted upon, without doubt they had put the King's Affairs into great Confuſion. For, beſides that *Oxford* was not tollerably Fortified, nor the Garriſon well provided for, the Court, and multitude of Nobility, and Ladies, and Gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of Alarm, very ill. But others, who did not yet think their Army well enough compoſed to reſiſt all temptations, nor enough ſubdued in their inclinations to Loyalty, and Reverence towards the Perſon of the King, had no mind it ſhould Beſiege the very place where the King himſelf was; and the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, who was yet the Soul of the Army, had no mind to that Enterpriſe: and ſo the Army march'd, as hath been ſaid, directly to *Reading*, with the ſucceſs that is mention'd.

THOUGH, at the inſtant, the Parliament was highly pleas'd with the getting the Town, and the King as well contented, when he ſaw his entire Garriſon ſafely joyn'd to the reſt of his Army (for it cannot be denied the joy was univerſal through the King's Quarters, upon the Aſſurance that they had recover'd near four thouſand good Men, whom they had given for loſt) yet, according to the Viciſſitudes in War, when the Accounts are caſt up, either Party grew quickly diſſatiſfied with it's ſucceſs. The King was no ſooner return'd to *Oxford*, but upon conference between the Officers and Soldiers, there grew a Whiſper, "That there had not been fair "carriage, and that *Reading* had been betray'd, and from thence made a noiſe through *Oxford*; and the very next day, and at the ſame time, Colonel *Fielding*, upon whom the diſcourſes reflected, came to the King to deſire, "That an Account might "be taken of the whole buſineſs at a Council of War for his "Vindication; and the Common Soldiers, in a diſorderly manner, "To require Juſtice againſt Him for betraying, and "delivering up the Town to the Rebels; which they avow'd with

with so much confidence, with the mention of some particulars, "As the having frequent intercourse with the Earl of "*Essex*, and hindering and forbidding the Soldiers to issue out "of the Town to joyn with the King, when he came to relieve "them, although their Officers had drawn them up to that "purpose, and were ready to lead them; and the like; with some rash, and passionate words disrespectful to his Majesty; so that he gave present order for his Commitment, and Tryal at a Court of War; the King himself being marvellously incensed against him, for that Clause in the third Article, which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the Town, and shut up by a Siege, to pass without interruption, wherein there was an exception of such Persons who had run away from the Earl of *Essex*'s Army, and by virtue of that exception some Soldiers were taken after the rendring of the Town, and were executed. And though the Colonel excused himself, "As being no more concern'd to Answer for the Ar- "ticles, than every Member of the Council of War, by which "they were agreed; yet it was alledged, "That the Council "of War had been induced to consent to those Articles, upon "the Colonel's averment, that the King had seen them, and "approv'd of them. Whereas his Majesty had never seen any Articles in writing, but only consented, that they should march away with their Arms and Baggage, if the Enemy agreed to those Conditions. I have not known the King more afflicted, than he was with that Clause, which he call'd no less "Than giving up those poor Men, who out of Conscience of "their Rebellion, had betaken themselves to his Protection, "to be Massacred and Murder'd by the Rebels, whom they "had deserted; and for the vindication of himself therein, he immediately publish'd a Proclamation, in which he took notice of that Clause; and declar'd to all the World:

Colonel Fielding order'd to be tried for the Surrender.

"THAT he was not privy to, or in the least degree, con- "senting to that exception, but held the same most preju- "dicial to his Service, and derogatory to his Honour; and "that he would always choose to run any hazard of danger, "the Violence or Treason of his Enemies could threaten, or "bring upon him, rather than he would withdraw, or deny "his Protection to any, who, being convinced in their Con- "science of their disloyalty, should return to their Duty, and "betake themselves to his Service. And as he had referr'd "to a Court of War, the full examination of all the particular "proceedings, in the delivery of that Town, that Justice might "be done accordingly; so he did declare, that he would always "proceed with all severity against such, as should, by the like "dishonourable Conditions, expose his Subjects, and bereave "them of his Protection that had return'd to their Obedience "to him.

AT

At the Tryal, it was objected againſt the Colonel, "That "the Town might have been longer defended, there being "no want of neceſſary Proviſion, and as much Powder, at the "giving it up, as there was when the Enemy came firſt before "it; for beſides the firſt ſupply, ſixteen Barrels were put in "during the Skirmiſh, when the King came to relieve it: "That ſeveral Colonels preſs'd very earneſtly to Sally, when "the King's Forces were engaged, and that they were ex- "preſsly hinder'd, and forbidden by Him: That he fre- "quently gave his Paſs to a Woman to go out of the Town, "who went into the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and return'd a- "gain: That he perſwaded the Council of War to conſent to "the Articles, by proteſting that the King had well approv'd "them, and reproach'd thoſe Officers who were of another "opinion; with ſome other particulars of Licence and Paſſion, which reflected more upon his Diſcretion, than his Honeſty, or Conduct.

He juſtified himſelf "To have done nothing towards the "delivery of the place, but upon full conſideration, advice, "and approbation of the Council of War: That he was in "his own Conſcience, and Judgment ſatisfied, that the ſub- "ſtance of the Articles were advantageous for his Majeſty's "Service; and though it was true, by that laſt ſupply of Am- "munition, their Store was near as much as when the Siege "begun; yet it was in all but thirty two Barrels, which "would have laſted but few hours, if the Enemy, who had "approach'd within little more than Piſtol-ſhot of ſome parts "of their Works, ſhould attack them in that manner as they "had reaſon to expect; and if they had held out longer, when "it had appear'd that the King was not ſtrong enough to re- "lieve them, they ſhould not have been admitted to ſuch "Conditions: and therefore, that he believ'd a hazard of ſo "great a concernment, was not to be run, when he well knew "his Majeſty's former Reſolution of ſlighting the Garriſon; "and that it would not be now done above a fortnight ſooner "than was intended: That he had no knowledge of his Ma- "jeſty's approach, till the Forces were engaged, when a "Truce was concluded, and their Hoſtages in the Enemies "hands; and therefore, that he conceiv'd it againſt the Law "of Arms to make any attempt from the Town; and before "they could ſufficiently deliberate it in Council, his Majeſty's "Forces retir'd: That the Woman to whom he gave a Paſs, "was one he often imploy'd as a Spy, with very good effect; "and he did believe, the advantage he receiv'd by it, was "greater than ſhe could carry to the Enemy by any informa- "tion ſhe could give: That he did perſwade the Council of "War to conſent to the Conditions, becauſe he believ'd them

"very

"very profitable to his Majesty, and he had averr'd only his "Majesty's approbation of the general Substance of the Ar- "ticles, never applied it to the Cause of the third Article, "which he much desir'd to have alter'd, but could not obtain "the consent of the Enemy. If he had been intemperate, or "passionate to any, who were of another opinion, or had used "any passionate expression in the Debate, it proceeded only "from his Zeal to the Service, and his apprehension of the "loss of so many good Men, upon whom he well knew the "King much depended: That he might have committed ma- "ny Indiscretions, for which he desir'd pardon, but had not "fail'd in point of Fidelity: That by the unfortunate hurt of "the Governour, the Command was devolv'd upon him by "his right of Seniority, not any Ambitious design of his own: "That he had, from time to time, acquainted Sr *Arthur Aston* "with the State, and Condition they were in, and though "his indisposition of Health was such, that he would not give "positive Orders, he seem'd to approve of all that was done; "and though, for the former reason, he refused to sign the "Articles, yet they were read to him, and he express'd no "dislike of them. The truth of it is, Sr *Arthur Aston* was believ'd by many, not to be in so incompetent a Condition to Command as he pretended; and that albeit his Head was so much swoln, that he might not in Person venture upon any execution, yet his understanding, or senses, were not much distemper'd, or discompos'd; and that he only positively wav'd medling, out of dislike of the Condition they were in. And it is true, that, when he came to *Oxford*, he could speak as reasonable of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the defence the Colonel could make for himself, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof, that he had acted any thing treacherously, he was, upon an Article "For not obeying Orders (for in this agitation he had receiv'd some such, which he had not pre- cisely observ'd) "Sentenced to lose his head; which judgment, after long and great intercession, was, in the end, remitted by the King; but his Regiment disposed to another; and He never restor'd to that Command. And though he had been always before of an unblemish'd Reputation for Honesty, and Courage; and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the Troubles, and been hurt in the Service, and he ap- pear'd afterwards as a Voluntier, with the same Courage, in the most perilous Actions, and obtain'd a principal Command in another of the King's Armies, he never recover'd the mis- fortune and blemish of this Imputation. And yet I must pro- fess for my part, being no stranger to what was then alledg'd and

and prov'd on either Party, I do believe him to have been free from any base compliance with the Enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonable to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult a thing it is to play an after-Game of Reputation, in that nice and jealous Profession.

THE Inconveniences, and Mischiefs, that resulted to the King from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the Factions in Court, Army, and City (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the King) were dated, and took their original; great Animosities grew between the Officers of the Army; some being thought to have been too passionate, and sollicitous in the prosecution of the Colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of Common Soldiers in demanding Justice on their Officer; for from such a kind of Clamour it begun. Others again were as much condemn'd for a palpable avow'd protection of him, thereby to shew their power, that a Person they favour'd, should not suffer; and of both these, some were more Violent than they should have been; which several inclinations equally possess'd the Court, some believing that he was really guilty of Treachery, though not so clearly prov'd; and therefore that, being within the Mercy of the Law, upon another Article, no Mercy ought to be shew'd to him; others as really supposing him Innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, severely to take the forfeiture, upon such a point, as few Officers of the Army did not know themselves guilty in: These supposing the former too full of rigour, and uncharitableness; and They again accusing the Other of too much lenity, and indulgence; whilst many Gentlemen of Honour, and Quality, whose Fortunes were Embark'd with the King, grew extremely jealous, that the Parliament had corrupted some of the King's Officers with rewards; and that others had power to protect them from punishment, and discovery; and the Soldiers again as much incensed, that their Lives must be sacrificed, upon Casual and Accidental Trespasses, to the animosity and jealousy of those who run not the same dangers with them.

BUT these Indispositions, and Distempers, were the effects of the exigents of that time (I wish the humours had been impair'd when the times mended) and very many who saw the King's Condition very low in an instant, and believ'd the Rebels to be most flourishing, would look no farther for a reason, than the loss of *Reading*; though they had all still but the Town; which was never intended to be kept. It is most certain, that the King himself was so far from believing the Condition he was in to be tolerable, that upon the news of the Earl of *Essex's* advance towards *Oxford*, within four or

or five days after the loſs of *Reading*, he once reſolv'd, and that by the advice of the Chief Officers of his Army, to march away towards the North, to joyn with the Earl of *New-Caſtle*. And if the Earl of *Eſſex* had, at that time, but made any ſhew of moving with his whole Body that way, I do verily perſwade my ſelf, *Oxford* it ſelf, and all the other Garriſons of thoſe parts, had been quitted to them; but thoſe fears were quickly compoſed, by an Aſſurance of the Earl's ſtay at *Reading*; and that he was not in a poſture for a preſent march, and that his Numbers had been ſhrewdly leſſen'd by the Siege: whereupon the King reſolv'd to abide him, and give him Battle about *Oxford*, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his Foot upon the Down, about a Mile from *Abingdon*; which was the head Quarter for his Horſe.

When the Seaſon of the year grew ripe for taking the Field, the Earl of *Eſſex* found that his too early march had nothing advanced his Affairs; the Soldiers having perform'd ſo ſtrict duty, and lodging upon the ground, in froſt and rain, before *Reading*, had produced great ſickneſs and diſeaſes in his Army, which had waſted abundance of his Men; ſo that he wanted rather another Winter Quarter to recover, and recruit his Men, than an opportunity to engage them in Action; which he found would be too often adminiſter'd. He ſent daily importunities to the Parliament for ſupplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furniſhed with to ſatisfy him; new Diviſions and Animoſities aroſe There, to perplex their Counſels. Their Triumph upon the taking of *Reading*, which they had celebrated with loud feſtivity, and made the City believe that all thoſe benefits would attend it, which they knew would be moſt grateful to them, appear'd now, without any fruit; the King had all his Forces and Army entire, and had only loſt a Town that he never meant to keep, and which They knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the Field, when Theirs was deſtitute of health, and all thoſe accommodations, which muſt enable them to march: and their General, every day reiterated his complaints, and reproach'd them with the unskilful Orders they had ſent him, by which, againſt all the Advice and Arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

The diſreſpectful, and abſurd breaking off the Treaty with the King, was urged by their Commiſſioners; who thought themſelves diſobliged by it, and publiſh'd the King's gracious diſpoſition, and the Temper of the Council in *Oxford*, to be different from what the Parliament deſired it ſhould be believ'd. They complain'd of Jealouſies which had been entertain'd of their Integrity; and the Earl of *Northumberland* having diſcover'd as is ſaid before, that *Harry Martin* had open'd

open'd a Letter which he had writ from *Oxford* to his Lady, took him aside, after a conference in the Painted Chamber between the two Houses, and question'd him upon it; and the other giving him some rude Answers in justification of what had been done, the Earl Cudgell'd him in that presence; upon which many Swords were drawn, to the great Reproach and scandal of the Parliament.

THESE, and the like Instances of distraction, and confusion, brought the Reputation of that Party low; and made it look'd upon, as like to destroy it self without an Enemy; whilst the King's Party, at that distance, seem'd to be more united, and to have recover'd their Spirits, of which they receiv'd frequent evidence by the News of some of their Quarters being beat up, and many of their Men lost by the unexpected Incursions of the King's Horse; whereof some Parties by Night marches, and unusual Lanes, went often near *London*, and took many Prisoners, who thought themselves secure, in their Houses, and in Journeys they made; who were put to ransome themselves with good Sums of Money; so that, after all those Mountains of promises, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the City more importuned for Money, and the Parliament visibly more necessitated for want of it, than they had been before; and instead of dispersing the King's Army, and bringing the King back to his Parliament, a sudden direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a Line about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and to Fortify it; lest the King's Forces might break in upon them; which made the People suspect the State of their Affairs to be worse than in truth it was; yet so far were they from any thoughts of Peace, and Accommodation, that the House of Commons raged more furiously than ever; and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous, than they had yet enter'd upon. For the supply of the Charge of the War, they proposed settling and imposing an Excise upon such Commodities as might best bear it; which was a burden the People of *England* had hitherto reproac'd other Nations with, as a Mark of slavery, and never fear'd by themselves; and for the exercise of the Soveraign Power, they resolv'd it fit to make a new Great Seal, to be always resident with the Houses. But the Lords were not yet arriv'd at that presumption, but plainly refused to concur with them in either.

WHILST both Armies lay quiet, the One about *Reading*, the Other about *Abingdon* or *Oxford*, without attempting one upon the Other, or any Action, save some small Enterprises by Parties (in which the King got advantage; as particularly the young Earl of *Northampton* fortunately encounter'd a Party

of

of Horſe and Foot from *Northampton*, which thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attempt upon *Banbury*: But he having Routed their Horſe, kill'd above two hundred of their Foot, and took as many more Priſoners, moſt whereof were ſhrewdly hurt, the young Earl that day ſacrificing to the Memory of his Father) the King receiv'd, from the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, by a ſtrong Party of Horſe, a good and ample ſupply of Ammunition; the want whereof all Men look'd upon with great Horrour. As ſoon as this was arriv'd, and the King had heard, that his Armies, both in the North, and Weſt, begun to flouriſh, and thought himſelf well provided to encounter the Earl of *Eſſex*, if he deſired it; his Majeſty reſolv'd once more to try, whether the two Houſes would incline to a reaſonable Peace; and to that purpoſe ſent a Meſſage to them by an expreſs Servant of his own, in theſe words:

The King ſends a Meſſage to the two Houſes May 20.

"SINCE his Majeſty's Meſſage of the 12th of *April* (in "which he conceiv'd he had made ſuch an Overture for the "immediate diſbanding of all Armies, and compoſure of "thoſe miſerable, and preſent Diſtractions, by a full and free "Convention of Parliament, that a perfect and ſetled Peace "would have inſued) hath in all this time, above a full "Month, procured no Anſwer from both Houſes, his Majeſty "might well believe himſelf abſolv'd, both before God, and "Man, from the leaſt poſſible Charge of not having uſed his "utmoſt endeavours for Peace; yet, when he conſiders, that "the Scene of all this Calamity is in the Bowels of his own "Kingdom; that all the Blood, which is ſpilt, is of his own "Subjects; and that what Victory ſoever it ſhall pleaſe "God to give him, muſt be over thoſe who ought not to "have lifted up their hands againſt Him; when he conſiders "that theſe deſperate Civil Diſſenſions may encourage and "invite a Forreign Enemy, to make a Prey of the whole "nation; that *Ireland* is in preſent danger to be totally loſt; "that the heavy Judgments of God, Plague, Peſtilence, and "Famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural "Contention: And that in a ſhort time, there will be ſo ge-"neral a habit of Uncharitableneſs, and Cruelty, contracted "through the whole Kingdom, that even Peace it ſelf will "not reſtore his People to their old Temper, and Security; "his Majeſty cannot but again call for an Anſwer to that his "gracious Meſſage, which gives ſo fair a riſe to end theſe "unnatural diſtractions. And his Majeſty doth this with the "more earneſtneſs, becauſe he doubts not the condition of "his Armies in ſeveral parts, the ſtrength of Horſe, Foot, "Artillery, his plenty of Ammunition (when ſome Men "lately

"lately might conceive he wanted) is ſo well known, and "underſtood, that it muſt be confeſs'd, nothing but the ten- "derneſs, and love to his People, and thoſe Chriſtian im- "preſſions, which always live, and he hopes always ſhall "dwell in his heart, could move him once more to hazard "a refuſal. And he requires them, as they will Anſwer to "God, to Himſelf, and all the World, that they will no "longer ſuffer their fellow Subjects to welter in each others "Blood; that they would remember by whoſe Authority, "and to what end they met in that Council, and ſend ſuch "an Anſwer to his Majeſty, as may open a door to let in a "firm Peace, and Security to the whole Kingdom. If his "Majeſty ſhall again be diſappointed of his Intentions there- "in, the blood, rapine, and deſtruction, which may follow "in *England*, and *Ireland*, will be caſt upon the Account "of thoſe who are deaf to the motive of Peace and Accom- "modation.

THIS Meſſage was receiv'd by the Houſe of Peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonſtration of reſpect, and duty, and the Meſſenger very civilly intended by them; but when they communicated it to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired their concurrence in preparing an Addreſs to the King ſuitable to his gracious Invitations, that Houſe was ſo far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate Order (which was executed accordingly) for the Apprehen- ſion, and Commitment of the Gentleman who brought the Meſſage; and declared, "That they would proceed againſt "him at a Council of War, upon the Order formerly men- tion'd, made by them when the Treaty was at *Oxford*, "That "any Perſon coming from *Oxford* without their General's "Paſs, or one from the Houſes, ſhould be puniſh'd as a Spy; to which Orders as the Peers never conſented, ſo the King had never, till this Commitment, notice of it; and Them- ſelves, after the making it, had ſent ſeveral Meſſengers to the King, without any formality of Paſs or Trumpet.

The Houſe of Commons commit the Meſſenger.

THE Lords did what they could, publickly and privately, to diſſwade this courſe; but they could not prevail: the Houſe of Commons finding that the very imagination that a Peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the War, and made not only thoſe who were yet free, not eaſy to be drawn in; but many who were engaged, re- miſs, and willing to retire; therefore they reſolv'd to proceed with that Vigour, and Reſolution, that no reaſonable Man ſhould believe it poſſible for the King to gain a Peace but by Subduing Them, which ſeem'd at leaſt equally impoſſible. To this purpoſe, inſtead of returning any Anſwer to the King's Meſſage,

Message within three days after the receiving it, they impeached the Queen of High Treason, "For Assisting the King "her Husband with Arms and Ammunition, in the prose- "cution of the War against Them; an Attempt as unheard of among all the Acts of their Predecessors, and as surprising as any thing they had yet ventured upon: Their Clergy sounded their Trumpets louder to War than ever, if it was possible; and they resolv'd, that Assembly of Divines to which they had at the Treaty urg'd the King's consent, should now meet by an Ordinance of their own, with an Addition of some Members of either House to that Number. *The Commons impeach the Queen of High Treason.*

THERE had been, some Months before, a design of Prince *Rupert* upon the City of *Bristol*, by correspondence with some of the chief Inhabitants of the City, who were weary of the Tyranny of the Parliament; but it had been so unskilfully, or unhappily carried, that, when the Prince was near the Town, with such a Party of Horse and Foot, as he made choice of, it was discover'd, and many Principal Citizens apprehended by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, and then Governour of that City for the Parliament; at this time, special direction and order was sent thither, "That he should, with all "severity, and expedition, proceed against those Conspirators (as they called them) and thereupon, by a Sentence and Judgment of a Council of War, Alderman *Yeomans*, who had been High Sheriff of the City, and of great Reputation in it, and *George Bouchier* another Citizen of principal Account, were (against all Interpositions his Majesty could make) both hanged; and all other imaginable Acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to Peace but by the Sword.

THERE fell out now an accident at *London*, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the War, a discovery of a Plot, which produced a publick thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful Animosity against the King, and a Covenant, and Union among Themselves, and throughout the City a prejudice to all Moderate Men, who promoted an Accommodation, and a Brand upon all Overtures of Peace as Stratagems upon the City, and the Parliament. Of this Plot, there being never such a form'd relation made by those who made great use of it, that Men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances, by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly, and faithfully set down all that I know, have heard, or can reasonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averr'd by others who I believe did Not think so, "That I knew as much of it as most Men. *A design discover'd, at London wherein Mr Waller, Mr Tomkins, and others were concern'd.*

THERE was of the House of Commons, one Mr *Waller*, a Gentleman of a very good Fortune and Estate, and of admira-

ble parts, and faculties of Wit and Eloquence, and of an intimate Converſation, and Familiarity with thoſe who had that Reputation. He had, from the beginning of the Parliament, been look'd upon by all Men, as a Perſon of very entire Affections to the King's Service, and to the eſtabliſh'd Government of Church and State; and by having no manner of relation to the Court, had the more credit and intereſt to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew ſo great between the King and the two Houſes, that very many of the Members withdrew from thoſe Councils, He, among the reſt, with equal diſlike abſented himſelf; but at the time the Standard was ſet up, having intimacy and friendſhip with ſome Perſons now of nearneſs about the King, with the King's Approbation, he return'd again to *London*; where he ſpoke, upon all occaſions, with great ſharpneſs, and freedom; which (now there were ſo few there that uſed it, and there was no danger of being over Voted) was not reſtrain'd; and therefore uſed as an Argument againſt thoſe, who were gone upon pretence "That "they were not ſuffer'd to declare their opinion freely in the "Houſe; which could not be believ'd, when all Men knew, "what Liberty Mr *Waller* took, and ſpoke every day with im-"punity, againſt the ſenſe, and Proceedings of the Houſe. This won him a great Reputation with all People who wiſh'd well to the King; and he was look'd upon as the boldeſt Champion the Crown had in both Houſes; ſo that ſuch Lords, and Commons, as really deſir'd to prevent the ruin of the Kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a Man reſolute in their ends, and beſt able to promote them. And it may be they believ'd his Reputation at Court ſo good, that he would be no ill Evidence There, of other Mens Zeal, and affection; and ſo all Men ſpoke their minds freely to him, both of the general diſtemper, and of the paſſions, and ambition of particular Perſons: All Men knowing him to be of too good a Fortune, and too wary a Nature, to engage himſelf in deſigns of danger or hazard.

Mr WALLER had a Brother in Law, one Mr *Tomkins*, who had married his Siſter, and was Clerk of the Queen's Council, of very good fame for Honeſty, and Ability. This Gentleman had good Intereſt, and Reputation in the City, and converſed much with thoſe who diſliked the proceedings of the Parliament, and wiſh'd to live under the ſame Government they were born; and from thoſe Citizens receiv'd information of the temper of the People, upon Accidents, in the publick Affairs. And Mr *Waller*, and He, with that confidence that uſes to be between Brethren of the ſame good Affections, frequently imparted their obſervations, and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both Houſes inclined

inclined to peace; and the other making the same judgment upon the correspondence he had, and intelligence he receiv'd from the most substantial Men of *London*; and both of them again communicated what one receiv'd from the other, to the Company they us'd to converse with; Mr *Waller* imparting the wishes, and power of the well affected Party in the City, to the Lords and Gentlemen whom he knew to be of the same mind; and Mr *Tomkins* acquainting those he durst trust of the City, that such and such Lords and Gentlemen, who were of special Note, were weary of the distractions, and would heartily, and confidently contribute to such an honourable, and honest Peace, as all men knew would be most acceptable to the King. And from hence they came reasonably to a conclusion, that if some means were found out to raise a confidence in those who wish'd well, that they should not be oppress'd by the extravagant power of the desperate Party; but that if they would so far assist one another, as to declare their opinions to be the same, they should be able to prevent, or suppress those Tumults, which seem'd to countenance the distractions; and the Houses would be induced to Terms of Moderation.

In this time the Lord *Conway*, being return'd from *Ireland*, incensed against the *Scots*, and discontented with the Parliament here, finding Mr *Waller* in good esteem with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and of great Friendship with the Earl of *Portland*, he enter'd into the same familiarity; and, being more of a Soldier, in the discourses administer'd questions, and considerations, necessary to be understood by Men that either meant to Use force, or to Resist it; and wish'd "That they who had Interest, and Acquaintance in the City, "would endeavour by a mutual correspondence to inform "themselves of the distinct Affections of their Neighbours, "that, upon any exigent, Men might foresee whom they might "trust; and these discourses being again deriv'd by Mr *Waller* to Mr *Tomkins*, He, upon occasion, and conference with his Companions, insisted on the same Arguments; and they again conversing with their Friends, and Acquaintance (for of all this business, there were not above three who ever spoke together) agreed, "That some well affected Persons, in every "Parish, and Ward, about *London*, should make a list of all "the Inhabitants; and thereupon to make a reasonable guess of their several Affections (which at that time was no hard thing for observing Men to do) and thence a computation of the Strength, and Power of that Party, which was notoriously violent against any Accommodation.

I Am perswaded the utmost project in this Design was (I speak not what particular Men might intend, or wish upon

their own fancies) to beget such a Combination among the Party well affected, that they would refuse to conform to those Ordinances of the twentieth part, and other Taxes for the support of the War; and thereby, or by joynt Petitioning for Peace, and discountenancing the other who Petition'd against it, to prevail with the Parliament to incline to a determination of the War. And it may be, some Men might think of making advantage of any Casual Commotion, or preventing any mischief by it; and thereupon that enquiry where the Magazines lay, and discourse of wearing some distinguishing tokens, had been rather casually mention'd, than seriously propos'd. For it is certain, very many who were Conscious to themselves of Loyal Purposes to the King, and of Hearty dislike of the Parliament's Proceedings, and observ'd the violent, revengeful, ruinating prosecution of all Men, by those of the engaged Party, were not without sad apprehensions that, upon some Jealousy, and Quarrel pick'd, even a general Massacre might be attempted of all the King's Friends; and thereupon, in several discourses, might touch upon such expedients, as might in those Seasons be most beneficial to their safety. But that there was ever any form'd design, either of letting in the King's Army into *London*, which was impossible to be contriv'd; or of raising an Army there, and surprising the Parliament, or any one Person of it, or of using any violence, in, or upon the City, I could never yet see cause to believe; and if there had, they would have publish'd such a relation of it, after Mr *Waller* had confess'd to them, all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himself, as might have constituted some reasonable understanding of it; and not have contented themselves with making conclusions from Questions that had been ask'd, and Answers, made by Persons unknown, and forcing expressions used by one, to relate to actions of another, between whom there had been never the least acquaintance, or correspondence; and joyning what was said at *London* to somewhat done at *Oxford*, at another time, and to another purpose: for before I finish this discourse, it will be necessary to speak of another Action, which, how distinct soever from this that is related, was woven together to make one Plot.

From the King's coming to *Oxford*, many Citizens of good Quality, who were prosecuted, or jealously look'd upon in *London*, had resorted to the King, and hoping, if the Winter produced not a Peace, that the Summer would carry the King before that City with an Army, they had entertain'd some discourse "Of raising, upon their own Stocks of Money "and Credit, some Regiments of Foot, and Horse, and joyn-"ing with some Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were likewise in-

"clined

"clined to such an undertaking: Among these was Sr *Nicholas Crisp*, a Citizen of good Wealth, great Trade, and an "active Spirited Man, who had been lately prosecuted with great severity by the House of Commons; and had thereupon fled from *London*, for appearing too great a Stickler in a Petition for Peace in the City. This Gentleman industriously preserv'd a correspondence still there, by which he gave the King often very useful intelligence, and assured him "Of a "very considerable Party, which would appear there for him, "when ever his own Power should be so near as to give "them any Countenance. In the end, whether invited by his Correspondents there, or trusting his own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much, and concluding that all who were equally Honest, would be equally Bold, he desir'd his Majesty, "To grant a Commission to such Persons, whom He "would nominate, of the City of *London*, under the Great "Seal of *England*, in the nature of a Commission of Array, "by virtue whereof, when the Season should come, his Party "there would appear in discipline, and order; and that this "was desir'd by those, who best knew what Countenance and "Authority was requisite; and being trusted to them would "not be executed at all, or else at such a time as his Majesty "should receive ample fruit by it; provided it were done with "secrecy, equal to the hazard they should run who were employ'd in it.

THE King had this exception to it, "The improbability "that it could do good, and that the failing might do hurt to "the Undertakers. But the Promoter was a very popular Man in the City, where he had been a Commander of the Train'd-bands, till the Ordinance of the Militia remov'd him; which rather improv'd, than lessen'd, his Credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the King: however, They desir'd it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the King consented to it; referring the nomination of all Persons in the Commission to him; who, he verily believ'd, had proceeded by the Instruction and advice of those that were nearest the concernment; and for the secrecy of it, the King referr'd the preparing and dispatch of the Commission to Sr *Nicholas Crisp* himself, who should acquaint no more with it, than he found requisite; so without the privity, or advice of any Counsellor or Minister of State than most trusted by his Majesty, he procured such a Commission as he desir'd (being no other than the Commission of Array in *English*) to be sign'd by the King, and seal'd with the Great Seal.

THIS being done, and remaining still in his Custody, the Lady *Aubigney*, by a Pass, and with the consent of the Houses,

came to *Oxford* to transact the Affairs of her own Fortune with the King upon the death of her Husband, who was kill'd at *Edge-hill*; and she having in few days dispatch'd her business there, and being ready to return, Sr *Nicholas Crisp* came to the King, and besought him, "To desire that Lady (who had a Pass, and so could promise her self safety in her Journey) "to carry a small Box (in which that Commission should be) "with her, and to keep it in her own Custody, until a "Gentleman should call to her Ladyship for it, by such a "token; that token, he said, "He could send to one of the "Persons trusted, who should keep it by him, till the oppor- "tunity came, in which it might be executed. The King accordingly wish'd the Lady *Aubigney*, to carry it with great care and secrecy; telling her, "It much concern'd his own "Service; and to deliver it in such manner, and upon such Assurance, as is before mention'd: which she did; and, within few days after her return to *London*, deliver'd it to a Person, who was appointed to call for it. How this Commission was discover'd, I could never learn: for though Mr *Waller* had the Honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believ'd by Her to be a Gentleman of most entire Affections to the King's Service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her Ladyship her self, not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any Body else.

But about this time, a Servant of Mr *Tomkins*, who had often cursorily over heard his Master and Mr *Waller* discourse of the Argument We are now upon, placed himself behind a hanging, at a time they were together; and there, whilst either of them discoursed the language, and, opinion of the Company they kept, over heard enough to make him believe his Information, and Discovery, would make him welcome to those whom he thought concern'd; and so went to Mr *Pym*, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagin'd. The time when Mr *Pym* was made acquainted with it, is not known; but the circumstances of publishing it were such, as fill'd all Men with Apprehensions. It was on *Wednesday* the 31st of *May*, their solemn Fast-day, when, being all at their Sermon, in St *Margaret*'s Church in *Westminster*, according to their custom, a Letter or Message is brought privately to Mr *Pym*; who thereupon, with some of the most active Members, rise from their Seats; and after a little whispering together, remove out of the Church: This could not but exceedingly affect those who stay'd behind; immediately they send Guards to all the Prisons, as *Lambeth*-House, *Ely*-House, and such places, where their Malignants were in Custody, with directions "To search the Prisoners, and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the

the Sermons were ended, the Houſes met; and were only then told, "That Letters were intercepted going to the King "and the Court at *Oxford*, that expreſs'd ſome notable Con- "ſpiracy in hand, to deliver up the Parliament, and the City "into the hands of the Cavaliers; and that the time for the "execution of it, drew very near. Hereupon a Committee was appointed "To examine all Perſons they thought fit; "and to apprehend ſome nominated at that time. And the ſame Night, this Committee apprehended Mr *Waller*, and Mr *Tomkins*; and, the next day, ſuch others as they ſuſpected.

Mr WALLER was ſo confounded with Fear, and Apprehenſion, that he confeſs'd whatever he had ſaid, heard, thought, or ſeen; all that he knew of himſelf, and all that he ſuſpected of others; without concealing any Perſon of what Degree, or Quality ſoever, or any diſcourſe that he had ever, upon any occaſion, entertain'd with them: What ſuch and ſuch Ladies of great Honour, to whom, upon the Credit of his great Wit, and very good Reputation, he had been admitted, had ſpoke to him in their Chambers of the proceedings in the Houſes; and how they had encouraged him to oppoſe them; what correſpondence, and intercourſe they had, with ſome Miniſters of State at *Oxford*; and how they deriv'd all Intelligence thither. He inform'd them, "That the Earl of *Port-* "*land*, and the Lord *Conway*, had been particular in all the "agitations which had been with the Citizens; and had given "frequent Advice, and Directions, how they ſhould demean "themſelves; and that the Earl of *Northumberland*, had ex- "preſs'd very good wiſhes to any attempt, that might give a "ſtop to the Violent Actions, and Proceedings of the Houſes, "and produce a good underſtanding with the King.

WHEN the Committee were thus furniſh'd, they took the examination of Mr *Tomkins*, and ſuch other as they thought neceſſary, and having at the ſame time, by ſome other means, diſcover'd (or conceal'd it till this time) that Commiſſion which is before diſcourſed of, and gotten the very Original into their hands, they kneaded both into one Plot, and Conſpiracy; and, acquainting the Houſes with ſo much as they thought yet ſeaſonable to publiſh, they declar'd (without naming any Lords, or other Perſons, to be intereſſed in the deſign, ſave thoſe only who were impriſon'd; among whom the Lady *Aubigney* was one: and without communicating any of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the Conſpirators were brought to Tryal) "That "the Original of this Conſpiracy was from the late *London* "Petition for Peace, which was ſpoken of about *Chriſtmas* laſt in the Book Precedent; "And that, under pretence of "Peace and Moderation, a Party was to be form'd, which

"should be able to suppress all opponents, and to awe the Parliament: That, to this purpose, some of those who were "the principal Movers, and Fomenters of that Petition, did "continue, in the Nature of a Committee, still to carry on "the design: That they held Intelligence in both Armies, "Court, and Parliament; took a general Survey of the Numbers, and Affections of the several Inhabitants throughout "the Wards, and Parishes of the City, and places adjacent; "and distinguish'd all under the titles of Men affected, or "averse to the King; or indifferent, and Neutral Persons, "carried only by the success, and power of the Prevailers; "That they were well instructed in the Number, and inclinations of the Train'd-bands of *London*; the places where "the Magazines were kept; where the Commanders for the "Parliament dwelt; had thought of places for Rendezvous, "and Retreat, upon any occasion, and of Colours, and Marks "of distinction between the different Parties.

"THAT Mr *Waller* and Mr *Tomkins* were the Principal "Persons employ'd, and trusted to give advertisement to, "and correspond with, the King's Ministers at *Oxford*; and "receive Advertisements and Commands from thence, for the "compleating the work; that they Two held constant Intelligence, and Intercourse with the Lord *Falkland* then Principal Secretary to the King; and that, from Him, they re"ceiv'd the signification of the King's pleasure; and that those "Directions, Counsels, and Encouragements, had been prin"cipally sent by those Messengers which had been employ'd "by his Majesty to the Parliament, under the pretence of "Peace; and especially, by Mr *Alexander Hambden*; who "came with the last Message, and was a Couzen-german to "Mr *Waller*. That the Lady *Aubigney*, who had been lately "at *Oxford*, had brought thence a Commission to them from "the King, by force of Arms to destroy, kill, and slay the "Forces, raised by the Parliament and their Adherents, as "Traytors and Rebels; and that they had lately sent a Mes"sage to *Oxford* by one *Hassel*, a Servant of the King's to ac"quaint the Lord *Falkland*, that the design was come to a "good perfection; unto which, Answer was return'd, that "they should hasten it with all speed;

"THAT the particulars of the Design appear'd to be: "1. To seise into their Custody the King's Children: 2. To "seise several Members of both Houses, the Lord Mayor, "and Committee of the Militia, under pretence of bringing "them to a legal Tryal. 3. To seise upon the Out-works, "Forts, Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates, and other "places of importance in the City. 4. To let in the King's "Forces to surprise the City, and to destroy all those who

"should

"ſhould oppoſe them by Authority of the Parliament. 5. By "force of Arms to reſiſt all payments impoſed by Authority "of Parliament, raiſed for the ſupport of the Armies em- "ploy'd for their juſt defence, *&c.* to ſuſpend if not alter the "whole Government of the City, and, with Aſſiſtance of the "King's Force, to awe, and maſter the Parliament.

WHEN both Houſes were awaken'd, and ſtartled with this report, the firſt thing agreed on, was, "A day of Thankſgiving "to God, for this wonderful delivery; which ſhut out any "future doubts, and diſquiſitions, whether there had been any "ſuch delivery; and, conſequently whether their Plot was in "truth, or had been ſo framed. Then it was ſaid, "That as "the deſign was the moſt deſperate, ſo the carriage was the "moſt ſubtle, and among Perſons of Reputation, and not ſuſ- "pected; and that there was reaſon to ſuſpect, many Mem- "bers of both Houſes were privy to it; and therefore there "ought to be all poſſible care taken to make the diſcovery "perfect, and to unite themſelves for the publick defence: "that if any part were left undiſcover'd, it might prove fatal "to the Common-wealth. This finding a full conſent, it was propounded, "That a Proteſtation might be drawn up, by "which every Member of the two Houſes might purge him- "ſelf from any guilt of, or privity in, that Conſpiracy; and "likewiſe oblige himſelf to reſiſt, and oppoſe any ſuch Com- "bination. They who were under the Character of Mo- derate Men, and uſually advanced all motions of Peace, and Accommodation, durſt not oppoſe the Expedient, leſt they ſhould be concluded guilty; moſt of them having had familiarity with Mr *Waller*, and, no doubt, upon ſundry occaſions, ſpoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a ſevere interpretation, if, upon this occaſion, what they had ſaid ſhould be ſcann'd. And ſo, before the riſing, there was framed by the Houſe of Commons, a Vow and Covenant to be taken by the Members of both Houſes, and afterwards by the City, and their Army; for their Jealouſy was now ſpread over all their own Quarters; which Covenant, for the rare- neſs of it both in Title and Style, I think neceſſary here to inſert in the very terms; which were theſe:

A Vow and Covenant agreed to be taken by the Members of both Houſes upon diſcovery of that deſign.

A Sacred Vow, and Covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, upon the diſcovery of the late horrid and treacherous Deſign, for the deſtruction of this Parliament and the Kingdom: the 6th *of* June 1643.

"WHEREAS there hath been, and now is, in this King- "dom, a Popiſh, and Trayterous Plot for the Subverſion of "the true Proteſtant Reform'd Religion, and the Liberty of "the

" the Subject; and, in purſuance thereof, a Popiſh Army hath " been raiſed, and is now on foot in divers parts of this " Kingdom; and whereas there hath been a treacherous and " horrid deſign, lately diſcover'd by the great Bleſſing and eſpe- " cial Providence of God, of divers Perſons to joyn them- " ſelves with the Armies raiſed by the King, and to deſtroy " the Forces raiſed by the Lords and Commons in Parlia- " ment to ſurpriſe the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* with " the Suburbs; by Arms to force the Parliament; and find- " ing by conſtant experience, that many ways of force, and " treachery, are continually attempted, to bring to utter ruin " and deſtruction the Parliament, and Kingdom; and that " which is deareſt, the true Proteſtant Religion: and that, " for the preventing and withſtanding the ſame, it is fit, that " all, who are true hearted, and lovers of their Country, " ſhould bind themſelves each to other in a ſacred Vow and " Covenant:

" I *A. B.* In humility, and reverence of the Divine Majeſty, " declare my hearty ſorrow for my own Sins, and the Sins " of this Nation, which have deſerv'd the Calamities, and " Judgments, that now lie upon it; and my true intention is, " by God's grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own " ways; and I do farther, in the preſence of Almighty God, " Declare, Vow, and Covenant, that, in Order to the ſecurity " and preſervation of the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, " and Liberty of the Subject, I will not conſent to the laying " down of Arms, ſo long as the Papiſts, now in open War " againſt the Parliament, ſhall by force of Arms be protected " from the Juſtice thereof. And that I do abhor and deteſt " the ſaid wicked, and treacherous deſign, lately diſcover'd: " And that I never gave, nor will give my Aſſent to the exe- " cution thereof, but will, according to my Power, and Voca- " tion, oppoſe and reſiſt the ſame, and all other of the like Na- " ture. And in caſe any other like deſign ſhall hereafter come " to my knowledge, I will make ſuch timely diſcovery, as I " ſhall conceive may beſt conduce to the preventing thereof. " And whereas I do in my Conſcience believe, that the Forces, " raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, are raiſed and con- " tinued for their juſt Defence, and for the Defence of the " true Proteſtant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, againſt " the Forces raiſed by the King; that I will, according to my " Power, and Vocation, aſſiſt the Forces raiſed and continued, " by both Houſes of Parliament, againſt the Forces raiſed by " the King without their conſent: And will likewiſe aſſiſt all " other Perſons that ſhall take this Oath, in what they ſhall do " in purſuance thereof; and will not directly, or indirectly,

" adhere

"adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist the Forces raised by "the King, without the Consent of both Houses of Parlia- "ment. And this Vow, and Covenant, I make in the presence "of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true in- "tention to perform the same, as I shall answer at the great "day, when the secrets of all Hearts shall be discloſed.

THOUGH many were much startled at this Covenant, and took time to consider of it, there being in the Preamble, and positive part, much which very few believ'd, and in the promissory part a more direct denouncing War against the King, than had been in plain terms before avow'd by them, and an absolute Protestation against Peace, till the King was at their Mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the Plot, made them swallow all the rest; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a Member of either House that took it not; and being thus fetter'd, and intangled themselves, they sent their Committee into the City, to acquaint them with their "Happy discovery, and how miraculously "God had preserv'd them, and to engage them in the same "sacred Vow, and Covenant; which was readily submitted to; and, by the Industry of their Clergy, sooner than can be imagin'd, taken throughout that People. Then it was, with equal diligence, and solemnity, transmitted to their Army, that their Fears of inconvenience from thence might be likewise purged; and thence it grew the mark of distinction, to know their Friends and Enemies by; and whosoever refused to take that Covenant, needed no other Charge to be concluded, and prosecuted as the highest Malignant.

The same Vow and Covenant taken throughout the City, and Army.

BEING this way secure from any future Clamours for Peace, they proceeded to try Mr *Tomkins*; Mr *Chaloner*, a Citizen of good Wealth and Credit, and most intimate with *Tomkins*; Mr *Hambden*, who brought the last Message from the King; one *Hassel* a Messenger of the King's, who pass'd often between *London* and *Oxford*, and sometimes carried Letters and Messages to the Lord *Falkland*; and some Citizens, whose names were in the Commission sent from *Oxford*; by a Council of War; by whom Mr *Tomkins*, and Mr *Chaloner* were Condemn'd to be hang'd; and were both, with all circumstances of severity, and cruelty, Executed: the One, on a Gibbet, by his own House in *Holborn*; where he had long liv'd with singular estimation; and the Other, by his House in *Cornhil*, near the Old *Exchange*. *Hassel* the Messenger saved them farther trouble, and dy'd in Prison the night before his Tryal: And there being no evidence against Mr *Hambden*, but what Mr *Waller* himself gave, they gave no judgment against him, but kept him long after in Prison, till he dy'd; neither pro-

The Tryal and Execution of Mr Tomkins, and Mr Chaloner.

proceeded they Capitally againſt thoſe Citizens whoſe names were in the Commiſſion, it not appearing that their names were uſed with their conſent, and privity; though the brand of being Malignants ſerv'd the turn for their undoing; for all their Eſtates were ſeiſed, as theirs were who had been Executed.

THERE is nothing clearer than that the Commiſſion ſent from *Oxford* by the Lady *Aubigney*, had not any relation to the diſcourſes paſs'd between Mr *Waller*, *Tomkins*, and thoſe Citizens, or that they who knew of one, had not any privity with the other: which if they had Had, and intended ſuch an Inſurrection, as was alledg'd, Mr *Waller*, and Mr *Tomkins*, or ſome one of thoſe Lords who were ſuppoſed to combine with them, would have been in the Commiſſion. Or if the King's Miniſters had been engaged in the conſultation, and hoped to have raiſed a Party which ſhould ſuddenly ſeiſe upon the City, and the Parliament, they would never have thought a Commiſſion granted to ſome Gentlemen at *Oxford* (for the Major part of the Commiſſioners were there) and a few private Citizens, would have ſerv'd for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reaſon for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at *Oxford*, concerning the matter of the Commiſſion, than I have before ſet forth, nor of the other, than that Mr *Tomkins* ſometimes writ to the Lord *Falkland* (for Mr *Waller*, out of the cautiouſneſs of his own Nature, never writ word) and by Meſſengers ſignified to him, "That the Number of thoſe who deſired Peace, and ab-"horr'd the proceedings of the Houſes, was very conſi-"derable; and that they reſolv'd, by refuſing, to contribute to "the War, and to ſubmit to their Ordinances, to declare and "manifeſt themſelves in that manner, that the Violent Party "in the City ſhould not have credit enough to hinder any Ac-"commodation. And the Lord *Falkland* always return'd Anſwer, "That they ſhould expedite thoſe Expedients, aſſoon as "might be, for that delays made the War more difficult to be "reſtrain'd. And if I could find Evidence, or Reaſon, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther deſign in the thing it ſelf, or that the King gave farther countenance to it, ſhould not at all conceal it. No Man can imagine, that if the King could have entertain'd any probable hope of reducing *London*, which was the Fomenter, Supporter, and indeed the Life of the War, or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reaſonably propoſe to diſſolve, ſcatter, and diſperſe thoſe who, under the name of a Parliament, had kindled a War againſt him, but he would have given his utmoſt aſſiſtance, and countenance thereunto, either by publick Force or private Contrivance.

THER

THERE were very great endeavours uſed, to have proceeded with equal ſeverity againſt the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway* (for the accuſation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the Violent Party was heartily incenſed againſt him, as a Man weary of them, yet his Reputation was ſtill very great) who were both cloſe Priſoners; and, to that purpoſe, their Lordſhips and Mr *Waller* were confronted before the Committee, where They as peremptorily denying, as He charging them, and there being no other Witneſs but He againſt them, the proſecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long reſtraint they procured enlargement upon Bayl. Mr *Waller* himſelf (though confeſſedly the moſt guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his Affliction, he had raiſed as many Enemies as he had formerly Friends, and almoſt the ſame) after he had, with incredible diſſimulation, acted ſuch a remorſe of Conſcience, that his Tryal was put off out of Chriſtian Compaſſion, till he might recover his underſtanding (and that was not, till the heat, and fury of the Proſecutors, was reaſonably abated with the Sacrifices they had made) and, by drawing Viſitants to himſelf, of the moſt powerful Miniſters of all Factions, had, by his liberality, and penitence, his receiving vulgar and vile ſayings from them with humility, and reverence, as clearer Convictions and Informations than in his Life he had ever had; and diſtributing great Sums to them for their Prayers, and Ghoſtly Counſel; ſo ſatisfied Them, that They ſatisfied others; was brought, at his ſuit, to the Houſe of Commons Bar; where (being a Man in truth very powerful in Language; and who, by what he ſpoke, and in the manner of ſpeaking it, exceedingly captivated the good Will and Benevolence of his Hearers; which is the higheſt part of an Oratour) with ſuch flattery, as was moſt exactly calculated to that Meridian, with ſuch a Submiſſion, as Their Pride took delight in, and ſuch dejection of mind, and ſpirit, as was like to couſen the Major part, and be thought ſerious; he laid before them "Their own danger, and concern-"ment; if they ſhould ſuffer one of their own Body, how un-"worthy and monſtrous ſoever, to be try'd by the Sol-"diers, who might thereby grow to that power hereafter, that "they would both try thoſe, They would not be willing "ſhould be tryed, and for things which they would account "no Crimes; the inconvenience, and inſupportable miſchief "whereof, all wiſe Common-wealths had foreſeen, and pre-"vented, by exempting their own Members from all judg-"ments but their own: He prevailed, Not to be tryed by a Council of War; and thereby preſerv'd his dear bought Life; ſo that, in truth, he does as much owe the keeping his head

to

to that Oration, as *Catiline* did the Loſs of His to thoſe of *Tully*: and by having done Ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that reſpect to his parts, which always carries ſome compaſſion to the Perſon, that he got leave to compound for his tranſgreſſion, and them to accept of ten thouſand pounds (which their Affairs wanted) for his liberty; whereupon he had leave to recollect himſelf in another Country (for his Liberty was to be in Baniſhment) how miſerable he had made himſelf, in obtaining that leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater Evidence of the ineſtimable Value of his Parts, than that he liv'd, after this, in the good Affection, and Eſteem of many, the pity of moſt, and the reproach, and ſcorn of few, or none.

THESE high proceedings, at *London*, and in the Houſes, were not ſeconded with any notable ſucceſs abroad; but it appear'd plainly, by the ſlow coming in of Monies, and more ſlow coming in of Men, that the hearts of the People were generally more devoted to Peace, than to the continuance of thoſe diſtractions; and the Earl of *Eſſex*, by the great decay, and ſickneſs of his Army, was not, in near ſix weeks, able to remove from *Reading*; by which many Men concluded, which could not be reaſonably foreſeen, that if *Reading* had held out many days longer, he would have been compell'd to raiſe his Siege; and that was the reaſon the Earl gave for granting ſo good conditions; for if he could have ſtayed longer before it, he well knew, they muſt have yielded on worſe terms; neither feared he the King would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the City of *London*, he march'd towards *Oxford*; but, in truth, rather to ſecure *Buckingham-ſhire*, which was now infeſted by the King's Horſe, than to diſquiet that place. And to that purpoſe, he fixed his head Quarter at *Thame*, ten Miles from *Oxford*, and upon the very edge of the other County.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches to* Thame.

IN the beginning of the War, the Army in *Scotland* having been lately disbanded, many Officers of that Nation, who had ſerv'd in *Germany* and in *France*, betook themſelves to the Service of the Parliament; whereof divers were Men of good Conduct, and Courage; though there were more as bad as the Cauſe in which they engaged. Of the former ſort Colonel *Hurry* was a Man of Name, and Reputation, and an excellent Officer of Horſe, and had Commanded thoſe Horſe at *Edge-hill* under *Balfour*, which had preſerv'd their Army there; and finding himſelf afterwards not ſo well regarded, as, he thought, he had deſerv'd, as it was no eaſy thing to value that People at the rate they did ſet upon themſelves; and being without any other Affection for their Service, than their Pay inclined him to, he reſolv'd to quit them, and to go

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to the King; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the Earl of *Brainford* the King's General; under whose Command he had formerly serv'd in *Germany*. Whilst the Earl of *Essex* remain'd at *Thame*, and his Army Quarter'd thereabout, *Hurry* came to *Oxford*, in the Equipage that became a Colonel of Horse, who had receiv'd good Pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously receiv'd by the King, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to Prince *Rupert*, acquainted him where the Parliament Horse lay, and how loose they were in their Quarters; and to give a testimony of his fidelity to the King, he desir'd to march a Voluntier with a good Party, to make an attempt upon the Enemy; and the Prince assigning a strong Party for the Service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the Common Road, till they came to a Town; where a Regiment of the Parliament's Horse was Quarter'd; which they beat up; and kill'd, or took most of the Officers and Soldiers; and then fell upon those other Quarters, by which they had passed before, with the like success; so return'd to *Oxford* with many Prisoners, and with notable damage to the Enemy.

As soon as he return'd, he made another Proposition to the Prince for the Attacking the Quarters near *Thame*; through which he had pass'd, when he came to *Oxford*, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were, and assured the Prince, "That, if he went about it time enough, "before there should be any alteration in their Quarters, "which he believ'd the General would quickly make, the "Enterprise would be worthy of it. The Prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolv'd to conduct the next adventure himself, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the Ports of *Oxford* in the Evening upon a *Saturday*, and march'd beyond all the Quarters as far as *Wickham*, and fell in there at the farther end of the Town towards *London*, from whence no Enemy was expected, and so no Guards were kept There. A Regiment of Horse, and of Foot, were Lodged there; which were cut off, or taken Prisoners; and all the Horses and a good Booty brought away. From thence they march'd backward to another Quarter, within less than two Miles of the General's own Quarters; where his Men Lodged with the same security, they had done at *Wickham*, not expecting any Enemy that way; and so met with the same fate the others had done; and were all kill'd, or made Prisoners. Thus having perform'd, at least as much as they had proposed to do, and being laden with Prisoners, and Booty, and the Sun being now rising, the Prince thought it time to retire to *Oxford*, and

Prince Rupert beats up some of his Quarters with good success.

and gave Orders to march accordingly with all convenient speed, till they should come to a Bridge, which was yet two Miles from them, where he had appointed a Guard to attend, to favour their Retreat.

But the Alarm had been brought to the Earl of *Essex*, from all the Quarters, who quickly gathered those Troops together, which were nearest; and directed those to follow the Prince, and to entertain him in Skirmishes, till Himself should come up with the Foot, and some other Troops; which he made all possible haste to do. So that when the Prince had almost pass'd a fair Plain, or Field, call'd *Chalgrave* Field, from whence he was to enter a Lane, which continued to the Bridge; the Enemies Horse were discover'd marching after them with speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the Lane, so they must as easily have put them into great disorder. Therefore the Prince resolv'd to expect, and stand them upon the open Field, though his Horse were all tired, and the Sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the Clock in the Morning in *June*. He then directed, "That the Guard of the Prisoners should make "what haste they could to the Bridge, but that all the rest "should return; for some were enter'd the Lane: and so he "placed himself and his Troops, as he thought fit, in that Field to receive the Enemy, which made more haste, and with less order than they should have done; and being more in Number than the Prince, and consisting of many of the Principal Officers, who having been present with the Earl of *Essex*, when the Alarm came, stayed not for their own Troops, but joyn'd with those who were ready in the pursuit, as They thought, of a Flying Enemy, or such as would easily be arrested in their hasty retreat; and having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themselves for the damage they had receiv'd that Night, and Morning, before the General could come up to have a share in the Victory, though his Troops were even in View. But the Prince entertain'd them so roughly, that though they Charged very bravely and obstinately, being many of their best Officers, of which the chiefest falling, the rest shew'd less Vigour, in a short time they broke, and fled, and were pursued till they came near the Earl of *Essex's* Body; which being at near a miles distance, and making a stand to receive their Flying Troops, and to be inform'd of their disaster, the Prince with his Troops hasten'd his retreat, and pass'd the Lane, and came safe to the Bridge before any of the Earl's Forces came up; who found it then to no purpose to go farther, there being a good Guard of Foot, which had likewise lined both sides of the Hedges a good way in the Lane. Thus the Prince, about Noon, or shortly after,

enter'd

enter'd *Oxford*, with near two hundred Prisoners, seven Cornets of Horse, and four Ensigns of Foot, with most of the Men he carried from thence; few only having been kill'd in the Action, whereof some were of Name.

THE Prince presented Colonel *Hurry* to the King with a great Testimony of the Courage he had shew'd in the Action, as well as of his Counsel, and Conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dextrous, and could have been perform'd by no Man, who had not been very conversant in the Quarters of those he destroyed. Upon which, the King honour'd him with Knighthood, and a Commission to raise a Regiment of Horse; and every body magnified, and extolled him, as they usually do a Man who hath good luck, and the more, because he was a *Scotch*-man, and profess'd a Repentance for having been in Rebellion against the King, he deserves this Testimony and Vindication to be given him, against the calumnies which were raised against him, "As if he had broken "his Trust, and deserted the Service of the Parliament, and "betrayed them to the King, which is not true. He had own'd, and publish'd his discontents long before, and demanded redress, and justice, in some particulars from the Parliament, in which the Earl of *Essex* thought he had reason; and wish'd he might receive satisfaction. But the Man was in his nature proud, and imperious; had raised many Enemies; was a Man of Licence, and committed many disorders of that kind. He was however a good Officer in the Field; regular and vigilant in marching, and in his Quarters; which the Parliament thought other Men would attain to, who had fewer Vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had desired; upon which he declard, "He would serve them no longer; and deliver'd up his Commission to the Earl of *Essex*; and being then press'd to promise, that he would not serve the King; he positively refused to give any such Engagement; and after he had stayed in *London* about a Month, and had receiv'd encouragement from some Friends in *Oxford*, he came thither in the manner set down before.

THE Prince's success in this last march was very seasonable, and raised the Spirits at *Oxford* very much, and for some time allayed the Jealousies, and Animosities, which too often broke out in several Factions to the disquiet of the King. It was visibly great in the number of the Prisoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many Officers were known, who were left dead upon the Field, as Colonel *Gunter*, who was look'd upon as the best Officer of Horse they had, and a man of known malice to the Government of the Church, which had drawn some severe censure upon him before the Troubles, and for which he had still meditated Re-

verge. One of the Prisoners taken in the Action, said, "That "he was confident Mr *Hambden* was hurt, for he saw him "ride off the Field before the Action was done, which he ne- "ver used to do, with his head hanging down, and resting "his hands upon the neck of his Horse; by which he con- "cluded he was hurt. The news the next day made the Victory much more important, than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the Enemy had sustain'd in their Quarters, by which three or four Regiments were utterly broken and lost, the names of many Officers, of the best account, were known, who were either kill'd upon the place, or so hurt as there remain'd little hope of their recovery.

AMONG the Prisoners, there were taken Colonel *Sheffield*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, and one Colonel *Beckly* a *Scotch*-man; who, being both visibly wounded, acted their hurts so well, and pretended to be so ready to expire, that upon their Paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a rescue, they were suffer'd to rest at a private House in the way, within a mile of the Field, till their Wounds should be dress'd, and they recover so much strength as to be able to render themselves Prisoners at *Oxford*. But the King's Forces were no sooner gone, than they found means to send to their Comrades, and were the next day strong enough, to suffer themselves to be removed to *Thame*, by a strong Party sent from the Earl of *Essex*; and, between denying that they had promised, and saying, that they would perform it, they never submitted themselves to be Prisoners, as much against the Law of Arms, as their taking Arms was against their Allegiance. But that which would have been look'd upon as a considerable recompence for a Defeat, could not but be thought a great addition to the Victory, which was the death of Mr *Hambden*; who, being shot into the shoulder with a brace of Bullets, which brake the Bone, within three Weeks after, died with extraordinary pain; to as great a consternation of all that Party, as if their whole Army had been defeated or cut off.

Mr Hambden wounded in Chalgrave Field, of which he died.

MANY Men observ'd (as upon signal turns of great Affairs, as this was, such observations are frequently made) that the Field in which the late Skirmish was, and upon which Mr *Hambden* receiv'd his deaths wound, *Chalgrave* Field, was the same place in which he had first executed the Ordinance of the Militia, and engaged that County, in which his Reputation was very great, in this Rebellion: and it was confess'd by the Prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the Alarm that Morning, after their Quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding sollicitous to draw Forces together to pursue the Enemy; and, being a Colonel

of

of Foot, put himself among those Horse as a Voluntier, who were first ready; and that when the Prince made a stand, all the Officers were of Opinion to stay till their Body came up, and He alone (being second to None but the General himself in the observance, and application of all Men) perswaded, and prevailed with them to advance; so violently did his fate carry him, to pay the Mulct in the place where he had committed the Transgression, about a year before.

He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Buckingham-shire*, and born to a fair Fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the License in Sports and Exercises, and Company, which were used by Men of the most Jolly Conversation. Afterwards, he retir'd to a more Reserv'd, and Melancholy Society, yet preserving his own natural Chearfulness, and Vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all Men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Church, yet most believ'd it rather a dislike of some Church-men, and of some introducements of Theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the publick Peace. He was rather of Reputation in his own Country, than of publick discourse, or fame in the Kingdom, before the business of Ship-money: but Then he grew the Argument of all Tongues, every Man enquiring who, and what He was, that durst, at his own charge, support the Liberty, and Property of the Kingdom, and rescue his Country, as he thought, from being made a Prey to the Court. His carriage, throughout this Agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watch'd him narrowly to find some advantage against his Person, to make him less resolute in his Cause, were compell'd to give him a just Testimony. And the Judgment that was given against him, infinitely more advanc'd Him, than the Service for which it was given. When this Parliament begun (being return'd Knight of the Shire for the County where he liv'd) the Eyes of all Men were fix'd upon him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the Pilot that must steer the Vessel, through the Tempests, and Rocks which threaten'd it. And I am perswaded, his Power and Interest, at that time, was greater to do Good or Hurt, than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of his Rank hath had in any time: for his Reputation of Honesty was Universal, and his Affections seem'd so publickly guided, that no corrupt, or private ends could byas them.

He was of that rare affability, and temper in Debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of Information, and Instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of

Interrogating, and under the Notion of Doubts, insinuating his Objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn, and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discern'd those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an Ingenious, and Conscientious Person. He was indeed a very Wise Man, and of great parts, and possess'd with the most absolute spirit of Popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the People, of any Man I ever knew. For the first year of the Parliament, he seem'd rather to moderate, and soften the violent and distemper'd humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassion'd Men plainly discern'd, that That moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approv'd of the moderation; and that he Begot many opinions, and motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men; so far diguising his own designs, that he seem'd seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently back'd by majority of Voices, he would withdraw himself before the Question, that he might not seem to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his Integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the *Scots* for the Invasion of *England*, and what farther was enter'd into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at least with the privity of this Gentleman.

AFTER he was among those Members accused by the King of High Treason, he was much alter'd; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his Sword, he threw away the Scabbard; for he passionately opposed the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at *Oxford*; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of *Essex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party, than the General himself. In the first entrance into the Troubles, he undertook the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and perform'd the duty of a Colonel, upon all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a Supreme Governour over all his Passions, and Affections, and had thereby a great power over other Mens. He was of an Industry

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and Vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the moſt Laborious; and of Parts not to be impoſed upon, by the moſt Subtle or Sharp; and of a Perſonal Courage equal to his beſt Parts; ſo that he was an Enemy not to be wiſh'd wherever he might have been made a Friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was ſo, as any Man could deſerve to be. And therefore his death was no leſs pleaſing to the One Party, than it was condoled in the Other. In a word, what was ſaid of *Cinna*, might well be applied to Him; "He had a Head to "contrive, and a Tongue to perſwade, and a Hand to exe- "cute, any miſchief. His death therefore ſeem'd to be a great deliverance to the Nation.

THE Earl of *Eſſex's* Army was ſo weaken'd by theſe defeats, and more by the ſickneſs that had waſted it, that it was not thought ſafe to remain longer ſo near his unquiet, and reſtleſs Enemies. The Factions, and Animoſities at *London*, required his preſence there; and he thought the Army would be ſooner recruited there, than at ſo great a diſtance; ſo that he march'd directly from *Thame* to *London*, where he found Jealouſy and Contention enough; leaving his Army Quarter'd about St *Alban's*. Whilſt the Affairs of the Parliament were in this Diſtraction, the King's recover'd great Reputation; and the Seaſon of the year being fit for Action, all Diſcontents, and Factious Murmurings, were adjourn'd to the next Winter.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches from* Thame *to* London; *quartering his Army about* St Albans.

THE end of the Treaty, in which We left the Chief Commanders of the *Corniſh* Forces, with Commiſſioners of the other Weſtern Counties, was like that in other places; for notwithſtanding thoſe extraordinary obligations of Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament, circumſtances in no other Treaty, the Parliament no ſooner ſent their Votes, and Declarations to them (the ſame which are before mention'd upon the Treaties in *York-ſhire*, and *Cheſhire*) and ſome Members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all Peaceable Inclinations were laid aſide; ſo that (having in the mean time induſtriouſly levied Money, throughout *Somerſet* and *Devon*, upon Friends and Enemies; and a good Body of Men) the Night before the expiration of the Treaty and Ceſſation, *James Chudleigh* the Major General of the Rebels, brought a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot within two miles of *Launceſton*, the head Quarter of the *Corniſh*, and the very next Morning, the Ceſſation not being determin'd till after twelve of the Clock in the Night, march'd upon the Town, where they were not ſufficiently provided for them. For though the Commanders of the *Corniſh* had employ'd their time, as uſefully as they could, during the Ceſſation, in preparing the Gentry of that Country, and all the Inhabitants, to ſubmit to a Weekly Tax

The King's Affairs in the Weſt.

for the support of that Power, which defended them; over and above which, the Gentlemen, and Persons of Quality, freely brought in all their Plate to be disposed of to the Publick; and though they foresaw, after the Committee of Parliament came into the Country, that the Treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and Sr *Bevil Grenvil* repair'd to *Launceston* the day before the expiration of the Treaty, to meet any attempt should be made upon them: Yet, being to Feed, and Pay their small Forces out of one County, they had been compell'd to Quarter their Men at a great distance, that no one part might be more oppress'd than was necessary: so that all that was done the first day, was by the advantage of Passes, and lining of Hedges, to keep the Enemy in Action, till the other Forces came up; which they seasonably did, towards the Evening; and then the Enemy, who receiv'd great loss in that days Action, grew so heartless, that in the Night they retir'd to *Okington*, fifteen Miles, from the place of their Skirmish. After which many small Skirmishes ensued, for many days, with various success; sometimes the *Cornish* advancing in *Devon*, and then retiring again; for it appear'd now, that a form'd Army was marching against them, so Far Superior in Number, that there was no reasonable hope of resistance.

The Earl of Stamford *marches into* Cornwal *with an Army.*

TOWARDS the middle of *May*, the Earl of *Stamford* march'd into *Cornwal*, by the North Part, with a Body of fourteen hundred Horse and Dragoons, and five thousand four hundred Foot by the Poll, with a Train of thirteen Brass Ordnance, and a Morter Piece, and a very plentiful Magazine of Victual, and Ammunition, and every way in as good an Equipage, as could be provided by Men who wanted no Money; whilst the King's small Forces, being not half the Number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, were at *Launceston*; of whom the Enemy had so absolute a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within six or seven Miles, that they consider'd only how to take them after they were dispersed, and to prevent their running into *Pendennis* Castle to give them farther trouble. To which purpose having encamped themselves upon the flat top of a very high Hill, to which the Ascents were very steep every way, near *Stratton*, being the only part of *Cornwal* eminently disaffected to the King's Service, they sent a Party of twelve hundred Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of Sr *George Chudleigh*, Father to their Major General, to *Bodmin* to surprise the High Sheriff, and principal Gentlemen of the Country; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more strength to the King's Party, but, under the Awe of such a power of Horse, to make the whole Country rise for them. This design

ſign, which was not in it ſelf unreaſonable, proved fortunate to the King. For his Forces which march'd from *Launceſton*, with a reſolution to Fight with the Enemy, upon any diſadvantage of Place or Number (which, how hazardous ſoever, carried leſs danger with it, than retiring into the County, or any thing elſe that was in their power) eaſily now reſolv'd to Aſſault the Camp in the abſence of their Horſe; and with this reſolution, they march'd on *Monday* the fifteenth of *May*, within a Mile of the Enemy; being ſo deſtitute of all Proviſions, that the beſt Officers had but a Bisket a Man a day, for two days, the Enemy looking upon them as their own.

ON *Tueſday* the ſixteenth of *May*, about five of the Clock in the Morning, they diſpoſed themſelves to their work; having ſtood in their Arms all the Night. The Number of Foot was about two thouſand four hundred, which they divided into four parts, and agreed on their ſeveral Provinces. The firſt was Commanded by the Lord *Mohun*, and Sr *Ralph Hopton*; who undertook to Aſſault the Camp on the South ſide. Next them, on the left hand, Sr *John Berkley*, and Sr *Bevil Greenvil* were to force their way; Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *Trevannion* were to Aſſault the North ſide; and, on the left hand, Colonel *Thomas Baſſet*, who was Major General of their Foot, and Colonel *William Godolphin* were to advance with their Party; each Party having two Pieces of Cannon to diſpoſe as they found neceſſary: Colonel *John Digby* Commanding the Horſe and Dragoons, being about five hundred, ſtood upon a Sandy Common which had a way to the Camp, to take any advantage he could of the Enemy, if they Charg'd; otherwiſe, to be firm as a Reſerve.

IN this manner the Fight begun; the King's Forces preſſing, with their utmoſt vigour, thoſe four ways up the Hill, and the Enemies as obſtinately defending their ground. The Fight continued with very doubtful ſucceſs, till towards three of the Clock in the Afternoon; when word was brought to the Chief Officers of the *Corniſh*, that their Ammunition was ſpent to leſs than four Barrels of Powder; which (concealing the defect from the Soldiers) they reſolv'd could be only ſupplied with Courage: and therefore, by Meſſengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full Bodies, without making any more ſhot, till they reach'd the top of the Hill, and ſo might be upon even ground with the Enemy; wherein the Officer's Courage, and Reſolution, was ſo well ſeconded by the Soldier, that they begun to get ground in all places; and the Enemy, in wonder of the Men, who out-faced their ſhot with their Swords, to quit their Poſt. Major-General *Chudleigh*, who order'd the Battle, failed in no part of a Soldier; and when he ſaw his Men recoil from leſs Num-

bers, and the Enemy in all places gaining the Hill upon him, himself advanced, with a good stand of Pikes, upon that Party which was led by Sr *John Berkly*, and Sr *Bevil Greenvil*; and Charg'd them so smartly, that he put them into disorder; Sr *Bevil Greenvil*, in the shock, being born to the Ground, but quickly reliev'd by his Companion; they so reinforced the Charge, that having kill'd most of the Assailants, and dispersed the rest, they took the Major General Prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much Courage, as a Man could do. Then the Enemy gave ground apace, insomuch as the four Parties, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the Hill, between three and four of the Clock, they all met together upon one ground near the top of the Hill; where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the others success, and all acknowledging the wonderful blessing of God; and being there possess'd of some of the Enemies Cannon, they turn'd them upon the Camp, and advanced together to perfect the Victory. But the Enemy no sooner understood the loss of their Major General, but their hearts fail'd them; and being so resolutely press'd, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof, they wholly depended, some of them threw down their Arms, and others fled; dispersing themselves, and every Man shifting for himself: Their General, the Earl of *Stamford*, giving the example, who (having stood at a safe distance all the time of the Battle, environ'd with all the Horse, which in small Parties, though it is true their whole Number was not above six or sevenscore, might have done great mischief to the several Parties of Foot, who with so much difficulty scaled the steep Hill) assoon as he saw the day lost, and some say sooner, made all imaginable haste to *Exeter*, to prepare them for the condition they were shortly to expect.

The Earl is beaten near Stratton, May 16.

The Conquerors assoon as they had gain'd the Camp, and dispersed the Enemy, and after publick Prayers upon the Place, and a solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for their Deliverance and Victory, sent a small Party of Horse to pursue the Enemy for a Mile or two; not thinking fit to pursue farther, or with their whole Body of Horse, lest Sr *George* should return from *Bodmin* with his strong Body of Horse and Dragoons, and find them in disorder; but contenting themselves with the Victory they had obtain'd upon the place, which, in Substance as well as Circumstance, was as signal a one, as hath happen'd to either Party since the unhappy distraction; for on the King's Party were not lost in all above fourscore Men; whereof few were Officers, and none above the degree of a Captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten Men died afterwards of their wounds. On the

Parliament

Parliament ſide, notwithſtanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the Aſſailants, above three hundred were ſlain on the place, and ſeventeen hundred taken Priſoners with their Major General, and above thirty other Officers. They took likewiſe all their Baggage and Tents, all their Cannon, being, as was ſaid before, thirteen Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, and a Braſs Mortar-piece; all their Ammunition, being ſeventy Barrels of Powder, and all other ſorts of Ammunition proportionable, and a very great Magazine of Bisket, and other excellent Proviſions of Victuals; which was as ſeaſonable a Bleſſing as the Victory, to thoſe who, for three or four days before, had ſuffer'd great want of food as well as ſleep; and were equally tired with duty and hunger. The Army reſted that night, and the next day, at *Stratton*; all care being taken by expreſs Meſſengers, to diſperſe the news of their ſucceſs to all parts of that Country, and to guard the Paſſes upon the River *Tamar*, whereby to hinder the return of the Enemies Horſe and Dragoons. But Sr *George Chudleigh* had no ſooner, with great triumph, diſperſed the High Sheriff, and Gentlemen, who intended to have call'd the *poſſe Comitatus*, according to their good cuſtom, for the Aſſiſtance of the King's Party, and with little reſiſtance enter'd *Bodmin*, when he receiv'd the fatal News of the loſs of their Camp and Army at *Stratton*. Upon which, with as much haſte, and diſorder, as ſo great a conſternation could produce among a People not acquainted with the Accidents of War, leaving many of his Men and Horſes a Prey to the Country People, himſelf, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into *Plymouth*; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into *Exeter*.

The Earl of *Stamford*, to make his own Conduct and Misfortune the leſs cenſur'd, induſtriouſly ſpread abroad in all places, and confidently ſent the ſame information to the Parliament, "That he had been betray'd by *James Chudleigh*; and "That, in the heat of the Battle, when the hope of the day "ſtood fair, he had Voluntarily, with a Party, run over to "the Enemy, and immediately Charg'd the Parliament Forces; "which begot in all Men a general apprehenſion of Treachery, "the Soldiers fearing their Officers, and the Officers their "Soldiers revolt; and thereupon the Rout enſued. Whereas the truth is, as he was a young Man of excellent Parts, and Courage, he perform'd the part of a right good Commander, both in his Orders, and his Perſon; and was taken Priſoner in the Body of his Enemy, whither he had Charg'd with undaunted Courage, when there was no other expedient in reaſon left. But this ſcandal ſo without colour caſt on him, and entertain'd with more credit than his ſervices had merited (for

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from the time of his Engagement in the Parliament, he had ſerv'd not only with full ability, but with notable ſucceſs, and was the only Man that had given any interruption to the proſperity of the *Corniſh* Army, and in a night-skirmiſh, at *Bradock* Down near *Okington*, ſtruck a greater terror into them, and diſorder'd them more than they were at any other time) wrought ſo far upon the young Man, together with the kind uſage, and reception he found as a Priſoner among the Chief Officers, who lov'd him as a Gallant Enemy, and one like to do the King good Service if he were recover'd to his Loyalty, that after he had been Priſoner about ten days, he freely declar'd, "That he was convinced in his Conſcience, "and Judgment, of the errors he had committed; and, upon promiſe made to him of the King's Pardon, frankly offer'd to joyn with them in his Majeſty's Service; and ſo gave ſome countenance to the reproach that was firſt moſt injuriouſly caſt upon him.

THE truth is, he was of too good an underſtanding, and too much generoſity in his nature, to be affected to the Cauſe which he ſerv'd, or to comply with thoſe Arts, which he ſaw practiſed to carry it on; and having a Command in *Ireland* when the War firſt broke out, he came thence into *England*, with a purpoſe to ſerve the King; and to that end, ſhortly after his Majeſty's coming to *Oxford*, he came thither to tender his Service; but he found the Eyes of moſt Men fix'd upon him with prejudice and jealouſy there, both for his Family's ſake, which was notoriouſly diſaffected to the King, and for ſome errors of his own, in that Plot, that was ſo much ſpoken of, to bring up the Northern Army to awe the Parliament; in which buſineſs, being then a very young Man, and of a ſtirring Spirit, and deſirous of a Name, he had expreſs'd much Zeal to the King's Service, and been buſy in inclining the Army to engage in ſuch Petitions, and Undertakings, as were not gracious to the Parliament. But when that diſcovery was made by Mr *Goring*, as is before remember'd, and a Committee appointed to examine the Combination, this Gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his Examination, ſaid much that was diſadvantageous to the Court, and therefore, bringing no other Teſtimony with him to *Oxford*, but of his own Conſcience, he receiv'd nothing like Countenance there; whereupon he return'd to *London*, ſufficiently incenſed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertain'd, for their Weſtern employment, where his neareſt Friends were throughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former paſſion being allay'd, and his obſervation and experience convincing him, that the deſigns of the Parliament were not ſuch as were pretended, he reſign'd himſelf to thoſe

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who firſt conquer'd him with Force, and then with Reaſon and Civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the diſcipline, and integrity of the Forces, by whom he had been ſubdued; and with the Piety, Temper, and Sobriety of the Chief Commanders, which indeed was moſt exemplary, and worthy the Cauſe for which they were engaged; the Reputation, and Conſcience whereof, had alone carried them through the difficulties, and ſtreights, with which they were to contend.

THIS Army, willing to relieve their Friends of *Cornwal*, from the burden which they ſuſtain'd ſo patiently, haſten'd their march into *Devon-ſhire*, not throughly reſolv'd whether to attack *Plymouth*, or *Exeter*, or both; when advertiſement came to them, by an Expreſs from *Oxford*, "That the "King had ſent Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, "with a very good Body of Horſe to joyn with them, and that "they were advanced towards them as far as *Somerſet-ſhire*; "and that Sr *William Waller* was deſign'd by the Parliament, "to viſit the Weſt, with a new Army, which would receive "a good recruit from thoſe who eſcaped from the Battle of "*Stratton*; So that it was neceſſary for all the King's Forces in thoſe Parts to be united in a Body, aſſoon as might be; hereupon it was quickly reſolv'd to leave ſuch a Party at *Salt-aſh*, and *Milbrook* as might defend Faithful *Cornwal* from any Incurſions of *Plymouth*, and with their Army to march Eaſtward; their number increaſing daily upon the Reputation of their new wonderful Victory; many Voluntiers coming to them out of *Devon-ſhire*, and very many of their Priſoners profeſſing they had been ſeduced, and freely offering to ſerve the King againſt thoſe who had wrong'd both; who, being entertain'd under ſome of their own converted Officers, behaved themſelves afterwards with great Honeſty and Courage. And ſo making no longer ſtay by the way, than was neceſſary for the refreſhing of their Troops, the *Corniſh* Army, for that was the ſtyle it now carried, march'd by *Exeter*, where the Earl of *Stamford*, with a ſufficient Garriſon, then was; and ſtaying only two or three days to fix ſmall Garriſons, whereby that Town, full of fear and apprehenſion, might be kept from having too great an influence upon ſo populous a County, advanced to *Tiverton*, where a Regiment of Foot of the Parliament, under Colonel *Ware*, a Gentleman of that Country, had fix'd themſelves; hoping Sr *William Waller* would be as ſoon with them for their relief, as the *Corniſh* would be to force them; which Regiment being eaſily diſperſed, they ſtay'd there to expect new Orders from the Marquis of *Hertford*.

WHEN the loſs of *Reading* was well digeſted, and the King underſtood the declining Condition of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army,

my, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in such a manner, as would give him much trouble at *Oxford*; and hearing in what prosperous state his hopeful Party in *Cornwal* stood, whither the Parliament was making all haste to send Sr *William Waller*, to check their good successe; his Majesty resolv'd to send the Marquis of *Hertford* into those parts, the rather because there were many of the prime Gentlemen of *Wilt-shire*, *Dorset-shire*, and *Somerset-shire*, who confidently undertook, if the Marquis went through those Counties, with such a strength as they supposed the King would spare to him, they would in a very short time raise so considerable a Power, as to oppose any force the Parliament should be able to send. When the Marquis was ready for his Journey, news arriv'd of the great Victory at *Stratton*; so that there was no danger in the Marquis's being able to joyn with that little *Cornish* Army; and then there would appear indeed a visible Body worthy the name of an Army. This put some Persons upon desiring, that Prince *Maurice* (who was yet in no other Quality of Command, than of a private Colonel of Horse, but had always behav'd himself with great Courage and Vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a Command of that Army. Hereupon the King assign'd him, and his Highness willingly accepted to be Lieutenant General under the Marquis; who for many reasons, besides that he was actually possess'd of it, was thought fit to have the superior power over those Western Counties, where his Fortune lay, and the Estimation, and Reverence of the People to him was very great. So the Prince and the Marquis, with Prince *Maurice*'s, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*'s and Colonel *Thomas Howard*'s Regiment of Horse (the Earl being General of the Cavalry) advanced into the West; and staying only some few days at *Salisbury*, and after in *Dorset-shire*, whilst some new Regiments of Horse and Foot, which were Levying by the Gentlemen in those Parts, came up to them, made all convenient haste into *Somerset-shire*, being desirous to joyn with the *Cornish*, assoon as might be; presuming they should be then best able to perfect their new Levies, when they were out of apprehension of being disturbed by a more powerful Force. For Sr *William Waller* was already march'd out of *London*, and used not to stay longer by the way than was unavoidably necessary.

In the Marquis's first entrance into the West, He had an unspeakable loss, and the King's Service a far greater, by the death of Mr *Rogers*, a Gentleman of a rare Temper, and excellent Understanding; who besides that he had a great Interest in the Marquis, being his Cousin-german, and so out of that private Relation, as well as Zeal to the Publick, passionately inclined to advance the Service, had a wonderful great influence

influence upon the County of *Dorſet*, for which he ſerv'd as one of the Knights in Parliament; and had ſo well deſign'd all things there, that *Poole*, and *Lyme* (two Port Towns in that County which gave the King afterwards much Trouble) if He had liv'd, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his Death all thoſe hopes were cancell'd, the ſurviving Gentry of that Shire being, how well affected ſoever, ſo unactive, that the progreſs, that was that year made there to the King's advantage, ow'd little to their Aſſiſtance.

ABOUT the middle of *June*, Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis, with ſixteen or ſeventeen Hundred Horſe, and about one thouſand new levied Foot, and ſeven or eight Field-Pieces came to *Chard*, a fair Town in *Somerſet-ſhire*, neareſt the edge of *Devon-ſhire*; where, according to order, they were met by the *Corniſh* Army; which conſiſted of above three thouſand exellent Foot, five hundred Horſe, and three hundred Dragoons, with four or five Field-pieces; ſo that, Officers and all, being joyn'd, they might well paſs for an Army of ſeven thouſand Men; with an excellent Train of Artillery, and a very fair proportion of Ammunition of all ſorts, and ſo good a reputation, that they might well promiſe themſelves a quick increaſe of their Numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the Chief Officers of the *Corniſh* had not been much ſuperior to that of their Common Soldiers, who valued themſelves high, as the Men whoſe courage had alone vindicated the King's Cauſe in the Weſt, there might have been greater diſorder at their firſt joyning, than could eaſily have been compoſed. For how ſmall ſoever the Marquis's Party was in Numbers, it was ſupplied with all the General Officers of a Royal Army, a General, Lieutenant General, General of the Horſe, General of the Ordnance, a Major General of Horſe, another of Foot, without keeping ſuitable Commands for thoſe who had done all that was paſſed, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the Chief Officers of the *Corniſh* Army, by joyning with a much leſs party than themſelves, were at beſt in the condition of Private Colonels. Yet the ſame Publick thoughts ſtill ſo abſolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings, and emulations among Inferior Officers, and Common Soldiers; and were, with equal candour and eſtimation, valued by the Prince and Marquis, who bethought themſelves of all expedients, which might prevent any future miſunderſtanding.

The Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice, with their Forces, joyn the Corniſh Army at Chard.

TAUNTON was the firſt place they reſolv'd to viſit, being one of the faireſt, largeſt, and richeſt Towns in *Somerſet-ſhire*; but withal as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a Garriſon; but they had not yet the ſame Courage they

they recover'd afterwards. For the Army was no ſooner drawn near the Town, the head Quarters being at *Orchard*, a Houſe of the *Portmans*, two miles from the Town, but the Town ſent two of their ſubſtantial Inhabitants to Treat; which, though nothing was concluded, ſtruck that terror into the Garriſon (the Priſoners in the Caſtle, whereof many were Men of good Fortunes, impriſon'd there as Malignants, at the ſame time raiſing ſome commotion there) that the Garriſon fled out of the Town to *Bridgewater*, being a leſs Town but of a much ſtronger ſituation; and, with the ſame panick fear, the next day, from thence; ſo that the Marquis was poſſeſs'd, in three days, of *Taunton*, *Bridgewater*, and *Dunſtar*-Caſtle, ſo much ſtronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of *Francis Windham*, who wrought upon the fears of the owner, and maſter of it. Mr *Lutterel*, was, with as little blood-ſhed as the other, deliver'd up to the King; into which the Marquis put him, that took it, as Governour; as he well deſerv'd.

THE Government of *Taunton* he committed to Sr *John Stawell*, a Gentleman of a very great Eſtate in thoſe parts; who, from the beginning, had heartily and perſonally engaged Himſelf and his Children for the King; and was in the firſt form of thoſe who had made themſelves obnoxious to the Parliament. The other Government, of *Bridgewater*, was conferr'd upon *Edmund Windham*, High Sheriff of the County, being a Gentleman of a Fortune near the place, and of a good perſonal Courage, and unqueſtionable Affection to the Cauſe. The Army ſtayed about *Taunton* ſeven or eight days, for the ſettling thoſe Garriſons, and to receive Advertiſements of the Motion, or Station of the Enemy; in which time they loſt much of the Credit, and Reputation, they had with the Country. For whereas the Chief Commanders of the *Corniſh* Army, had reſtrain'd their Soldiers from all manner of Licenſe, obliging them to ſolemn, and frequent Actions of Devotion, inſomuch as the fame of their Religion, and Diſcipline, was no leſs than of their Courage, and thereupon Sr *Ralph Hopton* (who was generally conſider'd as the General of that Army, though it was govern'd by ſuch a Commiſſion as is before remember'd) was greedily expected in his own Country, where his Reputation was ſecond to no Man's; the Horſe, that came now with the Marquis, having lived under a looſe Diſcipline, and coming now into plentiful Quarters, unviſited by an Army, eminent for their Diſaffection, were diſorderly enough to give the Enemy credit in laying more to their Charge than they deſerv'd; and by their Licenſe hinder'd thoſe orderly Levies, which ſhould have brought in a ſupply of Money, for the regular payment of the Army.

This

This extravagancy produced another miſchief, ſome jealouſy, or ſhadow of it, between the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice*; the firſt, as being better verſed in the Policy of Peace, than in the Myſteries of War, deſiring to regulate the Soldier, and to reſtrain him from uſing any Licence upon the Country, and the Prince being thought ſo wholly to incline to the Souldier, that he neglected any conſideration of the Country, and not without ſome deſign of drawing the ſole dependence of the Souldier upon him. But here were the ſeeds rather ſown of diſlike, than any viſible diſinclination produced; for after they had ſettled the Garriſons before mention'd, they advanced, with Unity and Alacrity, Eaſtward, to find out the Enemy, which were gather'd together in a conſiderable Body, within leſs than twenty Miles of them.

WHILST ſo much time was ſpent at *Oxford*, to prepare the ſupplies for the Weſt, and in ſettling the manner of ſending them; which might have been done much ſooner, and with leſs noiſe; the Parliament foreſaw, that if all the Weſt were recover'd from them, their Quarters would by degrees be ſo ſtreighten'd, that their other Friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had ſtill all the Weſtern Ports at their Devotion, thoſe in *Cornwal* only excepted; and their Fleets had always great benefit by it. And though moſt of the Gentry were engaged againſt them, as they were in truth in many parts throughout the Kingdom, yet the Common People, eſpecially in the Cloathing parts of *Somerſetſhire*, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want Men, if they ſent a Body of Horſe, and ſome Arms, to countenance them; with the laſt of which, they had ſufficiently ſtored the Sea Towns which were in their hands. And therefore they reſolv'd, that though they could not eaſily recruit their Army, they would ſend ſome Troops of Horſe and Dragoons, into the Weſt, to keep up the Spirits of their Friends there. And for the conduct of this ſervice, they made choice of S^r *William Waller*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and a Gentleman of a Family in *Kent*.

The Parliament ſent S. W. Waller into the Weſt with an Army.

S^r *William Waller* had been well bred; and, having ſpent ſome years abroad, and ſome time in the Armies there, return'd with a good Reputation home; and ſhortly after, having Married a young Lady, who was to inherit a good Fortune in the Weſt, he had a quarrel with a Gentleman of the ſame Family, who had the Honour to be a meanial Servant to the King in a place near his Perſon; which, in that time, was attended with Privilege and Reſpect from all Men. Theſe two Gentlemen diſcourſing with ſome warmth together, S^r *William Waller* receiv'd ſuch provocation from the other, that he ſtruck him a blow over the face, ſo near the Gate of *Weſtminſter*-

minſter-Hall, that there were Witneſſes, who ſwore, "That it "was in the Hall it ſelf, the Courts being then ſitting; which, according to the rigour of Law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the Court, made the proſecution to be very ſevere; inſomuch as he was at laſt compelled to redeem himſelf at a dear ranſom; the benefit whereof, was conferr'd on his adverſary, which made the ſenſe of it the more grievous; and this produced in him ſo eager a ſpirit againſt the Court, that he was very open to any temptation, that might engage him againſt it; and ſo concurring in the Houſe of Commons with all thoſe Counſels which were moſt Violent, he was employed in their firſt Military Action, for the reducing of *Portſmouth*; which he effected with great eaſe, as is remember'd before; and when the Earl of *Eſſex* had put the Army into Winter Quarters, he had with ſome Troops, made a Cavalcade or two into the Weſt, ſo fortunately, that he had not only beat up ſome looſe Quarters, but had ſurpriſed a fixt and fortified Quarter, made by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* near *Gloceſter*; in which he took above twelve hundred Priſoners with all the Officers; being a number very little inferior to his own Party; which is likewiſe particularly remember'd before. So that he got great Reputation with the Parliament and the City; and was there call'd *William the Conqueror*. And it is very true, that they who look'd upon the Earl of *Eſſex* as a Man that would not keep them company to the end of their Journey, had their Eyes upon Sr *William Waller*, as a Man more for Their turn; and were deſirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipſe the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march, with ſo great expedition and ſecrecy, that the Marquis of *Hertford* was no ſooner joyn'd to the *Corniſh* Troops (in which time *Bridgewater*, and *Dunſtar*, and ſome other places were reduced from the Parliament) before he was inform'd that Sr *William Waller* was within two days march of him, and was more like to draw ſupplies to him from *Briſtol*, and the parts adjacent, which were under the Parliament, than the Marquis could from the open Country; and therefore it was held moſt Counſellable to advance, and engage him, whilſt he was not yet too ſtrong; and by this means they ſhould continue ſtill their march towards *Oxford*; which they were now inclined to do.

THOUGH Sr *William Waller* himſelf continued ſtill at *Bath*, yet the remainder of thoſe Horſe and Dragoons that eſcaped out of *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Stratton*, and ſuch other as were ſent out of *Exeter* for their eaſe, when they apprehended a Siege, and thoſe Soldiers who fled out of *Taunton*, and *Bridgewater*, and other Regiments of the Country, were by *Alexander Popham*,

Popham, *Strode*, and the other Deputy Lieutenants of the Militia for *Somerſet*, rallied; and with the Train'd-Bands, and Voluntier Regiments of the Country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the Marquis had taken up his head Quarters at *Somerton*, the Enemy, before break of day, fell upon a Regiment of Dragoons, quarter'd a Mile Eaſtward from the Town; and gave ſo briſk an Alarm to the King's Army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the Enemy (being the firſt they had ſeen make any ſtand before them, ſince the Battle of *Stratton*) who making ſtands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little Skirmiſhes in the Rear, retired in no ill order to *Wells*; and the King's Forces ſtill purſuing, they choſe to quit that City likewiſe; and drew their whole Body, appearing in number as conſiderable as their Purſuers, to the top of a Hill, call'd *Mendip*-Hill, overlooking the City of *Wells*, which they had left. The day being far ſpent, and the March having been long, the Marquis, with all the Foot, and Train, ſtayed at *Wells*; but Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with S^r *Ralph Hopton*, and S^r *John Berkley*, and two Regiments of Horſe, reſolv'd to look upon the Enemy on the top of the Hill; who ſuffer'd them, without interruption, to gain the top of the Hill level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large Front of their Horſe, to give their Foot and Baggage, leiſure and ſecurity, retired together as the Prince advanc'd. This, and the natural contempt the King's Horſe yet had of the Enemy, which in all Skirmiſhes and Charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the Prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore follow'd them farther, over thoſe large Hills, till the Enemy, who were anon to paſs through a Lane, and a Village call'd *Chewton*, were compell'd, before their entrance into the Lane, to leave their Reſerve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the Hill; which opportunity and advantage was no ſooner diſcern'd, as had been foreſeen, but the Earl of *Carnarvon* (who always Charged home) with an incomparable Gallantry Charged the Enemy, and preſs'd them ſo hard, that he enter'd the Lane with them, and Routed the whole Body of their Horſe, and follow'd the execution of them above two miles.

BUT this was like to have been a dear ſucceſs; for S^r *William Waller*, who lay with his new Army at *Bath*, and had drawn to him a good ſupply out of the Garriſon at *Briſtol*, had directed this Body which was in *Somerſet*, to retire before the King's Forces till they ſhould joyn with him, who had ſent a freſh, ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, to aſſiſt their Retreat; which, by the advantage of a Hedge, had

march'd without being diſcover'd: ſo that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, being a ſtranger in the Country and the ways, purſued the Enemy into Sr *William Waller*'s Quarter's, and till himſelf was preſs'd by a freſh Body of Horſe and Dragoons; when he was neceſſitated to retire in as good order as he could, and ſent the Prince, who follow'd him, word of the danger which attended them. His Highneſs hereupon, with what haſte he could, drew back through the Village; chooſing rather, with very good reaſon, to attend the Enemy in the plain Heath, than to be engaged in a narrow paſſage: thither the Earl of *Carnarvon* with his Regiment came to him, broken and chaſed by the Enemy; who immediately drew up a large Front of Horſe and Dragoons, much ſtronger than the Prince's Party, who had only his own, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*'s Regiments, with ſome Gentlemen Voluntiers. The ſtreight, and neceſſity he was in, was very great; for as he might ſeem much too weak to Charge them, ſo the danger might probably be much greater to retire over theſe fair Hills, being purſued with a freſh Party much ſuperior in number. Therefore he took a gallant Reſolution, to give the Enemy a brisk Charge with his own Regiment upon their advance, whilſt the Earl rallied His, and prepared to ſecond him, as there ſhould be occaſion. This was as ſoon and fortunately executed as reſolv'd; the Prince in the head of the Regiment Charging ſo vigorouſly, that he utterly broke, and routed that part of the Front that receiv'd the impreſſion. But almoſt half the Enemies Horſe, that, being extended larger than his Front, were not Charg'd, wheeled about, and Charg'd the Prince in the Rear; and at the ſame time the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with his rallied Regiment, Charg'd Their Rear; and all this ſo throughly perform'd, that they were mingled one among the other, and the good Sword was to decide the controverſy, their Piſtols being ſpent in the cloſe. The Prince himſelf receiv'd two ſhrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his Horſe; but he was preſently reliev'd, and carried off; and the Enemy totally routed, and purſued again by the Earl of *Carnarvon*; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chaſe, and then he return'd to the head Quarters at *Wells*; there having been in theſe Skirmiſhes threeſcore or fourſcore Men loſt on the Prince's Party, and three times that number by the Enemy; the Action being too quick to take many Priſoners.

At *Wells* the Army reſted many days, as well to recover the Prince's wounds, being only cuts with Swords, as to conſult what was next to be done; for they were now within diſtance of an Enemy that they knew would Fight with them. For Sr *William Waller* was at *Bath* with his whole Army, much encreaſed

encreaſed by thoſe who were chaſed out of the Weſt; and reſolv'd not to advance, having all advantages of Proviſions, and Paſſes, till a new ſupply, he every day expected from *London*, were arriv'd with him. On the other ſide, the Marquis was not only to provide to meet with ſo vigilant an Enemy, but to ſecure himſelf at his Rear, that the diſaffection of the People behind him, who were only ſubdued, not converted, upon the advance of Sr *William Waller*, might not take freſh Courage. Though *Cornwal* was reaſonably ſecured, to keep off any impreſſion upon it ſelf from *Plymouth*, yet *Devon-ſhire* was left in a very unſafe poſture; there being only a ſmall Party at *Columb-John*, a Houſe of Sr *John Ackland*'s three miles off *Exeter*, to control the Power of that City, where the Earl of *Stamford* was; and to diſpute not only with any commotion, that might happen in the Country, but with any power that might arrive by Sea. Upon theſe conſiderations, and the intelligence, that the Parliament had ſent directions to the Earl of *Warwick* their Admiral, "To attend the *Devon-ſhire* Coaſt with his Fleet, and take any advantage he could, the Marquis, by the advice of the Council of War, ſent Sr *John Berkley* back into *Devon-ſhire*, with Colonel *Howard*'s Regiment of Horſe, to Command the Forces which were then there, and to raiſe what Numbers more he could poſſibly, for the blocking up that City, and reducing the County; and upon his arrival there, to ſend up to the Army Sr *James Hamilton*'s Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons; which had been left in *Devon-ſhire*; and, by the Licence they took, weaken'd the King's Party; ſo that by ſending this relief thither, he did not leſſen at all his own Numbers, yet gave great ſtrength to the reducing thoſe parts, as appear'd afterwards by the ſucceſs.

AFTER this diſpoſition, and eight or ten days reſt at *Wells*, the Army generally expreſſing a cheerful impatience to meet with the Enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reaſon they ſhould have; the Prince, and Marquis, advanced to *Frome*, and thence to *Bradford* within four Miles of *Bath*. And now no day paſſed without Action, and very ſharp Skirmiſhes; Sr *William Waller* having receiv'd from *London* a freſh Regiment of five hundred Horſe under the Command of Sr *Arthur Haſlerig*; which were ſo compleatly Arm'd, that they were call'd by the other ſide the Regiment of Lobſters, becauſe of their bright Iron ſhells, with which they were cover'd, being perfect Curaiſſiers; and were the firſt ſeen ſo Arm'd on either ſide, and the firſt that made any impreſſion upon the King's Horſe; who, being unarm'd, were not able to bear a ſhock with them; beſides that they were ſecure from hurts of the Sword, which were

almoſt the only Weapons the other were furniſh'd with.

THE Contention was hitherto with Parties; in which the Succeſſes were various, and almoſt with equal loſſes: for as Sr *William Waller*, upon the firſt advance from *Wells*, beat up a Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons of Sr *James Hamilton's*, and diſperſed them; ſo, within two days, the King's Forces beat a Party of His from a Paſs near *Bath*, where the Enemy loſt two Field-Pieces, and near an hundred Men. But Sr *William Waller* had the advantage in his ground, having a good City, well furniſh'd with proviſions, to quarter his Army together in; and ſo in his choice not to Fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the King's Forces muſt either diſperſe themſelves, and ſo give the Enemy advantage upon their Quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the Field, and endure great diſtreſs of Proviſion; the Country being ſo diſaffected, that only force could bring in any ſupply or relief. Hereupon, after ſeveral attempts to engage the Enemy to a Battle upon equal terms, which having the advantage, he wiſely avoided; the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, advanced with their whole Body to *Marsfield*, five miles beyond *Bath* towards *Oxford*; preſuming, that, by this means, they ſhould draw the Enemy from their place of advantage, his chief buſineſs being to hinder them from joyning with the King. And if they had been able to preſerve that temper, and had neglected the Enemy, till he had quitted his advantages, it is probable they might have fought upon as good terms as they deſired. But the unreaſonable contempt they had of the Enemy, and confidence they ſhould prevail in any ground, together with the ſtreights they endured for want of Proviſions, and their want of Ammunition, which was ſpent as much in the daily Hedge Skirmiſhes, and upon their Guards, being ſo near as could have been in Battle, would not admit the patience; for Sr *William Waller*, who was not to ſuffer that Body to joyn with the King, no ſooner drew out his whole Army to *Lanſdown*, which look'd towards *Marsfield*, but they ſuffer'd themſelves to be engaged upon great diſadvantage.

The Battle of Lanſdown July 5.

IT was upon the fifth of *July* when Sr *William Waller*, as ſoon as it was light, poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the Hill over the high-way, raiſed Breaſt-works with faggots and earth, and planted Cannon there, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe towards *Marsfield*; which quickly Alarm'd the other Army, and was ſhortly driven back to their Body. As great a mind as the King's Forces had to cope with the Enemy, when they had drawn into Battalia, and found the Enemy fixed on the top of the Hill, they reſolv'd not to attack them upon ſo great diſadvantage; and ſo retired again towards their old Quarters: which Sr *William Waller*

Waller perceiving, ſent his whole Body of Horſe and Dragoons, down the Hill, to Charge the Rear and Flank of the King's Forces; which they did throughly, the Regiment of Cuiraſſiers ſo amazing the Horſe they Charg'd, that they totally routed them; and, ſtanding firm and unſhaken themſelves, gave ſo great terror to the King's Horſe, who had never before turn'd from an Enemy, that no example of their Officers, who did their parts with invincible Courage, could make them Charge with the ſame Confidence, and in the ſame manner they had uſually done. However, in the end, after Sr *Nicholas Slanning* with three hundred Muſqueteers, had fallen upon, and beaten their Reſerve of Dragooners, Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Canarvan*, Rallying their Horſe, and winged them with the *Corniſh* Muſqueteers, Charg'd the Enemies Horſe again, and totally routed them; and in the ſame manner receiv'd two Bodies more, and routed and chaſed them to the Hill; where they ſtood in a place almoſt inacceſſible. On the brow of the Hill there were Breaſt-works, on which were pretty Bodies of ſmall ſhot, and ſome Cannon, on either Flank grew a pretty thick Wood towards the declining of the Hill, in which ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers were placed; at the Rear, was a very fair Plain, where the Reſerve of Horſe and Foot ſtood ranged; yet the *Corniſh* Foot were ſo far from being appall'd at this diſadvantage, that they deſired to fall on, and cried out, "That they might have "leave to fetch off thoſe Cannon. In the end, order was given to attempt the Hill with Horſe and Foot. Two ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers were ſent into the Woods, which flanked the Enemy; and the Horſe and other Muſqueteers up the Road way, which were Charg'd by the Enemies Horſe, and Routed; then Sr *Bevil Greenvil* advanced with a Party of Horſe, on his right hand, that ground being beſt for them; and his Muſqueteers on the left; himſelf leading up his Pikes in the middle; and in the face of their Cannon, and Small-ſhot from the Breaſt-works, gained the brow of the Hill; having ſuſtain'd two full Charges of the Enemies Horſe; but in the third Charge his Horſe failing, and giving ground, he receiv'd, after other wounds, a blow on the Head with a Poll-Ax, with which he fell, and many of his Officers about him; yet the Muſqueteers Fired ſo faſt upon the Enemies Horſe, that they quitted their ground, and the two Wings, who were ſent to clear the Woods, having done their Work, and gain'd thoſe parts of the Hill, at the ſame time beat off their Enemies Foot, and became poſſeſs'd of the Breaſt-works; and ſo made way for the whole Body of Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, to aſcend the Hill; which they quickly did, and planted themſelves on the ground they had won; the Enemy

retiring about Demy Culvering shot behind a Stone Wall upon the same Level, and standing in reasonable good order.

EITHER Party was sufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to stand still. The King's Horse were so shaken, that of two thousand which were upon the Field in the morning, there were not above six hundred on the top of the Hill. The Enemy were exceedingly scatter'd too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with those who had beaten them from the Hill; so that, exchanging only some shot from their Ordnance, they look'd one upon another till the night interpos'd. About twelve of the Clock, it being very dark, the Enemy made a shew of moving towards the ground they had lost; but giving a smart Volly of Small-shot, and finding themselves Answer'd with the like, they made no more noise; which the Prince observing, he sent a Common Soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "That the Enemy had left lighted matches in "the Wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off "the Field; which was true; so that, assoon as it was day, the King's Army found themselves possess'd entirely of the Field, and the Dead, and all other Ensigns of Victory; S^r *William Waller* being march'd to *Bath*, in so much disorder and apprehension, that he had left great store of Arms, and ten Barrels of Powder, behind him; which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent in that day's Service, no less than fourscore Barrels, and had not a safe proportion left.

IN this Battle, on the King's part, there were more Officers and Gentlemen of Quality slain, then Common Men; and more hurt, than Slain. That which would have clouded any Victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of S^r *Bevil Greenvil*. He was indeed an excellent Person, whose Activity, Interest, and Reputation, was the Foundation of what had been done in *Cornwal*; and his Temper, and Affection, so Publick, that no accident which happen'd, could make any impression in Him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter Courage, and a gentler Disposition, were never married together to make the most chearful, and innocent Conversation.

S^r Bevil Greenvil slain.

VERY many Officers and Persons of Quality were hurt; as the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, shot in the Thigh with a brace of Pistol Bullets; S^r *Ralph Hopton* shot through the Arm with a Musquet; S^r *George Vaughan*, and many others, hurt in the Head of their Troops with Swords and Poll-Axes; of which none of name died. But the morning added much to the Melancholy of their Victory, when the Field was entirely

their

their own. For Sr *Ralph Hopton* riding up and down the Field to visit the hurt Men, and to put the Soldiers in order, and readiness for motion, siting on his Horse, with other Officers and Soldiers about him, near a Waggon of Ammunition, in which were eight Barrels of Powder; whether by treachery, or meer accident, is uncertain, the Powder was blown up; and many, who stood neareſt kill'd; and many more maim'd; among whom Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and Serjeant Major *Sheldon* were miserably hurt; of which, Major *Sheldon*, who was thought to be in less danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the whole Army, where he was wonderfully belov'd, as a Man of an undaunted Courage, and as great gentleness of Nature. Sr *Ralph Hopton*, having hardly so much life, as not to be number'd with the dead, was put into a Litter, and then the Army march'd to their old Quarters at *Marsfield*; exceedingly cast down with their morning's misfortune (Sr *Ralph Hopton* being indeed the Soldiers darling) where they repos'd themselves the next day, principally in care of Sr *Ralph Hopton*; who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to Travel. In this time many of the Horse, which had been routed in the morning, before the Hill was won, found the way to *Oxford*; and, according to the custom of those who run away, reported all to be lost, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the Field; but the next day brought a punctual advertisement from the Marquis, but, withal, a desire of a Regiment or two of fresh Horse, and a supply of Ammunition; whereupon the Earl of *Crawford* with his Regiment of Horse, consisting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with such a proportion of Ammunition as was desir'd.

After a days rest at *Marsfield*, it being understood that Sr *William Waller* was still at *Bath* (his Army having been rather surprised and discomforted, with the incredible boldness of the *Cornish* Foot, than much weaken'd by the Number slain, which was no greater than on the King's part) and that he had sent for fresh supply from *Bristol*; it was concluded, rather to march to *Oxford*, and so to joyn with the King's Army, than to stay and attend the Enemy, who was so near his supplies: And so they march'd towards *Chippenham*. But when Sr *William Waller* had intelligence of the blowing up of the Powder, of which he well knew there was scarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infused new Spirit into his Men; and verily believ'd that they had no Ammunition, and that the loss of Sr *Ralph Hopton* (whom the People took to be the Soul of that Army, the other Names being not so much spoken of, or so well known, and at this time believ'd to be dead) would be found in the Spirits of the Soldiers; and

having gotten some fresh Men from *Bristol*, and more from the inclinations of the three Counties of *Wilts*, *Gloceſter*, and *Somerſet*, which joyn'd about *Bath*, in the most absolute disaffected parts of all three, he follow'd the Marquis towards *Chippenham*; to which he was as near from *Bath*, as the other from *Marsfield*.

THE next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the Enemy was in distance, the Prince, and the Marquis drew back the Army through *Chippenham*, and presented themselves in Battalia to the Enemy; being very well contented to Fight in such a place, where the succeſs was to depend more on their Foot, who were unquestionably excellent, than on their Horse, which were at best weary, though their Officers were, to Envy, forward and resolute. But Sr *William Waller*, who was a right good chooser of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his Horse, who had gotten Credit, and Courage, and as little upon his Foot, who were only well Arm'd, and well Bodied, very vulgarly Spirited, and Officer'd: so that having stood all night in Battalia, and the Enemy not coming on, the Prince and Marquis, the next day, advanced towards the *Devizes*; Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, with great Spirit and Prudence, securing the Rear with strong Parties of Musqueteers; with which he gave the Enemy, who pres's'd upon them very smartly, so much Interruption, that Sr *William Waller*, despairing of overtaking, sent a Trumpet to the Marquis, with a Letter; offering a pitch'd Field at a place of his own chooſing, out of the way. The which being easily understood to be only a Stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the Marquis carried the Trumpet three or four Miles with him, and then sent him back with such an Answer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and sharp Skirmishes in the Rear; the Enemy pressing very hard, and being always with loss repulsed, till the Army safely reach'd the *Devizes*.

THEN the case was alter'd for their retreat to *Oxford*, the Enemy being upon them with improvement of Courage, and improvement of Numbers; Sr *William Waller* having dispersed his Warrants over the Country, signifying, "That he had "beaten the Marquis, and requiring the People "To rise in "all places for the apprehension of his scatter'd and dispers'd "Troops; which confidence, Men conceiv'd, could not proceed from less than a manifest Victory; and so they flock'd to him as the Master of the Field. The Foot were no more now to make the retreat, the situation of the place they were now in, being such as they could move no way towards *Oxford*, but over a Campagne of many Miles, where the stronger in Horse must needs prevail.

HEREUPON, it was unanimously advised, and consented to,

to, that the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice* ſhould that night break through, with all the Horſe, to *Oxford*; and that Sr *Ralph Hopton* (who, by this, was ſuppoſed paſt danger of death, and could hear and ſpeak well enough, though he could not ſee or ſtir) with the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was General of the Artillery, the Lord *Mohun*, and other good Officers of Foot, ſhould ſtay there with their Foot and Cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themſelves, for a few days, till the General might return with relief from *Oxford*; which was not above thirty Miles off. This reſolution was purſued; and, the ſame night, all the Horſe got ſafe away into the King's Quarters, and the Prince, and Marquis, in the morning, came to *Oxford*; by which time Sr *William Waller* had drawn all his Forces about the *Devizes*. The Town was open, without the leaſt Fortification, or Defence, but ſmall Ditches and Hedges; upon which the Foot were placed, and ſome pieces of Cannon conveniently planted. The Avenues, which were many, were quickly Barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the Horſe, which was principally apprehended. Sr *William Waller* had ſoon notice of the remove of the Horſe; and therefore, intending that purſuit no farther, he brought his whole Force cloſe to the Town, and beleaguer'd it round; and having raiſed a Battery upon a Hill near the Town, he pour'd in his ſhot upon it without intermiſſion, and attempted to enter in ſeveral other places with Horſe, Foot, and Cannon; but was in all places more reſolutely reſiſted, and repulſed. At the ſame time, having Intelligence (as his Intelligence was always moſt exact in whatſoever concern'd him) of the Earl of *Crawford*'s marching with a ſupply of Powder, according to order, after the firſt Battle of *Lanſdown*, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons to intercept him; who before he knew of the alterations which had happen'd, and of the remove of the Horſe towards *Oxford*, was ſo far engaged, that he hardly eſcaped with the loſs of his Ammunition, and a Troop or two of his Horſe.

UPON this improvement of his ſucceſs, Sr *William Waller* reckon'd his Victory out of queſtion; and thereupon ſent a Trumpet into the Town to ſummon the Beſieged, to let them know, "That he had cut off their relief, and that their State "was now deſperate; and therefore adviſed them to ſubmit "themſelves to the Parliament, with whom he would mediate "on their behalf. They in the Town were not ſorry for the Overture; not that they apprehended, it would produce any Conditions they ſhould accept, but that they might gain ſome time of reſt by it: for the ſtreights they were in, were too great for any minds not prepared to preſerve their Honour at any rates. When the Enemy came firſt before the Town, and the

the Guards was supplied with Ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of Match left in the Store; whereupon diligent Officers were directed to search every House in the Town, and to take all the Bed-cords they could find, and to cause them to be speedily beaten, and boyled. By this suddain expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of such serviceable Match, as very well endur'd that sharp service. The compass of the ground they were to keep, was so large, and the Enemy press'd so hard upon all places, that their whole Body were upon perpetual duty together, neither Officer or Soldier having any time for rest; and the activity of the Chief Officers was most necessary to keep up the Courage of the Common men, who well enough understood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this Message; and return'd, "That they would send an Officer to Treat, if a Cessation were agreed to during the time of the Treaty; which was consented to, if it were suddenly expedited.

On the Party of the Besieged were propos'd such terms, as might take up most time in the Debate, and might imply Courage and Resolution to hold out. Sr *William Waller*, on the other hand, offer'd only Quarter, and Civil usage to the Officers, and leave to the Common Soldiers to return to their Houses without their Arms, except they would voluntarily choose to serve the Parliament. These being terms many of the Officers would not have submitted to in the last extreme, the Treaty ended; after those in the Town had gained what they only look'd for, seven or eight hours sleep, and so long time sparing of Ammunition. The truth is, Sr *William Waller*, was so confident that they were at his Mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, "That their work was done, and "That by the next Post, he would send the Number, and "Quality of his Prisoners; neither did he imagine it possible, that any relief could have been sent from *Oxford*; the Earl of *Essex*, to whom he had signified his success, and the posture he was in, lying with his whole Army at *Thame*, within ten Miles of it. But the importance was too well understood by the King to omit any thing, that might, with the utmost hazard, be attempted for the redeeming those Men, who had wrought such wonders for him. And therefore, assoon as the Marquis, and Prince, arriv'd at *Oxford*, with the sad and unexpected news, and relation of the distress of their Friends, though the Queen was then on her march towards *Oxford*, and the King had appointed to meet her two days Journey for her security, his Majesty resolv'd to take only his own Guards of Horse, and Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment for that expedition; and sent the Lord *Wilmot* with all the rest of the Horse, to march

that

that very day in which the advertiſement came to him, towards the *Devizes*; ſo that the Marquis and the Prince coming to *Oxford* on the *Monday* morning, the Lord *Wilmot*, that night, moved towards the work; and Prince *Maurice* returning with him as a Voluntier, but the Lord *Wilmot* Commanding in Chief, appear'd, on the *Wedneſday* about noon, upon the plain within two Miles of the Town.

THE Lord *Wilmot* had with him fifteen hundred Horſe, and no more, and two ſmall Field-pieces, which he ſhot off to give the Town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair Campagne about the Town, when the Enemy ſhould riſe from before it, he ſhould be able in ſpight of them to joyn with the Foot, and ſo to have a fair Field for it; which would be ſtill diſadvantageous enough, the Enemy being Superior by much in Horſe, very few of thoſe, who had broken away from the *Devizes* (except the Prince himſelf, the Earl of *Carnarvan*, and ſome other Officers) being come up with them, becauſe they were tired, and diſperſed. The Enemy, careful to prevent the joyning of this Party of Horſe with the Foot, and fully advertiſed of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the Town; and put themſelves in Battalia upon the top of a fair Hill, called *Roundway*-Down; over which the King's Forces were neceſſarily to march, being full two Miles off the Town; they within conceiv'd it hardly poſſible, that the relief, they expected from *Oxford*, could ſo ſoon arrive; all the Meſſengers, who were ſent to give notice of it, having miſcarried by the cloſeneſs of the Siege; and therefore ſuſpected the warning Pieces from the Plain, and the drawing off the Town by the Enemy, to be a Stratagem to couſen the Foot from thoſe Poſts they defended, into the open Field; and ſo, very reaſonably, being in readineſs to march, they waited a ſurer Evidence, that their Friends were at hand; which ſhortly arriv'd; and aſſur'd them, "That the "Prince was near and expected them.

IT will be eaſily conceiv'd, with what alacrity they advanced to meet him; but Sr *William Waller* had purpoſely choſe that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced ſo faſt on the Lord *Wilmot*, that without ſuch removes, and traverſes, as might give his Men ſome apprehenſion, that Lord could not expect the Foot from the Town; and therefore he put his Troops in order upon that ground to expect the Enemies Charge, who were ſomewhat more than Muſquet-ſhot off in order of Battle.

HERE Sr *William Waller*, out of pure Gayety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of Battle, with ſtrong wings of Horſe to his Foot, and a good Reſerve placed, and his Cannon uſefully planted,

planted, apprehending ſtill the conjunction between the Horſe and the Foot in the Town, and gratifying his Enemy with the ſame contempt, which had ſo often brought inconveniencies upon them, and diſcerning their number Inferior to that he had before (as he thought) maſter'd, he march'd, with his whole Body of Horſe, from his Foot, to Charge the Enemy; appointing Sr *Arthur Haſlerig* with his Cuiraſſiers apart, to make the firſt impreſſion; who was encounter'd by Sr *John Byron*, in whoſe Regiment the Earl of *Carnarvon* Charg'd as a Voluntier; and after a ſharp Conflict, in which Sr *Arthur Haſlerig* receiv'd many wounds, that impenitrable Regiment was Routed, and, a full Career, chaſed upon their other Horſe. At the ſame time, the Lord *Wilmot* Charging them from diviſion to diviſion, as they were ranged, in half an hour, ſo ſuddain Alterations the accidents of War introduce, the whole entire Body of the Triumphant Horſe were ſo totally Routed, and Diſperſed, that there was not one of them to be ſeen upon that large ſpacious Down; every Man ſhifting for himſelf with greater danger by the Precipices of that Hill, than he could have undergone by oppoſing his purſuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, ſo it was as ill for the purſuer; and after the Rout, more periſh'd by fall and bruiſes from their Horſes, down the Precipices, than by the Sword. The Foot ſtood ſtill firm, making ſhew of a gallant Reſiſtance; but the Lord *Wilmot* quickly ſeiſed their Cannon, and turn'd them upon them, at the ſame time that the *Corniſh* Foot, who were by this come from the Town, were ready likewiſe to Charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and ſo they were Charged on all ſides, and either kill'd, or taken Priſoners, very few eſcaping; the *Corniſh* retaining too freſh a Memory of their late diſtreſſes, and revenging themſelves on thoſe who had contributed thereunto. Sr *William Waller* himſelf, with a ſmall Train, fled into *Briſtol*, which had ſacrificed a great part of their Garriſon in his Defeat; and ſo were even ready to expire at his entry into the Town, himſelf bringing the firſt news of his diſaſter.

The Battle of Roundway *Down wherein Sr* William Waller *is Routed.*

THIS glorious day, for it was a day of Triumph, redeem'd for that time the King's whole Affairs, ſo that all Clouds that ſhadow'd them ſeem'd to be diſpell'd, and a bright light of ſucceſs to ſhine over the whole Kingdom. There were in this Battle ſlain, on the Enemies part, above ſix hundred on the place; nine hundred Priſoners taken, beſides two or three hundred retaken and redeem'd whom they had gathered up in the Skirmiſhes, and purſuit; with all their Cannon, being eight Pieces of Braſs Ordnance; all their Arms, Ammunition, Waggons, Baggage, and Victual; eight and twenty Foot Enſigns, and nine Cornets; and all this by a Party of fifteen hundred

hundred Horſe, with two ſmall Field-pieces (for the Victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the *Corniſh* came up; though the Enemies Foot were ſuffer'd to ſtand in a Body uncharged, out of ceremony, till They came; that they might be refreſh'd with a ſhare in the Conqueſt) againſt a Body of full two thouſand Horſe, five hundred Dragoons, and near three thouſand Foot, with an excellent Train of Artillery. So that the *Corniſh* had great reaſon to think their deliverance, and Victory at *Roundway*, more ſignal and wonderful, than the other at *Stratton*, ſave that the firſt might be thought the Parent of the latter, and the loſs on the King's Party was leſs; for in This there was ſlain very few; and, of Name, none but *Dudley Smith*, an honeſt and valiant young Gentleman; who was always a Voluntier with the Lord *Wilmot*, and amongſt the firſt upon any Action of danger.

BESIDES the preſent fruit of this Victory, the King receiv'd an advantage from the Jealouſy, that, from thence, grew among the Officers of the Parliament Armies. For Sr *William Waller* believ'd himſelf to be abſolutely betray'd, and ſacrificed by the Earl of *Eſſex*, out of envy of the great things he had done, which ſeem'd to eclipſe his Glories; and complain'd, "That he lying with his whole Army within ten "miles of *Oxford*, ſhould ſuffer the chief ſtrength of that place "to march thirty miles to deſtroy him, without ſo much as "ſending out a Party to follow them, or to Alarm *Oxford*, "by which they would have been probably recalled. On the other hand, the Earl, diſdaining to be thought his Rival, reproach'd the other with "Unſoldierly neglects, and want of "Courage, to be beaten by a handful of Men, and to have "deſerted his Foot and Cannon, without engaging his own "Perſon in one Charge againſt the Enemy. Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven; but from the Enmity that proceeded from thence, the King often afterwards reaped very notable, and ſeaſonable advantages; which will be remember'd in their places.

THIS bleſſed Defeat happen'd to be upon the ſame day, and upon the ſame time of the day, when the King met the Queen upon the Field near *Keinton*, under *Edge-hill*, where the Battle had been fought in *October* before; and before their Majeſties came to *Oxford*, they receiv'd the happy news of it. It is eaſy to imagine the joy with which it was receiv'd, all Men raiſing their fallen Spirits to too great a height, as though they ſhould now go through all the work without farther oppoſition; and this tranſport to either extremes was too natural upon all the Viciſſitudes of the War; and it was ſome allay to the welcome news of the Victory to ſome Men, that it had been obtain'd under the Command and Conduct

of

of *Wilmot*; who was very much in Prince *Rupert*'s diſeſteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the King, but much belov'd by all the good fellowſhip of the Army; which was too great a Body. It was now time for the King's Army, Victorious in ſo many Encounters, to take the Field: upon What Enterpriſe, was the Queſtion. This overthrow of *Waller* had infinitely ſurpriſed, and encreaſed the diſtractions at *London*. They had ſeen the Copy of the Warrants, which his Vanity had cauſed to be diſperſed, after the Action at *Lanſdown*; in which he declared, "That he had Routed the "Marquis's Army, and was in purſuit of them; and there- "fore Commanded the Juſtices of Peace, and Conſtables, to "give order for the apprehenſion of them, as they fled diſ- "perſed; and expected every day, that the Marquis would be ſent up Priſoner; and now to hear that his whole invincible Army was defeated, and himſelf fled, upon the matter, alone (for ill news is for the moſt part made worſe, as the beſt is reported to be better than it is) brought them to their Wits end; ſo that they could little advance the recruiting the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army; who in his Perſon likewiſe grew more ſullen towards them, and reſented their little regard of him, and grew every day more converſant with the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Holland*, and others who were moſt weary of the War, and would be glad of Peace upon eaſy terms.

The King meets the Queen near Keinton; *ſhe coming with a great Recruit.*

The King's Army receiv'd a fair addition, by the conjuncture with thoſe Forces which attended the Queen; for her Majeſty brought with her above two thouſand Foot, well Arm'd, and one thouſand Horſe, and ſix pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars, and about one hundred Wagons. So that as ſoon as their Majeſties came to *Oxford*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had ſpent his time about *Thame*, and *Aylesbury*, without any Action after that Skirmiſh in which Mr *Hambden* was ſlain, ſave by ſmall Parties of which there was none of Name, or Note, but one handſome ſmart conflict between a Party of five hundred Horſe and Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel *Middleton*, a *Scotch*-man, on the Parliament Party, and a Regiment of Horſe, Commanded by Sr *Charles Lucas*, on the King's; where, after a very Soldierly conteſt, and more blood drawn than was uſual upon ſuch Actions, the King's Party prevail'd, returning with ſome Priſoners of Name, and the ſlaughter of one hundred of the Enemy, not without ſome loſs of their own: The Earl, I ſay, retired with his Army broken, and diſhearten'd to *Uxbridge*, giving over any thought of fighting with the King, till he ſhould be recruited, with Horſe, Men, and Money; and ſuffering no leſs in the talk of the People (who began to aſſume a great freedom in diſcourſe) for not interpoſing to hinder the Queen's march to *Oxford*, and

The Earl of Eſſex *retires from* Thame *with his Army to* Uxbridge.

and joyning with the King, than for ſitting ſtill ſo near *Oxford*, whilſt the Lord *Wilmot* went from thence to the ruin of Sr *William Waller*.

AFTER which Defeat the Lord *Wilmot* retired to *Oxford* to attend his Majeſty; and the *Corniſh* Army (for that name it deſervedly kept ſtill, though it receiv'd ſo good an encreaſe by the Marquis, and Prince's joyning with them) drew back, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Bath*, which was ſoon quitted to them, upon the overthrow of *Waller*; that Garriſon being withdrawn to reinforce *Briſtol*. At *Bath* they reſted, and refreſh'd themſelves, till they might receive new Orders from the King; who, upon full advice, and conſideration of the State he was in, and the broken condition of the Enemy, reſolv'd to make an attempt upon the City of *Briſtol*; to which Prince *Rupert* was moſt inclined, for his being diſappointed, in a former deſign; and where there were many well affected to the King's Service from the beginning, and more ſince the execution of thoſe two eminent Citizens. And the diſeſteem generally had of the Courage of *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the Governour, made the deſign to be thought the more reaſonable; ſo the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice* return'd to *Bath*, upon agreement to appear, on ſuch a day, with their whole ſtrength before *Briſtol*, on the *Somerſet-ſhire* ſide, when Prince *Rupert* with the *Oxford* Forces would appear before it, on the *Gloceſter-ſhire* ſide.

ON the four and twentieth of *July*, both Armies ſat down, before it; Quartering their Horſe in that manner, that none could go out or in to the City, without great hazard of being taken; in the ſame day with the aſſiſtance of ſome Seamen, who were prepared before, they ſeiſed all the Ships that were in *King-road*; which were not only laden with goods of great value, as Plate, Money, and the beſt ſort of all Commodities, which thoſe who ſuſpected the worſt had ſent aboard, but with many Perſons of Quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a Siege, thought that way to have ſecured themſelves, and to have eſcaped to *London*; and ſo were all taken Priſoners. The next day, Prince *Rupert* came to his Brother, and the Marquis, and a General Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies being aſſembled, it was Debated, "In what Manner, they ſhould proceed, by Aſſault or "Approach. Briſtol Beſieg'd by Prince Rupert:

THERE were in the Town five and twenty hundred Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons; the line about the Town was finiſh'd; yet in ſome places the graff was wider, and deeper than in others. The Caſtle within the Town was very well prepared, and ſupplied with great ſtore of Proviſions to endure a Siege. The opinions were ſeveral: The Officers

ficers of the *Corniſh* were of opinion, "That it was beſt to pro-
"ceed by way of Approach; becauſe, the ground being very
"good, it would in a very ſhort time be done; and ſince there
"was no Army of the Enemy in a poſſibility to relieve it, the
"ſecureſt way would be the beſt; whereas the Works were
"ſo good, that they muſt expect to loſe very many Men;
"and if they were beaten off, all their Summer hopes would
"be deſtroyed; it not being eaſy, again to make up the ſpi-
"rit of the Army for a new Action. Beſides, they alledg'd,
"the well affected Party in the City, which was believ'd to
"be very great, would after they had been cloſely Beſieged
"three or four days, have a greater influence upon the Sol-
"dier, and be able to do more towards the Surrender, than
"they could upon a Storm; when they would be equally ſen-
"ſible of the diſorder of the Soldier, and their own damage
"by plunder, as the other; and the too late example of the
"executed Citizens, would keep Men from offering at any
"inſurrection in the City.

On the other hand, Prince *Rupert*, and all the Officers of His Army very earneſtly deſir'd to Aſſault it; alledg'd, "The
"Work to be eaſy, and the Soldiers fitter for any briſk at-
"tempt, than a dull patient deſign; and that the Army would
"be more weaken'd by the latter, than the former: that the
"City, not having yet recover'd the conſternation of Sr *Wil-
liam Waller's* Defeat, was ſo full of horror, that it would make
"a very weak Defence: that there was no Soldier of expe-
"rience in the Town, and the Governour himſelf not like to
"endure the terror of a Storm: whereas, if they gave them
"time to conſider, and to look long upon them with a Wall
"between, they would grow confirm'd, and reſolute, and cou-
"rage would ſupply the place of skill; and having plenty of all
"kinds of Proviſions within the Town, they would grow
"ſtrong, and peremptory, whilſt the Beſiegers grew leſs vi-
"gorous, and diſhearten'd. Theſe reaſons, and the Prince's im-
portunity, with ſome inſinuations of knowing more than was fit to be ſpoken, as if ſomewhat would be done within the Town, that muſt not be mention'd, and a glorious contempt and danger, prevailed ſo far, that it was conſented to, on all parts, to Aſſault the Town the next morning at three places on the *Somerſet-ſhire* ſide, and at three places on the *Gloceſter-ſhire* ſide, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, with regard to their different circumſtances, were in themſelves reaſonable: for the *Gloceſter-ſhire* ſide, where Prince *Rupert* was, might be ſtorm'd, the graff being ſhallow, and the Wall, in ſome places, low, and weak; which could not be eaſily Approach'd, by reaſon the ground was rocky, and the Redoubt high and very ſtrong, which overlook'd the ground; on the

other

other side, the ground was very easy to approach, and as inconvenient, and dangerous to Storm, by reason of a plain level before the Line, and a broad and deep graff, and the line throughout, better flanker'd than the other.

THE next Morning, with little other Provisions fit for such a Work, than the Courage of the Assailants, both Armies fell on. On the West side, where the *Cornish* were, they assaulted the Line in three places; one division led by Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, assisted with Colonel *John Trevannion*, Lieutenant Colonel *Slingsby*, and three more Field Officers; too great a number of such Officers to conduct so small a Party as five hundred Men, if there had not been an immoderate disdain of danger, and appetite of glory: Another division, on the right hand, was led by Colonel *Buck*, assisted by Colonel *Wagstaffe*, Colonel *Bernard Astley*, who commanded the Regiment of the Lord Marquis *Hertford*, with other Field Officers: And the third division, on the left hand, led by Sr *Thomas Basset*, who was Major General of the *Cornish*. These three divisions fell on together with that Courage, and Resolution, as nothing but death could controul; and though the middle division got into the graff, and so near filled it, that some mounted the Wall, yet by the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the Besieged made within, they were driven back with a great slaughter; the Common Soldiers, after the Chief Officers were kill'd, or desperately wounded, finding it a bootless attempt.

ON Prince *Rupert's* side, it was Assaulted with equal Courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division led on by the Lord *Grandison*, Colonel General of the Foot, was beaten off, the Lord *Grandison* himself being hurt; and the other, led by Colonel *Bellasis*, likewise had no better fortune; yet Colonel *Washington*, with a less Party, finding a place in the Curtain (between the places Assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, enter'd, and quickly made room for the Horse to follow. The Enemy, as soon as they saw the Line enter'd in one place, either out of fear, or by Command of their Officers, quit their Posts; so that the Prince enter'd with his Foot and Horse into the Suburbs; sending for one thousand of the *Cornish* Foot, which were presently sent to second him; and march'd up to *Fromegate*, losing many Men, and some very good Officers, by shot from the Walls, and Windows; insomuch as all Men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a loss; for they had still a more difficult entrance into the Town, than they had yet passed, and where their Horse could be of no use to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of Generals, and Soldiers, the City beat a Parley; which the Prince willingly

embracing and getting their Hoſtages into his hands, ſent Colonel *Gerrard* and another Officer to the Governour to Treat. The Treaty began about two of the Clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, theſe Articles were agreed on, and ſign'd by all Parties.

It is Surrender'd upon Articles.

1. "THAT the Governour, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, together "with all the Officers both of Horſe and Foot, now within, "and about the City of *Briſtol*, Caſtle, and Forts, may march "out to morrow morning by nine of the Clock, with their "full Arms, Bag and Baggage, provided it be their own "Goods: And that the Common Foot Soldiers march out "without Arms, and the Troopers with their Horſes, and "Swords, leaving their other Arms behind them, with a ſafe "Convoy to *Warmiſter*; and after not to be moleſted in their "March, by any of the King's Forces, for the ſpace of three "days.

2. "THAT there may be Carriages allowed and provided "to carry away their Bag and Baggage, and ſick and hurt Sol-"diers.

3. "THAT the King's Forces march not into the Town, "till the Parliament Forces are march'd out; which is to be "at nine of the Clock.

4. "THAT all Priſoners in the City be deliver'd up; and "that Captain *Eyers*, and Captain *Cookein*, who were taken at "the *Devizes*, be releaſed.

5. "THAT Sr *John Horner*, Sr *John Seymour*, Mr *Edward* "*Stevens*, and all other Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens and "other Perſons, that are now in the City, may, if they pleaſe, "with their Goods, Wives, and Families, Bag and Baggage, "have free liberty to return to their own homes, or elſewhere, "and there to reſt in ſafety, or ride, and travel with the Go-"vernour and Forces: and ſuch of them, and their Fami-"lies, as ſhall be left behind, by reaſon of ſickneſs or other "cauſe, may have liberty, ſo ſoon as they can conveniently, "to depart this Town with ſafety; provided that all Gentle-"men, and other Perſons, ſhall have three days liberty to re-"ſide here, or depart with their Goods, which they pleaſe.

6. "THAT all the Inhabitants of the City ſhall be ſecured "in their Perſons, Families, and Eſtates, free from plundering, "and all other violence, or wrong whatſoever.

7. "THAT the Charters, and Liberties of this City may "be preſerv'd; and that the Ancient Government thereof, "and preſent Governours, and Officers, may remain and con-"tinue in their former condition, according to his Majeſty's "Charters, and Pleaſure.

8. "THAT, for avoiding Inconveniencies and Diſtractions, "the

" the quartering of Soldiers be referr'd or left to the Mayor,
" and Governour of the same City for the time being.

9. " THAT all such, as have carried any Goods into the
" Castle may have free liberty to carry the same forth.

10. " THAT the Forces, that are to march out, are to leave
" behind them all Cannon, and Ammunition, with their Co-
" lours, and such Arms as is before expres'd.

THE next morning, (if not before) for the truth is, from the time that the Treaty was first offer'd, they in the Town kept no Guards, nor observ'd any order; but their Soldiers run away to the Prince, and many of His Soldiers went into the Town) his Highness was possess'd of *Bristol*, the Enemy then marching away. Here the ill example of *Reading*, in the breach of the Articles, was remember'd, and unhappily followed; for all that Garrison was now here. So that they, with some Colour of right, or retaliation, and the rest, by Their example, used great License to the Soldiers, who should have been safely conducted; which reflected much upon the Prince, though he used his utmost power to suppress it; and charged Colonel *Fiennes* to be accessary to his own wrong, by marching out of the Town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his Convoy was not ready; and at another Gate than was appointed and agreed on. And as the Articles were thus unhappily violated to those who went away, so they were not enough observ'd to those who stayed, and to the City it self: for many of Colonel *Fiennes* Soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the King's Army, instructed their new Friends, Who were most disaffected; so that one whole Street upon the Bridge, the Inhabitants whereof lay under some brand of Malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honest Men among them, was almost totally plunder'd; which, because there was but little Justice done upon the Transgressors, was believ'd to be done by connivance from the Officers, and more discredited the King's Forces, and his Cause, than was then taken notice of, or discover'd. It was a noble attribute given to the brave *Fabricius*, *Qui aliquid esse crederet & in hostem nefas*. I with I could excuse those swervings from Justice, and Right, which were too frequently practised against Contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were Rebels, and could not be too ill used; when, as the cause deserv'd, so it needed all the ingenuity, and integrity, in the Propugners of it, to keep despair from the Guilty, who were by much too numerous for the Innocent.

THIS reduction of *Bristol*, was a full tide of prosperity to the King, and made him Master of the second City of his

Kingdom, and gave him the undisturb'd possession of one of the richest Counties of the Kingdom (for the Rebels had now no standing Garrison, or the least visible influence upon any part of *Somerset-shire*) and render'd *Wales* (which was before well affected, except some Towns in *Pembroke-shire*) more useful to him; being freed of the fear of *Bristol*, and consequently of the Charge, that always attends those fears; and restored to the Trade with *Bristol*; which was the greatest support of those parts. Yet the King might very well have said, what King *Pyrrhus* heretofore did, after his second Battle, by the City of *Asculum*, with the *Romans*, where he won the Victory; "If We win another at this Price, We are utterly un-"done. And truly his Majesty's Loss before this Town, was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am perswaded there were slain, upon the several Assaults, of Common Men, but such as were tried and incomparable Foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent Officers, whereof many were of prime Command, and Quality.

On the *Cornish* side, fell, besides Major *Kendall*, and many other Inferior Officers, excellent in their degree; Colonel *Buck*, a modest and a stout Commander, and of good experience in War; who having got over the Graff, and even to the top of the Wall, was knock'd down with a Halbert, and perish'd in the Graff: Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *John Trevannion*, the Life and Soul of the *Cornish* Regiment, whose Memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulsion, but of Conscience, and their own observation of the ill practices and designs of the great Conductors (for they both were of the House of Commons) engaged themselves with the first in the opposition; and as soon as Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and those other Gentlemen came into *Cornwal*, joyn'd with them; and being both of singular Reputation, and good Fortunes there, the one in Possession, the other in Reversion after his Father, they engaged their Persons and Estates in the Service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it should be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all Infirmities, and condescending to all Capacities, for removing all obstructions, which accidentally arose among those, who could only prosper by being of one mind. Sr *Nicholas Slanning* was Governour of *Pendennis* Castle, upon the credit and security whereof, the King's Party in that Country first depended, and by the Command it had of the Harbour of *Falmouth*, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was indeed a young Man of admirable Parts, a sharp and discerning Wit, a stayed and solid Judgment, a gentle and most obliging Behaviour, and a Courage so clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would

would have render'd him very considerable: They were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to Sr *Bevil Greenvil*, whose body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almost in the same minute, and in the same place; both shot in the thigh with Musquet Bullets; their bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few days after; and both had the Royal sacrifice of their Soveraign's very particular Sorrow, and the concurrence of all good Mens; and that which is a greater solemnity to their memories, as it fares with most great and virtuous Men, whose loss is better understood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the publick Affairs made the Courage, and Fidelity of the *Cornish* of greatest signification to the Cause.

On the North side, of Prince *Rupert's* Army, fell very many good Officers, the chief of whom was Colonel *Harry Lunsford*, an Officer of extraordinary Sobriety, Industry, and Courage; near whom, his excellent Lieutenant Colonel *Moyle* was likewise hurt, and died within few days, both shot out of a Window after they had enter'd the Suburbs. There were hurt, the Lord Viscount *Grandison*, Nephew to the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, who was Colonel General of the King's Foot; Colonel *John Bellasis*, since Lord *Bellasis*; Colonel *Bernard Ashley*; Colonel Sr *John Owen*; and many other Officers of name, of whom none of Quality died of their wounds but the Lord *Grandison*; whose loss can never be enough lamented. He was a young Man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a Lover of Justice, and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this War, could make him swerve from the most precise Rules of it; and of that rare Piety and Devotion, that the Court, or Camp, could not shew a more faultless Person, or to whose example young Men might more reasonably conform themselves. His Personal Valour, and Courage of all kinds (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the Corrupt opinion of Honour, as to venture himself in Duels) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too Prodigal of his Person; his Affection, and Zeal, and Obedience to the King, was such as became a Branch of that Family. And he was wont to say, "That if he had not understanding enough to know the up-"rightness of the Cause, nor Loyalty enough to inform him "of the Duty of a Subject, yet the very obligations of Gra-"titude to the King, on the behalf of his House, were such, "as his Life, was but a due Sacrifice; and therefore he no sooner saw the War unavoidable, than he engaged all his Brethren, as well as himself in the Service; and there were then

three more of them in Command in the Army, where he was so unfortunately cut off.

ASSOON as the news of the taking of *Bristol* came to the King at *Oxford*, after a solemn Thanksgiving to God for the Success, which was immediately and publickly perform'd, his Majesty assembled his Privy Council, to consider how this great Blessing in War, might be applied to the procuring a happy Peace; and that this might be the last Town he should purchase at the price of Blood. It was evident, that, as this last Victory added great lustre, and beauty to the whole face of his Affairs, so it would produce an equal paleness, and be an ominous presage to the Parliament; where the Jealousies and Apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the disease.

The two Houses send Commissioners into Scotland for relief.

UPON the news of the Lord *Fairfax*'s being Defeated in the North, which came about this time, they resolv'd to send out a Committee of the two Houses into *Scotland*, "To desire "their Brethren of that Kingdom presently to advance with "an Army for their Relief; which was thought so desperate a Cure, that the Lords naming the Earl of *Rutland*, and Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, for that Embassy, the Earl upon indisposition of Health procured a release; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower; and in the end, they were compelled to depute only Commoners to that Service: and so Sr *William Armyne*, young Sr *Henry Vane*, and two more, assisted with Mr *Marshall* and Mr *Nye*, two of their powerful Clergy, were embarked in that Negotiation; upon which, they who sent them, were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied, that they should be driven to bring in Forreign Forces, with the purpose whereof they had so long traduced the King, that there was, some few desperate Persons, only excepted, even a universal desire of Peace; and the Earl of *Essex* himself writing to the Speaker of the House of Commons, of the defects in his Army, and of his wants of Horse, Men and Money, advised, "That they would think of sending some reasonable "Propositions to the King, for the procuring a Safe Peace; which being the first intimation, he had ever given to that purpose, together with his familiarity, and correspondence with those Lords, who were known passionately to desire an accommodation, gave them sad apprehensions; which were encreased by some severe Messages they receiv'd from him, for his Vindication from the foul Aspersions, and Calumnies, which were generally and publickly laid on him, for his unactivity after the winning *Reading*, whilst the Queen march'd

securely

ſecurely to *Oxford*, and S^r *William Waller* was deſtroy'd; as if "He would think of ſome way of righting Himſelf, if They "were not ſenſible on His behalf.

How to work upon theſe diſcompoſed humours, and to reduce them to ſuch temper, that they might conſent to the Kingdom's Peace, was the Argument of the King's conſultations: but by what expedient to promote this, was the difficulty. After the breach of the laſt Treaty, and when the King had in vain labour'd to revive it, and could not procure any Anſwer from them to his laſt Meſſages: but inſtead thereof his Meſſenger impriſon'd, Try'd before a Council of War for his Life, and ſtill in cuſtody, and a Declaration, "That "whoſoever ſhould be employ'd by his Majeſty, on any Meſ-"ſage to them without their leave, ſhould be proceeded "againſt as a Spy (ſo that though they pretended to be his great Council, they upon the matter now proteſted againſt any relation to his Majeſty) he adviſed with his Council, "What might be fit for him to do, to leſſen the Reverence "and Reputation of them with the People: for the ſuper-ſtition towards the name of a Parliament was ſo general, that the King had wiſely forborn to charge the two Houſes with the Treaſon and Rebellion which was raiſed, but imputed it to particular Perſons, who were moſt viſibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "That, all the Mem-"bers who ſtay'd there, and ſate in either Houſe, being guilty "of ſo many Treaſonable Acts, thereby the Parliament was "actually diſſolv'd, by the ſame reaſon, as a Corporation, "by great Miſdemeanour and Crime, might forfeit their "Charter; and therefore that the King ſhould, by his Pro-"clamation, declare the diſſolution of it, and then conſider "whether it were fit to call another: but this opinion was generally diſliked, both "Becauſe it was conceiv'd not to be "juſt; for the Treaſon of thoſe who were preſent, could not "forfeit the right of thoſe who were away; neither was it "evident, that all that were preſent, conſented to the ill that "was done; and the King's declaring a Parliament to be diſ-"ſolv'd, contrary to an Act of Parliament, was believ'd, would "prove an Act ſo ungracious to the People, for the conſe-"quences of it, that the King would be an exceeding looſer "by ſuch an attempt; and that many, in ſuch a caſe, would "return thither, who out of Conſcience had withdrawn from "that Aſſembly.

In Concluſion, the advice was unanimous, "That his Ma-"jeſty ſhould declare the Orders, and Proceedings of one or "both Houſes to be void, by reaſon the Members did not "enjoy the Freedom and Liberty of Parliament; and there-"fore ſhould require his good Subjects, no longer to be miſled

"by them: and, to that purpoſe, the King had iſſued his Proclamation ſix Weeks before this happy turn in his Affairs, ſo that he could not now ſend a Meſſage to them, as to two Houſes of Parliament, leſt he might ſeem to retract his former Judgment of them, which was concluded to be both regular and juſt. Upon the whole matter, leſt his Majeſty might be underſtood to be ſo much elated with his good ſucceſſes, and the encreaſe of his ſtrength, that he aim'd at no leſs than a perfect Victory, and the ruine of thoſe who had incenſed him (by which inſinuation they who could not forgive themſelves, endeavour'd to make all others deſperate) he was reſolv'd to publiſh ſuch a Declaration to the whole Kingdom, that both Houſes, and their Army, could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a riſe to make any Overtures to him towards an attonement. To that purpoſe, the next day after he receiv'd the aſſurance of the taking of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty publiſh'd this enſuing Declaration; which I ſhall enter in his own words.

His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects, after his Victories over the Lord Fairfax *in the North, Sir* William Waller *in the Weſt, and the taking of* Briſtol *by his Majeſty's Forces.*

The King's Declaration after his late Succeſſes.

"As the grievances and loſſes of no particular Perſons, "ſince theſe miſerable bloody diſtempers have diſquieted this "poor Kingdom, can be compar'd to the loſs and damage "We our ſelf have ſuſtain'd, there having been no Victory "obtain'd but in the Blood of our own Subjects, nor no Ra"pine or Violence committed, but to the impoveriſhment and "ruine of our own People; ſo, a bleſſed and happy Peace can"not be ſo acceptable and welcome to any Man, as to Us. "Almighty God, to whom all the ſecrets of our Heart are "open, who hath ſo often and ſo miraculouſly preſerv'd Us, "and to whoſe Power alone We muſt attribute the goodneſs "of our preſent Condition (how unhappy ſoever it is with re"ference to the Publick Calamities) knows, with what un"willingneſs, with what anguiſh of Soul, We ſubmitted our "ſelf to the neceſſity of taking up Defenſive Arms. And "the World knows with what juſtice and bounty We have "repaired our Subjects, for all the preſſures and inconve"niences they had born, by ſuch excellent Laws, as would "for ever have prevented the like; and with what earneſtneſs "and importunity We deſir'd to add any thing, for the eſta"bliſhment of the Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the King"dom. How all theſe have been diſturbed, invaded, and "almoſt deſtroy'd, by Faction, Sedition, and Treaſon, by "thoſe,

" thoſe, who have neither Reverence to God, nor Affection " to Men, but have ſacrificed both to their own Ends and Am- " bition, is now ſo evident, that We hope, as God hath won- " derfully manifeſted his care of Us, and his defence of His " and Our moſt juſt Cauſe; ſo, he hath ſo far touch'd the " Hearts of our People, that their Eyes are at laſt open'd to " ſee how miſerably they have been ſeduced, and to abhor " thoſe Perſons, whoſe Malice and Subtlety had ſeduced them " to Diſhonour Him, to rebel againſt Us, and to bring much " Miſery and Calamity upon their Native Country.

" WE well remember the Proteſtation voluntarily made by " Us, in the head of that ſmall Army we were Maſter of in " *September* laſt, to defend and maintain the true Reform'd " Proteſtant Religion: And if it ſhould pleaſe God, by his " bleſſing upon that Army, to preſerve Us from this Rebel- " lion, that We would maintain the juſt Privileges and Free- " dom of Parliament, and govern by the known Laws of the " Land; for whoſe Defence, in truth, that Army was only " raiſed, and hath been ſince kept. And there cannot be a " more ſeaſonable time to renew that Proteſtation than now, " when God hath vouchſafed Us ſo many Victories and Suc- " ceſſes, and hath render'd the Power of thoſe, who ſeek to " deſtroy Us, leſs formidable than it hath been (ſo that We " ſhall probably not fall under the ſcandalous imputation, " which hath uſually attended Our Meſſages of Peace, that " they proceed from the weakneſs of our Power, and love of " our People) and when there is more freedom in many Coun- " ties, for Our good Subjects to receive true information of " their own, and Our Condition; the knowledge whereof " hath been, with equal induſtry and injuſtice, kept from them, " as other Acts of cruelty have been impoſed on them.

" WE do therefore declare to all the World, in the preſence " of Almighty God, to whom we muſt give a ſtrict account " of all our Profeſſions and Proteſtations, that We are ſo far " from intending any alteration of the Religion eſtabliſh'd (as " hath been often falſly, ſcandalouſly, and againſt the Con- " ſcience of the Contrivers themſelves of that rumour ſug- " geſted to our People) or from the leaſt thought of invading " the Liberty and Property of the Subject, or violating the " juſt Privileges of Parliament, that We call that God to wit- " neſs, *who hath cover'd our Head in the day of Battle*, that " We deſire from our Soul, and ſhall always uſe our utmoſt " endeavour to preſerve, and advance the true Reform'd Pro- " teſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*; in " which We were born, have faithfully liv'd, and by the " grace of God, ſhall reſolutely die: That the preſervation " of the Liberty and Property of the Subject, in the due ob-

" ſervation

"servation of the known Laws of the Land) shall be equally "our care, as the maintenance of our own Rights; We de- "siring to govern only by those good Laws, which till they "were oppress'd by this odious Rebellion, preserv'd this Na- "tion happy. And We do acknowledge the just Privileges "of Parliament to be an essential part of those Laws, and shall "therefore most solemnly defend, and observe them. So that, "in truth, if either Religion, Law, or Liberty, be precious "to our People, they will, by their submission to Us, joyn "with Us in the defence of them; and thereby establish that "Peace, by which only they can flourish, and be enjoy'd.

"WHETHER these Men, that be profess'd Enemies to "the establish'd Ecclesiastical Government, who reproach and "persecute the Learned Orthodox Ministers of the Church, "and into their places put Ignorant, Seditious, and Schismati- "cal Preachers, who vilify the Book of Common Prayer, and "impiously prophane God's Worship with their scurrilous and "seditious demeanour, are like to advance that Religion; "whether those Men, who boldly, and without the least sha- "dow or colour of Law, impose insupportable Taxes and "odious Excises upon their fellow Subjects, imprison, tor- "ment, and murder them, are like to preserve the Liberty "and Property of the Subject: and whether those Men, who "seise and possess themselves of our own unquestionable Re- "venue, and our just Rights, have denied Us our Negative "Voice, have, by force and violence, aw'd and terrified the "Members of both Houses, and lastly have, as far as in them "lies, dissolv'd the present Parliament, by driving away and "imprisoning the Members, and resolving the whole power "thereof, and more, into a Committee of a few Men, con- "trary to all Law, Custom, or Precedent, are like to vindi- "cate, and uphold the Privileges of Parliament, all the World "may judge.

"WE do therefore once more conjure our good Subjects, "by their memory of that excellent Peace and firm Happiness, "with which it pleased God to reward their Duty, and Loy- "alty in time past; by their Oaths of Allegiance and Supre- "macy, which no Vow or Covenant, contriv'd and admi- "nister'd to, and by themselves, can cancel or evade; by "whatsoever is dear and precious to them in this life, or hoped "or prayed for in the life to come, that they will remember "their Duty, and consider their Interest, and no longer suffer "themselves to be misled, their Prince dishonour'd, and "their Country wasted and undone by the malice and cunning "of those State Impostors; who, under pretence of Refor- "mation, would introduce whatsoever is monstrous and un- "natural both to Religion, and Policy: But that they rather

"choose

"chooſe quietly to enjoy their Religion, Property, and Li-
"berty, founded and provided for by the wiſdom and induſtry
"of former times, and ſecured and enlarged, by the bleſſings
"upon the preſent Age, than to ſpend their Lives and For-
"tunes to purchaſe Confuſion, and to make themſelves liable
"to the moſt intolerable kind of Slavery, that is, to be Slaves
"to their fellow Subjects; who by their prodigious, unheard
"of Acts of Oppreſſion and Tyranny, have given them ſuf-
"ficient evidence what they are to expect at their hands.

"And let not our good People, who have been miſled,
"or through want of Underſtanding, or want of Courage,
"ſubmitted themſelves to unwarrantable and diſloyal Actions,
"be taught, by theſe Seducers, that their Safety now conſiſts
"in Deſpair; and that they can only ſecure themſelves for
"the ills they have done, by a reſolute and peremptory diſ-
"obedience. Revenge and Blood-thirſtineſs have never been
"imputed to Us, by thoſe, who have not left either our Go-
"vernment, or Nature, unexamin'd, with the greateſt Bold-
"neſs, and Malice. And all thoſe who, ſince thoſe Bloody
"diſtractions, out of Conſcience have return'd from their evil
"ways to Us, have found that it was not ſo eaſy for Them
"to repent as for Us to forgive. And whoſoever have been
"miſled by thoſe whoſe Hearts from the beginning have de-
"ſign'd all this miſchief, and ſhall redeem their paſt Crimes
"by their preſent Service and Loyalty, in the apprehending,
"or oppoſing ſuch who ſhall continue to bear Arms againſt
"Us, and ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reduce thoſe
"Men to their due obedience, and to reſtore this Kingdom
"to its wonted Peace, ſhall have cauſe to magnify our Mercy,
"and to repent the Treſpaſſes committed againſt ſo juſt and
"gracious a Soveraign. Laſtly, We deſire all our good Sub-
"jects who have really aſſiſted, or really wiſh'd Us well, now
"God hath done ſuch wonderful things for Us, vigorouſly to
"endeavour to put an end to all theſe Miſeries, by bringing
"in Men, Money, Plate, Horſes, or Arms, to Our aid; that
"ſo We being not wanting to Our ſelves, may with confi-
"dence expect the continuance of God's Favour, to reſtore
"Us all to that bleſſed harmony of Affections, which may
"eſtabliſh a firm Peace; without the ſpeedy obtaining of
"which, this poor Kingdom will be utterly undone, though
"not abſolutely loſt.

What effect this Declaration produced, at leaſt what accident fell out ſhortly after the publiſhing it, We ſhall have occaſion anon to remember, when We have firſt remember'd ſome unfortunate Paſſages, which accompanied this proſperity on the King's part; for the Sunſhine of his Conqueſt was

ſomewhat

somewhat Clouded, not only by the Number and Quality of the slain, but by the Jealousies and Misunderstandings of those who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humour and inclinations between the Princes and the Marquis of *Hertford*, as had been to be wish'd between all Persons of Honour, who were engaged in a Quarel that could never prosper but by the Union of the Undertakers. Prince *Maurice*, and, on his behalf (or rather the other hy his impulsion) Prince *Rupert* taking to heart, that a Nephew of the King's should be Lieutenant General to the Marquis, who had neither been exercised in the profession of a Soldier, nor even now punctually studied the Office of a General: On the other hand, the Marquis, who was of the most gentle Nature to the gentle, and as rough and resolute to the imperious, it may be, liked not the Prince's assuming to himself more than became a Lieutenant General, and sometimes crossing Acts of his with relation to the governing, and disposing the Affairs of the Country, in which he knew himself better versed than the Prince; and when *Bristol* was taken, where the Marquis took himself to Command in Chief, being a Town particularly within his Commission, and of which he was besides Lord Lieutenant, he thought himself not regardfully enough used, that Prince *Rupert* had not only enter'd into the Treaty without his Advice, but concluded the Articles without so much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little Ceremony to his Highness, or so much as Communicating it to either of the Princes, the Marquis declar'd that he would give the Government of that City to Sr *Ralph Hopton*. Prince *Rupert* on the other hand conceiv'd the Town won by him, being enter'd on that side in which he Commanded absolutely, and the *Cornish* on the other part absolutely repulsed; and therefore that the disposition of the Command and Government of it, wholly belonged to him. But when he heard the Resolution of the Marquis concerning Sr *Ralph Hopton*, who was not to be put into the Scale with any private Man, he gave over the design of conferring it upon any of the pretenders; and by the same Messenger, by whom he advertised his Majesty of the good Success, he desir'd, "That he would bestow "the Government of that City reduced by him, upon him- "self, the which the King readily consented to; not suspect- "ing any dispute to be about it. And shortly after an Express arriv'd likewise from the Marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his Lordship had design'd Sr *Ralph Hopton* to be Governour of the new-got City.

Jealousies arise among the King's principal Officers about the Government of Bristol.

THEN, and not before, the King understood what streight he was in; and was exceedingly perplexed to find an Expe-

dient

dient to compose the difference that he saw would arise. He had passed his word to his Nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his Title to dispose the Government was very just: he had likewise a very just esteem of the Marquis who had serv'd him with all fidelity, and had clearly declared himself for him, when the doing otherwise would have been most prejudicial to his Majesty: and, it could not be denied, no Subject's Affection and Loyalty gave a greater Lustre to the King's Cause, than that of the Marquis; and that which was a circumstance of infinite Moment, was the nominating Sr *Ralph Hopton*; who as he was a Person of high merit from the King, so he was the most gracious and popular to that City, and the Country adjacent; and after so great service, and suffering in the service, to expose him to a refusal, was both against the kindness and goodness of the King's Nature, and his Politick foresight into his Affairs. And as a presage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatsoever he should determine, he found the Minds and Affections of his own Court and Council, with more passion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The Marquis was generally lov'd, and where he was not enough known to be so, his Interest and Reputation in the Kingdom was thought of wonderful consideration in the King's business: and many were very much troubled to see Prince *Rupert*, whose activity and courage in the Field they thought very instrumental, incline to get the possession of the second City of the Kingdom into his hands, or to engage himself so much in the Civil Government, as such a Command soberly executed must necessarily comprehend; and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime Noble Men of the Kingdom, to which Order the Prince had not express'd himself very debonair. And these thought "The King was, by "Counsel and Precept, to inform and soften the Prince's un- "derstanding and humour; and to perswade him, in compli- "ance with his Service, to decline the Contest, and suffer the "Marquis to proceed in his disposition, which, on all parts, "was acknowledg'd to be most fitly design'd.

OTHERS again were of opinion, "That the right of dis- "posing the Command to whomsoever he thought fit, entirely "belonged to Prince *Rupert*; and therefore (besides that the "King had, by the same Messenger who brought the Suit, re- "turn'd his Consent) that he could not be resonably refused, "when he desired it for himself; which would take away all "possible imagination of disrespect to Sr *Ralph Hopton*, who "could not take it ill, that the Prince himself had taken a "Command, that was design'd to Him: That the Eyes of "the Army were upon his Highness, whose name was grown

"a ter-

"terror to the Enemy, as his Courage and Conduct had "been very prosperous to the King; and if, after so happy "and glorious an atchievement, he should now receive a re- "pulse in so reasonable a pretence, though it would not les- "sen his own duty or alacrity in the Service, it might have "an unhappy influence upon his Reputation and Interest in "the Army; which could receive no diminution without ap- "parent damage to his Majesty: and therefore, that some "means should be used to the Marquis, to wave his Title, "and to consent that the Prince should enjoy his desires: so that they who were only fit to be employed to perswade and alter either, Seem'd, and indeed Were, passionately engaged against the thing they were to perswade. Whereupon the King discern'd that all depended upon his own Royal Wisdom; and therefore resolv'd to take a Journey in his own Peson to *Bristol*, and there to give such a Rule as he should find most necessary; to which, he presumed, both Persons would conform themselves, as well cordially, as obediently.

The King goes to Bristol to compose the difference.

THAT which the King proposed to himself, was to gratify his Nephew with the Name, and the Marquis, by making Sr *Ralph Hopton* enjoy the Thing; upon obliging whom the King's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was, most exactly free from interrupting the least publick Service by private ends or thoughts, other Men would be apt to conceive and publish a disrespect to be done to him, which himself apprehended not; and therefore his Majesty was not only, in his own Princely mind, to retain a very gracious sense of his Service, but to give Evidence to all Men, that he did so. And so after he had made a joyful entrance into *Bristol*, which was perform'd with all decent Solemnity, and used all kind and obliging expressions to the Marquis, he desired him in private to consent, that he might perform his promise to his Nephew, which he had passed before he had any imagination that his Lordship otherwise had determin'd of it; without speaking at all of any other Title his Highness had to it, but by his Majesty's promise. He establish'd Prince *Rupert* in the Government of *Bristol*, who immediately sent a Commission to Sr *Ralph Hopton* (who was now so well recover'd, that he walk'd into the Air) to be his Lieutenant Governour; signifying likewise to him, by a Confident that passed between them, "That though he was "now engaged for some time, which should not be long, to "keep the Superior Title himself, he would not at all med- "dle in the Government, but that he should be as absolute in "it, as if the Original Commission had been granted to Him.

Sr *Ralph Hopton*, who was exceedingly sorry that his Name was at all used, and exposed, as an Argument of difference

and

and misunderstanding between Persons of such eminent influence upon the publick, quickly discern'd that this expedient, though it seem'd plausible to lessen the noise of the Debate, did in truth object him to the full Envy of one Party. For the Marquis (who by the King's perswasions was rather quieted, than satisfied) might, and he foresaw would, be perswaded to expect that he would refuse the Commission from Prince *Rupert*, both, as he might be thought to comply in an Injury done to the Marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, fast, and unshaken, and as the Command now given him, was inferior to what the Marquis, who had the power of disposal, had conferr'd on him; and so that he should vindicate the Title, which the King himself was loath to give a judgment upon. He was the more troubled, because he found that by submitting to this Charge, he should by some be thought to have deserted the Marquis out of a kind of Revenge for his having deserted the Enterprise, when he chose, the last year, rather to go into *Wales* than *Cornwal*, and for his deserting him again now, when he brought all new Officers to Command the Army over their Heads who had raised it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the first, as is before remember'd, was done by his own Advice, as well as his full Consent; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to Prince *Maurice* than to his Lordship, whose kindness and esteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he saw plainly, that if he refused to receive this Commission, with what specious Circumstances of Duty and Submission soever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable Disturbances and Interruptions in the King's Affairs; and that the Marquis, to common Understandings, had, to Obey the King, declined the Contest, and therefore that the reviving it, and the mischief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular Account. Besides that, he had always born an avow'd and declar'd Reverence to the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Children, whom he had Personally and actively served in their Wars, whilst they maintain'd any, and for whose Honour and Restitution he had been a Zealous and known Champion. And therefore he had no inclination to disoblge a hopeful Prince of that House, upon whom our own hopes seem'd so much to depend. He therefore resolv'd, according to his rare temper throughout this War, to let him whom he profess'd to serve, choose in what kind he would be serv'd by him; and chearfully receiv'd the Commission from Prince *Rupert*; upon which, all Discourse, or Debate of difference, was for the present determin'd, what whisperings or murmurings soever remain'd.

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THE King found it now high time to reſolve, to what Action next to diſpoſe his Armies, and that their lying ſtill ſo long there (for theſe Agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that Seaſon unfortunately loſt) had more weaken'd, than refreſhed them; having not loſt more Men by ſtorming the City, than afterwards by plundering it: thoſe Soldiers, who had warm'd themſelves with the burthen of Pillage, never quietly again ſubmitting to the Carriage of their Arms.

THE Queſtion was firſt, "Whether both Armies ſhould be "united, and march in one upon the next Deſign? and then, "What that Deſign ſhould be? Againſt the Firſt, there were many Allegations.

1. "THE Condition of the Weſt: *Dorſet-ſhire* and *Devon-ſhire* "were entirely poſſeſs'd by the Enemy: for though Sr *John* "*Berkley* with a daring Party kept *Exeter*, and Colonel *John* "*Digby* the North part (which was notoriouſly diſaffected) "from joyning with *Plymouth*, which would elſe quickly have "grown into an Army ſtrong enough to infeſt *Cornwal*, yet "they had no place to retire to upon diſtreſs; and all the Ports "upon the Weſtern Coaſts were Garriſon'd by the Parliament, which, upon the fame of the approach of the King's "Forces, and the loſs of *Briſtol*, might probably be, without "much reſiſtance, reduced.

2. "THE *Corniſh* Army was greater in Reputation, than "Numbers; having loſt many at *Lanſdown*, and the Aſſault "of *Briſtol*, and, by the death of their Chief Officers, very many were run away ſince: beſides they pretended ſome promiſe made to their Country (which they conceiv'd not to "be enough ſecured againſt *Plymouth*) of returning ſpeedily "for the reduction of that Town; ſo that if they were compelled to march Eaſtwards, to which they were not inclined, it was to be doubted they would moulder away ſo faſt, "that there would be little addition of ſtrength by it. Whereas if they march'd Weſtward, it would be no hard matter "to gather up thoſe who were return'd, and to be ſtrong "enough in a very ſhort time, by new Levies, for any Enterpriſe ſhould be thought reaſonable to be undertaken. To which was added, "That having loſt thoſe Officers, whom "they lov'd and fear'd; and whoſe Reverence reſtrain'd their "Natural diſtempers, they were too much inclined to mutiny; and had expreſs'd a peremptory averſion to the joyning, "and marching with the King's Army. And the truth is, their humours then were not very gentle and agreeable, as being apt to think that their proweſs was not enough recompenſed, or valued. For though the King affected to make all poſſible demonſtrations to them, of an extraordinary high eſteem he had

had of their wonderful Fidelity and Courage, yet he was able to procure very litte Money for them; and they had then, by the diſcipline under which they had been train'd (which was moſt regular, and full of that Sobriety which promiſed good fortune) an honeſt pride in their own Natures, a great diſdain of plundering, or ſupplying themſelves by thoſe vile Arts, which they grew afterwards leſs tender to avoid.

3. "THE great number of the King's Horſe; which was "ſo brave a Body, that when that part of it, which was joyn'd "to the *Corniſh* was away, he ſhould march with at leaſt ſix "thouſand Horſe, which were as many as would be able to "live on any Country within a due diſtance of Quartering.

4. "LASTLY, ſome Correſpondence with the Chief Gen-"tlemen of *Dorſet-ſhire*, who were ready to joyn with any "conſiderable Party for the King, and had ſome probable "hopes, that the ſmall Garriſons upon the Coaſt would not "make a tedious reſiſtance.

THERE was another reaſon, which was not given, that if both Armies had been kneaded into one, Prince *Maurice* could have been but a private Colonel: but there were enough beſides to ſatisfy the King to keep them divided; and ſo he gave Order to the Earl of *Carnarvon* to advance towards *Dorcheſter* (the Chief Town in that County, and one of the moſt malignant in *England*, where the Rebels had a Garriſon) with the Horſe and Dragoons, and the next day to Prince *Maurice* to march after with the Foot and Cannon; his Majeſty keeping with him the Marquis of *Hertford* to attend his own Perſon; for though he well ſaw, he ſhould undergo ſome Inconveniencies, by withdrawing the Marquis from that employment, the opinion of the Soundneſs of his Religion, and Integrity of his Juſtice, rendring him by much the moſt popular Man in thoſe parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the leaſt umbrage and diſtaſte to his Lordſhip, upon whoſe Honour and Affection he relied entirely, and would as ſoon have truſted his Crown upon his Fidelity, as upon any Man's in his three Kingdoms, yet he diſcern'd plainly that the Prince and the Marquis would never agree together; and that there were Perſons about them, who would foment their Indiſpoſitions to each other, with any hazard to His ſervice; and concluded, that he ſhould ſooner reduce his People by the Power of his Army, than by the perſwaſions of his Counſel; and that the roughneſs of the one's Nature, might prevail more than the lenity and condeſcenſion of the other: and therefore he ſent the Prince on that employment; uſing all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealouſy of his favour from the Marquis's mind; his Majeſty freely and clearly communicating to him all his Counſels, and the true grounds of his Reſolu-

Prince Maurice ſent into the Weſt with an Army.

tion; and declaring to him, "That he would make him a "Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and Groom of his Stole, "and that he would always have his Company and Advice "about him; with which the Marquis was ſatisfied, rather becauſe he reſolv'd not to diſobey him, than that he was well pleaſed with the price of the obligations.

AND truly many wiſe and honeſt Men, were ſorry for the King's Election; and though the Marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his eaſe, had ſuperinduced a kind of lazineſs and inactivity upon his Nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive Conſtitution, nor the great Endowments of his Mind (for he was a good Scholar, and had a good judgment) and leſs to the temper of this time, and the Office of a General, inſomuch as he often reſign'd an excellent underſtanding to thoſe who had a very indifferent one, and follow'd the advice, and concluded upon the information of thoſe, who had narrower, and more vulgar thoughts than ſuited with His Honour, and were not worthy of ſuch a Truſt; yet they thought the Prince's inexperience of the Cuſtoms and manners of *England*, and an averſion from conſidering them, muſt ſubject him to the information and advice of worſe Counſellors than the other, and which would not be ſo eaſily controuled: And I am of opinion, that if the Prince had waited on his Majeſty in that Army, and never interpoſed in any Command, not purely Martial, and the Marquis been ſent with thoſe Forces into the Weſt with the Lord *Hopton* (who was now to be left at *Briſtol* to intend his health, and to form that new Garriſon; which was to be a Magazine for Men, Arms, Ammunition, and all that was wanted) and ſome other ſteady Perſons, who might have been Aſſign'd to ſpecial Provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

THE next reſolution to be taken, was concerning the King's own motion with the other Army. There was not a Man, who did not think the reducing of *Gloceſter*, a City within little more than twenty miles of *Briſtol*, of mighty importance to the King, if it might be done without a great expence of time, and loſs of Men: "It was the only Garriſon "the Rebels had between *Briſtol* and *Lancaſhire*, on the "North part of *England*, and if it could be recover'd, his "Majeſty would have the River of *Severn* entirely within his "Command; whereby his Garriſons of *Worceſter*, and *Shrewſ-* "*bury*, and all thoſe parts, might be ſupplied from *Briſtol*; "and the Trade of that City thereby ſo advanced, that the "Cuſtoms and Duty might bring a notable Revenue to the "King, and the Wealth of the City encreaſing, it might bear "the greater Burden for the War: A rich and populous "County, which hitherto rather yielded Conveniences of "Quarter,

"Quarter, than a ſettled Contribution (that ſtrong Garriſon "holding not only the whole Foreſt diviſion, which is a "fourth part of the County of *Gloceſter*, abſolutely in obedience, "but ſo alarm'd all other parts, that none of the Gentry, who "for the moſt part were well affected, durſt ſtay at their own "Houſes) might be wholly the King's Quarters, and by how "much it had offended, and diſquieted the King, more than "other Counties, by ſo much the more Money might be rai-"ſed upon them. Beſides the general weekly Contributions the Yeomanry, who had been moſt forward and ſeditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their Delinquency at a high Price (and theſe Arguments were fully preſs'd by the well affected Gentry of the County, who had carried themſelves honeſtly, and ſuffer'd very much by doing ſo, and undertook great Levies of Men, if this Work were firſt done) there was another Argument of no leſs, if not greater Moment than all the reſt: "If *Gloceſter* were reduced, there "would need no Forces to be left in *Wales*, and all thoſe Soldiers might be then drawn to the marching Army, and the "Contributions and other Taxes aſſign'd to the payment of "it. Indeed the King would have had a glorious, and entire part of his Kingdom, to have contended with the reſt.

YET all theſe motives were not thought worth the engaging his Army in a doubtful Seige; whilſt the Parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and conſequently allay and compoſe the diſtempers (which, if they did not wholly proceed from, were very much ſtrengthen'd by thoſe fears) and recruit their Army; and therefore that it was better to march into ſome of thoſe Counties which were moſt oppreſs'd by the Enemy, and there wait ſuch advantage, as the diſtraction in and about *London* would adminiſter, except there could be ſome probable hope that *Gloceſter* might be got without much delay. And to that purpoſe there had been ſecret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The Governour of that Garriſon was one Colonel *Maſſey*, a Soldier of Fortune, who had, in the late Northern Expeditions prepared by the King againſt *Scotland*, been an Officer in the King's Army, under the Command of Colonel *William Leg*; and, in the beginning of theſe Troubles, had been at *York* with inclination to ſerve the King; but finding himſelf not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, but the Comfort of a good Conſcience, he went to *London*, where there was more Money, and fewer Officers; and was eaſily made Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Stamford*; and being quickly found to be a diligent and ſtout Officer, and of no ill parts of Converſation to render himſelf acceptable among the Common People, was by his Lordſhip, when he went into

the West, left Governour of the City of *Gloceſter*, where he had behaved himſelf actively, and ſucceſsfully. There was no reaſon to deſpair, that this Man (not intoxicated with any of thoſe fumes which made Men rave, and frantick in the Cauſe) might not be wrought upon. And *Will. Leg*, who had the good opinion of moſt Men, and the particular kindneſs of Prince *Rupert*, had ſent a Meſſenger, who was like to paſs without ſuſpicion to *Gloceſter*, with ſuch a Letter of kindneſs and overture to *Maſſy*, as was proper in ſuch a caſe from one Friend to another. This Meſſenger return'd when the King's and the Army's motion was under Debate, and brought an Anſwer from the Governour to Colonel *Leg*, in a very high Style, and ſeeming to take it much unkindly, "That he ſhould "endeavour to Corrupt him in his Honeſty, and Fidelity, and "to perſwade him to break a Truſt, which, to ſave his Life, "he would never do; with much diſcourſe "Of his Honour, "and Reputation, which would be always dear to him. But "the Meſſenger ſaid withal, "That, after the Governour had "given him this Letter, and ſome ſharp reproaches before "Company, he was brought again, a back way, to a place "where the Governour was by himſelf; and then he told him, "That it was moſt neceſſary he ſhould write ſuch an An-"ſwer as he had done; which was communicated to thoſe, "who elſe would have been jealous what ſuch a Meſſenger "ſhould come to him about; but that he ſhould tell *William* "*Leg*, that he was the ſame Man he had ever been, his Ser-"vant; and that he wiſh'd the King well; that he heard "Prince *Rupert* meant to bring the Army before that Town; "if he did, he would defend it as well as he could; and his "Highneſs would find another work than he had at *Briſtol*; "but if the King himſelf came with his Army, and ſum-"mon'd it, he would not hold it againſt Him: For it would "not ſtand with his conſcience to fight againſt the Perſon of "the King; beſides that in ſuch a caſe, he ſhould be able to "perſwade thoſe of the Town; which otherwiſe he could not "do.

THIS Meſſage turn'd the Scale; for though it might be without purpoſe of being honeſt, yet there was no great objection againſt the King's marching that way with his Army; ſince it would be ſtill in his power to purſue any other Counſel, without engaging before it. And it was to ſome a ſign that he meant well, becauſe he had not hanged, or at leaſt impriſon'd the Meſſenger who came to him on ſuch an Errand. Hereupon the King reſolv'd for *Gloceſter*, but not to be engaged in a Siege; and ſo ſent his Army that way; and the next day (having firſt ſent Sr *Ralph Hopton* a Warrant to create him Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*, in Memory of the happy Battle

tle fought there) with the remainder of his Forces march'd towards it. On *Wednesday* the tenth of *August*, the King ranged his whole Army upon a fair Hill, in the clear View of the City, and within less than two Miles of it; and then, being about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, he sent a Trumpet with this Summons to the Town. *The King marches towards Gloucester and Summons it, Aug. 10. 1643.*

"OUT of our tender Compassion to our City of *Glocester*, and that it may not receive prejudice by our Army, "which We cannot prevent if We be compelled to Assault "it, We are Personally come before it to require the same; "and are graciously pleased to let all the Inhabitants of, and "all other Persons within the City, as well Soldiers as others, "know, that if they shall immediately submit themselves, and "deliver this our City to Us, We are contented, freely, and "absolutely to pardon every one of them, without exception; "and do assure them, in the word of a King, that they, nor "any of them shall receive the least damage or prejudice by "our Army in their Persons or Estates; but that We will "appoint such a Governour, and a moderate Garrison to re"side there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that "City, and that whole County. But if they shall neglect "this proffer of Grace and Favour, and compel Us, by the "power of Our Army to reduce that Place (which, by the "help of God, We doubt not, We shall be easily and shortly "able to do) they must thank themselves for all the Cala"mities and Miseries must befall them. To this Message "We expect a clear and positive Answer, within two hours "after the publishing hereof; and by these presents do give "leave to any Persons, safely to repair to and return from Us, "whom that City shall desire to employ unto Us in that busi"ness: And do require all the Officers, and Souldiers of our "Army, quietly to suffer them to pass accordingly.

WITHIN less than the time prescribed, together with the Trumpeter return'd two Citizens from the Town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bad Visages, indeed Faces so strange, and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe Countenances merry, and the most chearful Hearts sad; for it was impossible such Embassadours could bring less than a Defiance. The Men, without any Circumstances of Duty, or good Manners, in a pert, shrill, undismay'd accent, said, "They had brought an Answer from the Godly City of "*Glocester* to the King; and were so ready to give insolent and seditious Answers to any Question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the King to violate his own Safe Conduct. The Answer they brought was in writing, in these very words.

August 10th 1643.

The Citizens and Garrisons Answer.

"WE the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Soldiers, "within this Garrison of *Glocester*, unto his Majesty's gracious Message, return this humble Answer: That We do keep "this City, according to our Oaths and Allegiance, to and "for the use of his Majesty, and his Royal Posterity: And do "accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey "the Commands of his Majesty, signified by both Houses of "Parliament: and are resolv'd, by God's help, to keep this "City accordingly.

THIS Paper was subscrib'd by *Wise* the Mayor, and *Massy* the Governour, with thirteen of the Aldermen, and most substantial Citizens, and eleven Officers of the Garrison; and assoon as their Messengers return'd, who were quickly dismissed, without attending to see what the King resolv'd, all the Suburbs of the City, in which were very large and fair Buildings, well inhabited, were set on Fire; so that there was no doubt, the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new Debates, and new Resolutions; to which Men came not so unbiassed, or unswayed, as they had been at *Bristol*. This indignity and affront to the King prompted thoughts of Revenge; and some thought the King so far engaged, that in Honour he could not do less than sit down before the Town, and force it: and these Inclinations gave Countenance, and Credit to all those plausible informations "Of small provisions "in the Town, either of Victual, or Ammunition; that, "where the Town was strongest, there was nothing but an "old Stone Wall, which would fall upon an easy Battery; that "there were many well Affected People in the Town, who, "with those who were incensed by the burning of the Suburbs, and the great losses they must sustain thereby, would "make such a Party, that assoon as they were distressed, the "Seditious Party would be forced to yield. It was alledg'd, "that the Enemy had no Army; nor, by all Intelligence, was "like to form any soon enough to be able to relieve it; and "if they had an Army, that it was much better for his Majesty to force them to that distance from *London*, and to "fight there, where he could be supplied with whatsoever he "wanted, could choose his own ground, where his brave Body of Horse would be able to Defeat any Army they "could raise, than to seek them in their own Quarters.

ABOVE all, the Confidence of the Soldiers of the best Experience moved his Majesty; who upon riding about the Town, and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion that

that they ſhould be able in leſs than ten days by Approach, for all thoughts of Storming were laid aſide upon the loſs at *Briſtol*, to win it. This produced a Reſolution in his Majeſty, not one Man in the Council of War diſſwading it. So the King preſently ſent to *Oxford* for his General the Earl of *Brentford* "To come to him, with all the Foot that could be "ſpared out of that Garriſon, and his pieces of Battery, to "govern that Action: Prince *Rupert* wiſely declining that Province, and retiring himſelf into the Generalſhip of the Horſe, that he might not be thought accountable for any Accidents which ſhould attend that Service. At the ſame inſtant, Orders were diſpatch'd to Sr *William Vavaſour* who Commanded all the Forces in South *Wales* (the Lord *Herbert* having been perſwaded, ſo far to comply with the indiſpoſition of that People, as to decline that Command, or at leaſt for a time to diſſemble it) "To draw all his Men to the Foreſt "ſide of the Town; where the Bridges being broken down, a ſmall ſtrength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the King was engaged before *Gloceſter*; and thereby gave reſpite to the diſtracted Spirits at *London*, to breathe, and compoſe themſelves; and, more methodically than they hoped to have done, to prepare for their preſervation, and accompliſhing their own ends; which at that time ſeem'd almoſt deſperate, and incurable. *The King Beſieges the Town.*

THE direful News of the Surrender of *Briſtol*, which was brought to the two Houſes on the 31ſt of *July*, ſtruck them to the Heart, and came upon them as a Sentence of Death, after a vaſt Conſumption of Money, and Confident Promiſes of deſtroying all the King's Forces by a day, every Tax and Impoſition being declar'd to be the laſt; and for finiſhing the work, the Earl of *Eſſex* was at the ſame time return'd to *Kingſton*, within ten Miles of them, with his broken and diſmay'd Troops, which himſelf would not endure ſhould have the Title of an Army. So that the War ſeem'd to be even at an end in a ſenſe very contrary to what they had undertaken; their General talking more, and preſſing for Reparation and Vindication of his Honour from imputations, and aſperſions, than for a Recruit of Forces, or providing an Army to defend them. Every Man reproach'd his Neighbour with his want of inclination to Peace, when good Conditions might be had, and magnified his own Wiſdom, for having fear'd "It would come to This. The King's laſt Declaration had been read by all Men, and was magnified "As a "moſt gracious and undeniable inſtance of his Clemency and "Juſtice, that he was ſo far from being elated with his good "Succeſſes, and Power almoſt to have what he would, that

"he renew'd all those Promises, and Protestations for the "Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, and Privi- "leges of Parliament; which had been out of their perverse- "ness discredited before, as proceeding from the low Condi- "tion he was in; and whereas they had been frighted with "their representation of their own guilt, and the implacable- "ness of the King's Nature, as if he meant an utter Conquest "of them, his Majesty had now offer'd all that could be ho- "nestly desir'd, and had express'd himself a Prince not de- "lighted with Blood and Revenge, but an indulgent Father "to the most disobedient Children. In this Reformation of Understanding, the Lords in their House debated nothing but expedients for Peace: there were not of that Body above five, at the most, who had any inclination to continue the War; and the Earl of *Essex* had sufficiently declar'd, "That "He was weary of it, and held closest and strictest Correspondence with those who most passionately pressed an Accommodation. So that, on the fifth of *August*, they desir'd a Conference with the Commons; and declared to them, "That they were resolv'd to send Propositions to the King, "and they hoped, They would concur in them: the particulars proposed by them were,

Propositions for Peace given by the House of Lords to the House of Commons in a Conference.

1. "THAT both Armies might be presently disbanded, "and his Majesty be entreated to return to his Parliament, "upon such security as should give him satisfaction.

2. "THAT Religion might be settled with the advice of "a Synod of Divines, in such a manner as his Majesty, with "the consent of both Houses of Parliament, should appoint.

3. "THAT the Militia, both by Sea and Land, might be "settled by a Bill; and the Militia, Forts, and Ships of the "Kingdom, put into such hands as the King should appoint, "with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament: and "his Majesty's Revenue to be absolutely, and wholly re- "stor'd unto him; only deducting such part, as had been of "necessity expended for the maintenance of his Children, and "not otherwise.

4. "THAT all the Members of both Houses who had "been expell'd only for absenting themselves, or meer com- "plyance with his Majesty, and no other matter of Fact against "them, might be restored to their Places.

5. "THAT all Delinquents, from before the tenth day of "*January* 1641, should be deliver'd up to the Justice of Par- "liament, and a General Pardon for all others on both "sides.

6. AND lastly, "That there might be an Act of Oblivion, "for all by-gone Deeds, and Acts of Hostility.

WHEN

When this Conference was reported in the House of Commons, it begot a wonderful long, and a hot Debate, which lasted till ten of the Clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the Violent Party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate Constitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhorr'd their proceedings, though out of fear and indisposition of Health, or not knowing else well what to do, they continued there) enveighed furiously against the design it self of sending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular Proposition so much as consider'd: "They had receiv'd much prejudice by the last Treaty "at *Oxford*, and therefore must undergo more now their Con- "dition was much lower: The King had since that, upon "the matter, declared them to be no Parliament; for if they "were not free, they could not be a Parliament; so that till "that point were vindicated, they could not Treat in any safe "Capacity, but would be look'd upon under the notion of "Rebels, as his Majesty had declar'd them. They had sent "Members into *Scotland* to require Assistance, which that "Kingdom was preparing with all Brotherly Affection, and "Forwardness, and after such a discovery, to treat for Peace, "without the privity of the *Scots*, was to betray them; and "to forfeit all hopes hereafter of relief from thence, what ne- "cessities soever they might be reduced to. That the City "of *London* had express'd all imaginable readiness to raise "Forces for Sr *William Waller*; and the Counties near *London* "were ready to rise as one Man, whereby the Earl of *Essex* "would be speedily enabled to march, with a better Army "than ever he had, to give the King Battle, except this dis- "course of Peace did extinguish the Zeal that was then flaming "in the Hearts of the People.

But notwithstanding these reasons, and the passion in the delivery, the terror of the King's Successes suggested Answers enough. "They had been punish'd for breaking off the Treaty "of *Oxford*, when they might have had better terms than "now they could expect; and if they omitted this apportu- "nity, they should fare much worse; that they were not sure "of aid from *Scotland*, neither was it almost possible it should "come time enough to preserve them from the Ruin at hand. "And for the City of *London*, though the common and "meaner sort of People who might promise themselves ad- "vantage by it, desired the continuance of the distractions, "yet it was evident the most Substantial and Rich Men de- "sir'd Peace, by their refusal to supply Money for the carry- "ing on the War; and if they should judge of the Common "People by their forwardness to engage their own Persons, "they had reason to believe they had no mind to the War nei- "ther;

"ther; for their General was forced to retire even under their "own Walls, for want of Men to recruit his Army. How- "ever, the ſending reaſonable Propoſitions to the King, would "either procure a Peace, and ſo they ſhould have no more "need of an Army; or, being refuſed, would raiſe more Men "and Money than all their Ordinances without it. Theſe rea- ſons and arguments prevail'd; and after the Debate had laſted till ten of the Clock at night, it was reſolv'd upon the Que- ſtion, and carried by nine and twenty Voices, "That they "ſhould inſiſt upon the Propoſitions, and ſend to his Ma- "jeſty.

AND without doubt, if they had then ſent (as if the Power had been in the two Houſes of Parliament, they had done) a firm Peace had immediately enſued: for beſides that if a Treaty and Ceſſation had been in that Conjuncture enter'd upon, no extravagant demand would have been preſſed, only a ſecurity for thoſe who had been faulty, which the King would gladly have granted, and moſt religiouſly obſerv'd; the fourth Propoſition, and Conſent to reſtore all Members to their places in Parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more Fire in thoſe Houſes. But this was too well known to be ſuffer'd to paſs; and therefore the next day, be- ing *Sunday*, the Seditious Preachers fill'd all the Pulpits with Alarms of "Ruin and Deſtruction to the City, if a Peace "were now offer'd to the King; and printed Papers were ſcatter'd through the Streets, and fixed upon Gates, Poſts, and the moſt Publick Places in the City and Suburbs, re- quiring all Perſons well affected, to riſe as one Man, and to "come to the Houſe of Commons next morning; for that "twenty thouſand *Iriſh* Rebels were Landed; which informa- tion was likewiſe given that day in many Pulpits by their Preachers; and in other Papers likewiſe ſet up, it was de- clar'd, "That the Malignant Party had overvoted the Good, "and if not prevented there would be a Peace.

WHEN the minds of the People were thus prepar'd, *Pen- nington*, their own Lord Mayor, though on *Sunday* (on which they before complain'd the King uſed to ſit in Council) called a Common Council; where a Petition was framed to the Houſe of Commons, taking notice "Of Propoſitions paſſed "by the Houſe of Peers for Peace, which if conſented to, and "allow'd would be deſtructive to Religion, Laws, and Li- "berties; and therefore deſir'd that Houſe to paſs an Ordi- "nance, according to the Tenor of an Act of their Common "Council (which they appointed to be annex'd to their Pe- tition) "Which was for the vigorous proſecuting the War, "and declining all thoughts of Accommodation. With this Petition, and ſuch an Attendance as thoſe preparatives were

A Petition of the Common Council of London against Peace:

like

like to bring, the Lord Mayor himſelf, who, from the time of his Mayoralty, had forborn ſitting in the Houſe as a Member, came to the Houſe of Commons and deliver'd it, with ſuch farther inſinuations of the temper of the City, as were fit for the purpoſe; the People at the door behaving themſelves as imperiouſly, telling the Members of both Houſes, as they paſs'd by them, "That if they had not a good Anſwer, "They would be there the next day with double the Number. The Lords complain'd of the Tumults, and ſent to the Commons to joyn with them in their Suppreſſion; inſtead whereof the Commons (many of their Body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the City Thanks "For their Petition, Advice, and Cou- "rage; and rejected the Propoſitions for Peace.

Whereupon the Houſe of Commons rejected the Propoſitions of the Lords.

THIS raiſed a new conteſt in the City, which was not willing to lye under the perpetual brand of reſiſting and oppoſing Peace, as they did of firſt raiſing the War. And therefore the Wiſe and Sober part of it, would gladly have diſcover'd how averſe they were from the late Act of the Common Council. But the late Execution of *Tomkins*, and *Chaloner*, and the advantage which was preſently taken againſt any Man who was moderately inclined, frighted all Men from appearing in Perſon to deſire thoſe things upon which their Hearts were moſt ſet. In the end, the Women expreſs'd greater Courage than the Men; and having a Precedent of a Rabble of that Sex, appearing in the beginning of theſe Diſtractions with a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, to foment the Diviſions, with acceptance and approbation, a great Multitude of the Wives of Subſtantial Citizens came to the Houſe of Commons with a Petition for Peace. Thereupon a Troop of Horſe, under the Command of one *Harvey*, a decayed Silk-man, who from the beginning had been one moſt Confided in, were ſent for; who behaved themſelves with ſuch Inhumanity, that they Charged among the ſilly Women, as an Enemy worthy of their Courage, and kill'd, and wounded many of them, and eaſily diſperſed the reſt. When they were by this means ſecured from farther vexation of this kind, ſpecial notice was taken of thoſe Members who ſeem'd moſt importunate, and deſirous of Peace, that ſome advantage might be taken againſt them. Whereupon, they well diſcerning the danger they were in, many both of the Peers, and the Commons, firſt abſented themſelves from the Houſes, and then remov'd into thoſe Quarters where they might enjoy the Protection of the King; and ſome of them came directly to *Oxford*.

HAVING diverted this Torrent, which would have brought Peace upon them before they were aware, they conſider'd their

their ſtrength, and applied themſelves to the recovery of the Spirits of their General; whoſe indiſpoſition troubled them more than any other diſtreſs they were in. To this Cure they apply'd Remedies of contrary Natures, which would yet work to the ſame end. Firſt they careſſed Sr *William Waller* with wonderful kindneſs and eſteem; and as he was met upon his return to *London*, after the moſt total Defeat that could almoſt be imagin'd (for though few of his Horſe were kill'd upon the place, they were ſo ruinouſly diſperſed, that of above two thouſand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their Service) with all their Train'd-bands and Malitia of *London*, and receiv'd as if he had brought the King Priſoner with him, ſo he was immediately choſen Governour and Commander in Chief of the Forces and Militia of *London*, for the Defence of the City; and it was now declar'd, "That "they would forthwith ſupply him with a good Body of "Horſe, and Foot, to take the Field again, and relieve their "diſtreſſed Friends in the Weſt. Then another Ordinance was paſſed to raiſe a great Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester* (who had been always ſteady to his firſt Principles, and never a Friend to any Overture of Accommodation) in order to oppoſing the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, and to take charge of all the Aſſociated Counties; which were *Eſſex*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Huntington*, and (by a new addition) *Lincoln*; and for the ſpeedy raiſing Men to joyn to thoſe who would voluntarily liſt themſelves under theſe two beloved Generals, there was an Ordinance paſſed both Houſes for the Preſſing of Men; which ſeem'd ſomewhat to diſcredit their Cauſe, that, after ſo much pretence to the Hearts of the People, they ſhould be now compell'd to Fight whether they would or no; and was the more wonder'd at, becauſe they had themſelves procured the King's Conſent to an Act this Parliament, that declar'd it to be unlawful to preſs, or compel any of the freeborn Subjects to march out of the County in which they liv'd, if he were not willing ſo to do; and direction was given by other Ordinances to preſs great Numbers of Men, to ſerve both under the Earl of *Manchester*, and Sr *William Waller*; and having thus provided for the worſt, and let the Earl of *Eſſex* diſcern, that they had another Earl to truſt to, and more Generals than one at their Devotion, they ſent a formal Committee of both Houſes to him, to uſe all imaginable Art, and Application to him, to recover him to his former Vigour, and Zeal in their Cauſe. They told him "The high Value the Houſes had of the Ser-"vice he had done, and the hazards, dangers, and loſſes, he "had for Their Sakes undergone: That he ſhould receive as "ample a Vindication for the Calumnies, and Aſperſions raiſed "on

An Ordinance for raiſing an Army under the Earl of Manchester.

"on him, as he could desire, from the full Testimony, and "Confidence of the two Houses; and if the infamous Au- "thors of them could be found, their punishment should be "as notorious as their Libels: That no other Forces should "be recruited till His were made up; and that all his Sol- "diers Arrears should be paid, and Cloaths presently sent for "his Foot.

WHETHER these Reasons, with the Jealousy of the Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom he plainly saw the Violent Party wholly depended, or the infusions pour'd into him by the Lord *Say*, and Mr *Pym*, of the desperateness of his own Condition, with an opinion, upon the differences between the two Princes and the Marquis of *Hertford*, that the Marquis's Services were not enough valued by the King (which many desired should be thought to have then some influence upon the Earl) or whether he had not steadiness enough, to engage in so hazardous an Enterprise, he grew insensibly alter'd from his moderate inclinations, and desire of Peace; for it is most certain, that as the confidence in him gave many Lords the Spirit to appear Champions for Peace, who had been before as sollicitous against it, so the design was then the same, which hath been since prosecuted, with effect to a worse purpose, that is, for the Members of both Houses who were of one mind, upon that signal Ryot, and compelling the House of Commons to renounce their former Resolution of Propositions to the King, to have gone to the Earl of *Essex*, and there, under the security of their own Army, to have protested against the violence which was offer'd, the breach of their Privileges by the Common Councils taking notice of their Councils, and over-ruling their Conclusions, and to have declared their want of Freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the Houses to Consent to such an Agreement as the King would well have approved of; or to have enter'd upon such a Treaty themselves with the King, as all the moderate part of the Kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

BUT this staggering in their General frustrated that design, and put them to other Resolutions; and so, having render'd themselves very ungracious in the Houses, and possibly suspecting the Earl of *Essex* might discover some of their Overtures, many of the Lords left the Town, and went either directly to *Oxford*, or into the King's Quarters; the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Lovelace* (of whose good Affections to his Service the King had always assurance, and who had only stayed there, as at a place where they might do him more Service, than any where else) directly to *Oxford*; and the Lord *Conway*, shortly after them; the Earl of

Clare

Clare into *Worcester-shire*, and from thence, by the King's free acceptation, to *Oxford*; there being no other objection against his Lordship, than his staying so long at *London*; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the Court, render'd him to his Majesty's opinion under a very good Character. The Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, not without some difficulty, their purpose being discover'd or suspected, got into the King's Garrison at *Wallingford*, from whence the Governour gave Advertisement of their Arrival; the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the leave of the House, retired for his health to his House at *Petworth* in *Sussex*; which though it was in a County entirely then at the Parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the King's Quarters, if he had not some assurance of being safe there.

The Earls of Bedford, and Holland, put themselves into the King's Quarters, as likewise some other of the Parliament Lords.

THE Violent Party carried now all before them; and were well contented with the Absence of those who used to give them some trouble, and vexation. For the better strengthning themselves with the People, they Order'd the Divines of the Assembly, to repair into the Country to their Cures, especially in the Counties of the Association under the Earl of *Manchester*, to stir up the People, with all their Eloquence, to Rise as one Man against their Soveraign; and omitted nothing within their power, which might contribute to the raising Men or Money; being not a little joyed when they understood the King had given them more time than they expected, to Compose all Disorders and Divisions among themselves, by his staying with his Army before *Gloucester*; which they took to be the greater Blessing, and Preservation to them, because at the same time there were suddain insurrections in *Kent* against their Ordinances and Jurisdiction, in Defence of the known Laws, and especially of the Book of Common Prayer; which, if the King's Army had been at any distance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to suppress.

THE fame of all these distractions and disorders at *London*, exceedingly disposed Men in all places to reproach his Majesty's stay before *Gloucester*; his Friends at *London* desiring that his Majesty would march directly thither, to take the advantage of those Distractions; and the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very sollicitous that the King would take that resolution, to which he was himself enough inclin'd. But his Condition was believ'd to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a Victorious Army, without an Enemy to restrain his motion; whereas, in truth, his was a weak Army, lessen'd exceedingly by the losses it sustain'd before *Bristol*;

Briſtol; and when that part of it was march'd with Prince *Maurice* into the Weſt, and which could not have march'd any other way, the King had not much above ſix thouſand Foot to march with, though he left none at *Briſtol*, but obliged my Lord *Hopton* to Garriſon it as he could, which he ſhortly did; and that would have appear'd a very ſmall Army to have march'd towards *London*; though it is true the Horſe was a noble Body, and Superior in number to that of the Foot.

THERE was likewiſe another circumſtance, that few Men were then acquainted with: Upon the firſt News of the taking of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty, before he left *Oxford*, had ſent an Expreſs to the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who was then engaged before *Hull*, "That if he found the buſineſs of *Hull* to be more "difficult than he expected, he ſhould leave it block'd up at "a diſtance, which might reſtrain Excurſions into the Coun- "try, and march with his Army into the Aſſociated Counties; which comprehended *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge-ſhire*, and *Eſſex*, &c. which had Aſſociated themſelves, by ſome Agree- ment, to ſerve the Parliament; though the better part of all thoſe Counties, eſpecially of the two greater, were moſt af- fected to the King, and wiſh'd for an opportunity to expreſs it; and if the Earl would bring his Army through thoſe Coun- ties towards *London*, his Majeſty would then reſolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other ſide. And in the very time that his Majeſty came before *Gloceſter*, and before he took the Reſolution to ſit down before it, that Expreſs return'd from the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who inform'd him, "that it was impoſſible for him to comply with his Com- "mands, in marching with his Army into the Aſſociated "Counties, for that the Gentlemen of the Country, who had "the beſt Regiments, and were among the beſt Officers, ut- "terly refuſed to march, except *Hull* were firſt taken; and "that he had not ſtrength enough to march and to leave *Hull* "ſecurely block'd up: which Advertiſement, with the con- ſideration before mention'd, of the enlarging his Quarters by the taking of *Gloceſter*, and the Concurrence of all the Offi- cers, that it would ſpeedily be taken, produced the Reſo- lution of Attempting it, notwithſtanding that the Queen her ſelf writ ſo importunately againſt it, that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to make a Journey himſelf to *Oxford*, to con- vince her Majeſty, and to Compoſe ſome diſtempers which were riſen among his Council there, upon the News of the Arrival of ſome of the Lord's mention'd before in thoſe Quar- ters.

THE King was newly ſat down before *Gloceſter*, when the Governour of *Wallingford* ſent notice to *Oxford*, of the Arri- val

Debates in the Council at Oxford how those Lords should be receiv'd.

val of those two Earls; to whom the Lords of the Council return'd direction, "That they should stay there, 'till the King's "pleasure was understood; to whom the Secretary had sent the information, and desir'd his Majesty's Will concerning their reception. The King well knew, any Order he should give in it, would be liable to many objections, and he had not so good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their sakes; the Earl of *Bedford* having serv'd in Person against him, as the General of the Rebels Horse; and the Earl of *Holland*, in the King's opinion, having done worse. And therefore his Majesty Commanded, "That his Privy "Council should Debate the matter among themselves, and "present their opinion and advice to him, and he would then "determine what kind of Entertainment they should have. The opinions at the board were several; some thought, "That "his Majesty should receive them very graciously, and with "all outward expressions of his acceptance of their return to "his Service, and that the demeanour of all others to them "should be such, as might make them think themselves very "welcome, without the least taking notice of any thing for-"merly done amiss by them; which would be a great encou-"ragement to others to come away too: So that the Num-"bers, and Quality of those who stayed behind, would pro-"bably in a short time be so small, that they would have no "reputation in the Kingdom to continue the War. Many differ'd diametrically from this; and were so far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity, or security of the King; that they thought it not fit "To admit them presently to the "King's or Queen's presence, till by their good carriage and "demeanour, they should give some testimony of their Affe-"ctions: They had both taken the late Covenant, of which "one Clause was, to assist the Forces raised by the Parliament, "against the Army raised by the King; with many reproaches, "and known scandals upon that Army. If they had felt a true "remorse of Conscience for the ill they had done, they would "have left that Party, when that Covenant was to be im-"posed upon them; which, since they did not, that they "came now was to be imputed rather to the King's success, "and the weakness of that power which they had hitherto "serv'd, than to any reformation of their understanding, or "improvement of their Allegiance: and that it was great rea-"son, that they who had given such Arguments of just jea-"lousy and suspicion of themselves, should raise a confidence "in their Loyalty and Affection by some Act equal to the "other; and therefore none who had taken that Covenant, "should be admitted to the presence of the King, Queen, or "Prince, before he had taken some other Oath or Covenant,

"declaring

"declaring an equal hatred, and abhorring of the Rebellious "Arms which were taken up againſt his Majeſty, and the "Counſels by which they were taken up.

IT was ſaid, "That the good, or ill reception of theſe "Lords, could have no influence upon the Actions, or Deli-"berations at *Weſtminſter*, or *London*, or any conſiderable "Perſons there: that they were but ſingle Men, without any "conſiderable dependence upon them: Whilſt they had Re-"putation, and Intereſt enough to do good or hurt, and the "King's condition needed their attendance, they choſe to be "engaged againſt him; but now, when they were able to do "him no more harm, they came to receive benefit and ad-"vantage from him: That it was a common Argument Men "uſed to alledge to themſelves for their compliance with, and "ſubmiſſion to, the Commands of the Parliament; that, if "they did otherwiſe, their ſeverity, and rigour was ſo great, "that They and their Families were ſure to be ruined; but, "if the King prevailed, he was gracious and merciful, and "would remit their Offences whenſoever they caſt themſelves "at his feet; which preſumption if they ſhould ſee confirm'd "in this example, it would make the obſervation of Con-"ſcience and Loyalty of no price; and encourage thoſe who "were riſen againſt him, and exceedingly diſhearten thoſe "who had been honeſt and faithful from the beginning: That "there could enſue no inconvenience from any reſervedneſs "and coldneſs towards them; for they durſt not return to "*London*, having now made themſelves odious to that Party, "and having no hope but from the acceptance of his Majeſty; "which they ſhould merit before they found. There was a third opinion between theſe extremes, "That they ſhould be "neither Courted nor Neglected, but be admitted to kiſs the "King's and Queen's hands, and to diſpoſe themſelves as they "thought fit; and ſo to leave the reſt to their future demea-"nour: and to reſolve which of theſe opinions to follow, was another motive for his Majeſty's ſuddain Journey to *Oxford*.

The King comes to Oxford to conſult about it.

THE King found greater alterations in the minds and ſpirits at *Oxford*, than he expected after ſo much ſucceſs as had befallen him; and that ſucceſs was it, that had made the alteration; it being the unlucky temper of that place, and that Company, to be the ſooneſt and the moſt deſperately caſt down upon any Misfortune or Loſs, and to be again, upon any Victory, the moſt elated, and the moſt apt to undervalue any difficulties which remain'd. The taking *Briſtol* had ſo poſſeſs'd them with joy, that they thought the War even at an end, and that there was nothing left to be done, but to take poſſeſſion of *London*; which they were aſſured would be deliver'd to them upon demand: many Members of both Houſes

were come to *Oxford*, which assured them, "That violent Peo-
"ple there, were even in despair; and after the News came
"of the Surrender of *Bristol*, that they had only kept up their
"spirits in hopes that the King would engage his Army in
"the Siege of *Gloucester*, which some of them had seem'd to
"promise their Friends would be the Case: from whence they would infer, "That the King was betrayed, and that they who "had perswaded him to undertake that design, were corrupted "by the Parliament. And the Envy and Jealousy of all this fell upon Sr *John Colepepper*, who was indeed of the opinion for the Siege, but, without doubt, how much soever he suffer'd at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believ'd there was very good reason for that Engagement, and was most free from any corrupt end, and of most sincere fidelity.

THIS discourse and imagination had made wonderful impression upon the Queen, who was inflamed with a jealousy that there was a design to lessen her Interest in the King, and that Prince *Rupert* was Chief in that Conspiracy, and meant to bring it to pass by keeping the King still in the Army, and by hindring his coming to *Oxford*: and out of this apprehension the Queen had written so warmly and concernedly to the King, who was the most incapable of any such apprehensions, and had her Majesty in so perfect an adoration, that as soon as he receiv'd that Letter, without delay he came to *Oxford*, and quickly composed those mistakes; though the being engaged before *Gloucester* was still very grievous, and reproaches were publickly cast upon those who gave the advice.

BUT that which took up most of the time of that one day that the King stayed at *Oxford*, was concerning the two Lords who were retain'd at *Wallingford*; which had been agitated in the Council with great passion before the King's coming. The King caused the Council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, "Whether the Earls of *Bedford*, and of *Holland*, "should be admitted to come into *Oxford*, or obliged to re-
"turn from whence they came? or, if admitted, how they "should be receiv'd, or countenanced by their Majesties? And it cannot be enough wonder'd at, that there should be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot be express'd, with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates still express'd all moderation and temper, did now oppose the receiving these Lords with any grace, with more passion, and other reasons, than had been offer'd in their former Conferences; so that there was scarce known such an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where disunion was very inconvenient.

ALL

ALL exaggerated "The Carriage and foul ingratitude of "the Earl of *Holland* from the beginning of the Parliament; "and the Earl of *Bedford*'s being General of the Horſe in the "Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army; and now when the Parliament was "low, and they had loſt their credit and intereſt There, "they were come to the King, whom they had ſo much of-"fended; and expected to be as much, it may be, more made "of, then they who had borne the heat of the day; which "would ſo much reflect upon the King's Honour, that Men "would be exceedingly diſcouraged to ſerve him. Some moved, "That they might be detain'd, and kept Priſoners of "War, ſince they came into the King's Quarters without any "Paſs; others, as plainly, and more vehemently preſſed, "That "they might not be ſuffer'd to come to *Oxford*, or where the "King or Queen ſhould be; but permitted to live in ſome "other place within the King's Quarters, until they ſhould "manifeſt their Affections by ſome Service: They who "thought this too ſevere and unpolitick, propoſed that they "might be ſuffer'd to come to *Oxford*, that thereby they might "be kept from returning to the Parliament (which appear'd to moſt to be liable to many exceptions) "But that being at "*Oxford*, they ſhould not come to Court; and that no Privy "Counſellor ſhould viſit them.

IN this whole Debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ſeldom ſpoke without ſome earneſtneſs, was the only Man (except another, who brought no credit to the opinion, the Lord *Saville*) who adviſed confidently, "That they might "be very graciouſly receiv'd by both their Majeſties, and ci-"villy be viſited, and treated by every Body; that other Men "might, by the entertainment they receiv'd, be encouraged "to deſert the Parliament too. He ſaid, "It would be too "great a diſadvantage to the King, and to his Cauſe, that "whilſt the Parliament uſed all the induſtry and artifices, to "corrupt the Duty and Affection of the Subject, and had "their Arms open to receive and embrace all, who would "come to them, his Majeſty ſhould admit none to return to "him, who had been faulty, or not come ſo ſoon as they "ought to have done; that if the King had a mind to gratify, "and oblige the Parliament, he could not do it more to their "hearts deſire, than by rejecting the application of theſe Lords, "or ſuffering it to paſs unregarded. There was one Argu-ment againſt their admiſſion urged very loudly, "That it "would diſturb the Peace of the place; the Earl of *Bedford* had commanded that part of the Army, which infeſted the Marquis of *Hertford*, at his being at *Sherborne*, when the Mar-quis had ſent *Harry Seymour*, as is mention'd before, with a Challenge to the Earl to fight with him; which the Earl rea-

ſonably declined at that time; and ſaid, "He would be ready, "when the buſineſs of the Parliament ſhould be over, to wait "upon the Marquis when he ſhould require it. And ſome Men, who were near enough to the Marquis's Counſels, undertook to know, that if the Earl of *Bedford* ſhould be in *Oxford*, the Marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promiſe; which ſure he was too wiſe to do.

THE King, during the whole Debate, did not expreſs any thing of his own Senſe, ſave that he ſeem'd well pleaſed with any ſharpneſs that was expreſs'd towards the Earl of *Holland*. He ſaid, "That he was bound to his good behaviour, by being "under the common reproach of inclining too much to thoſe "who had uſed him worſt; of which he would not be guilty: However, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any Perſons deſperate; and therefore gave order, "that the Governour of *Wallingford* ſhould permit them "to continue their Journey to *Oxford*; where all Men might "uſe what civilities they pleaſed to them; and that Himſelf, "and the Queen, would do that towards them, which upon "their application and addreſs, they ſhould think fit: and though this determination was given, without the leaſt diſcovery of grace towards the Perſons of thoſe Lords, and not without ſome reflections of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the Table; which was evident enough by their Countenance. The next morning, the King return'd to the Army.

THERE had been, as is ſaid, very great diviſions in the Counſels at *Weſtminſter*, from the time of the Treaty, and the very abrupt breaking it off; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, reſenting the Affront done to him by *Martin*, had encreaſed thoſe diviſions; and the ill ſucceſſes afterwards in the Defeat of *Waller*, and the taking of *Briſtol*, had given every Man Courage to ſay what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr *Waller*'s diſcovery, and obliging all Men to take a deſperate Engagement, which they durſt not refuſe, for fear of being declared guilty of the Plot, as many of them were, incenſed very many: but above all, the proſperity of the King's Affairs made every Body wiſh to come into his Quarters. A great Number of the Houſe of Commons, who were known always to wiſh well, came to *Oxford*: and of the Peers, the Earl of *Portland*, who was always very faithful to the King, and had ſtayed in the Houſe of Peers by his Majeſty's leave, and had been accuſed by Mr *Waller* to be privy to that deſign, upon which he had endured a long impriſonment, came at this time to *Oxford*, as is ſaid before, together with the Lord *Conway*, and the Lord *Lovelace*; the former of which had been

been likewiſe queſtion'd, and impriſon'd, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of conſtant duty to the King; and all three had gotten liberty, and opportunity to come away by ſwallowing that Vow, and Oath, which could only ſet them free, and which they made haſte to Anſwer for to the King. The Return of the Earl of *Eſſex* to *London* in ill humour, had given opportunity to the Earl of *Holland*, and the reſt, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to reſentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealouſies which were entertain'd of him. The Earl of *Bedford* had given up his Commiſſion of General of the Horſe, and quitted the Service, and never had any Affection to their ways in his Judgment. The Earl of *Clare* had been with the King at *York*, and had his leave to return to *London*, to intend his own particular Affairs; and during his ſtay, had never concurred in any malicious Counſel againſt the King, but was look'd upon as a Man, not only firm to the Principles of Monarchy, but of Duty to the Perſon of the King. He was a Man of Honour, and of Courage, and would have been an excellent Perſon, if his heart had not been ſet too much upon the keeping, and improving his Eſtate; he was weary of the Company he kept, and eaſily hearken'd to the Earl of *Holland*, in any Conſultation how to recover the King's Authority, and to put an end to the War. The Earl of *Eſſex* was, as is ſaid before, enough provoked, and incenſed, and willingly heard all the Lords, and others, who inveighed againſt the violent Proceedings of thoſe who ſway'd the Parliament, and differ'd not with them in his judgment of the Men, and the Matter: ſo that they believ'd that he would as readily be diſpoſed to agree upon the Remedy, as he did upon the Diſeaſe.

THEIR end and deſign was, as I ſaid, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that they, and all the reſt of thoſe who were accounted moderate Men, that is who deſir'd a Peace, and to return to their duty to the King (which were much the Major part of both Houſes that remain'd at *Weſtminſter*, after ſo many of both were gone to the King) might all go to the Army; and thereupon the General, and they, to write to the Parliament together, and to ſend ſuch Propoſitions to them, as the Parliament ſhould tranſmit to the King, as the Conditions of Peace. If the King ſhould refuſe to conſent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all People to compel him to it: but if the Parliament would refuſe to tranſmit thoſe Propoſitions to the King, or to conſent to a Peace upon thoſe Conditions, they would then declare againſt them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the War was firſt begun, and would joyn themſelves to the King to

force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the Authority and Credit of the Earl of *Eſſex* was not yet eclipſed, and before an Independent Army was raiſed, which was ſhortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the ſucceſs deſired. But the Earl was too ſcrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a Truſt; and this was too barefaced a ſeparation for him to engage in: Beſides that he did believe, that he ſhould be able to ſuppreſs that Violent Party by the Parliament it ſelf, and he thought that would bring all about which he deſired; and ſo he did not only reject what was propoſed to him, but expreſs'd ſuch a diſlike of the Earl of *Holland* for propoſing it, that he thought it high time to get himſelf out of his reach. The Earl of *Holland* who always conſider'd Himſelf in the firſt place, had, from the time of the Queen's Landing, privately made offer of his Service to the Queen, and renew'd his old Confidence and Friendſhip with Mr *Jermyn*; and knowing well to inhance the value of his own Service, made great promiſes of notable Service; and Mr *Jermyn* eaſily perſwaded her Majeſty, "That it "was much better for her to reſtore an old Servant, whom "ſhe knew ſo well, to her Confidence (though he had ſtep-"ped out of the way) than to rely upon the Fidelity of any "of thoſe, who were now about the King, and who were all "upon the matter ſtrangers to her, at leaſt not enough known "by her; and then, "That by laying hold upon this oppor-"tunity, ſhe would, at her firſt coming to the King, carry his "Reſtoration with her, poſſeſs her ſelf of the whole frame of "his buſineſs, becauſe all other deſigns would be laid aſide; "and ſo all the good, that would redound to the King and "Kingdom from this new Negotiation, muſt, by the conſent "of all the World, be attributed to her Majeſty's Wiſdom and "Conduct. This appearing hopeful to her Majeſty, and all that had any thing of Hope was by the other always look'd upon as certain, the correſpondence was embraced; and the Earl aſſured not only to be reſtor'd to his former Station in all reſpects, but to a Title to new Intereſt. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the Earl of *Eſſex*, that the King's Affairs proſper'd and that *Briſtol* was now taken, and the Queen come to *Oxford*, he reſolv'd Himſelf to go thither, and prevailed with the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Clare*, to do the like; he aſſuring them, that they ſhould be very well receiv'd. The Earl of *Clare* made his Journey by himſelf, out of the Common Road, and came without any interruption into *Oxford*, at the time appointed: The Earl of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, came together to *Wallingford*, as is mention'd. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was naturally ſuſpicious, went to his own Houſe at

Petworth

Petworth in *Suſſex*: by which he thought he ſhew'd averſion enough to the Counſels at *Weſtminſter*, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other Lords at *Oxford* was not anſwerable to their expectation; beſides that he would expect the reſult of the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, who was more truſted by him than any other.

The leave for the two Earls to come from *Walingford* to *Oxford*, was declar'd but the night before the King return'd to the Army; and was not ſent thither till the next day. So that the Lords came not to *Oxford* till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to ſpend at *Wallingford*, and with the diſputation, they heard, had been held concerning them; of which they had receiv'd ſo particular information, that the Earl of *Holland* writ a very Civil Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before he came to *Oxford*, taking notice of "The Affection he had ſhew'd to him in his "advice to the King. Both of them had Friends enough there to provide for their Accommodation in convenient Lodgings; ſo that the one had a Lodging at *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, of which Houſe he had formerly been a Member; the other lay in *Baliol* College, where he had a Daughter, who ſpared him part of her Lodgings. But for any application to them by the Lords, or Perſons in Authority there, they had no reaſon to think themſelves very welcome. They went, in the firſt place, to do their Duties to the Queen; who receiv'd them coldly enough, not out of diſinclination, or unwillingneſs to ſhew them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the Town, which ſhe deteſted: nor did Mr *Jermyn*, who ſtill valued himſelf upon the impoſſible faculty to pleaſe all, and diſpleaſe none, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point (having, probably, ſaid more in his Letters of Correſpondence and Advice, than he had Authority to do; it being his cuſtom to write, and ſpeak, what was moſt grateful to the Perſons) ſo that the Earl of *Holland*, with whom alone the Correſpondence had been, began to think himſelf betray'd, and invited to *Oxford* only to be expoſed to contempt. He came one morning to viſit the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when there were the Lord *Cottington*, and two or three other Privy Counſellors with him, who all went preſently away, without ſo much as ſaluting him; which offended the Chancellor as much as it did Him; and in truth oblig'd the Chancellor to more Ceremony and Civility, than, it may be, he would otherwiſe have practiced: ſo that he did viſit him again, and made all profeſſions and offers of kindneſs and ſervice to him; which he did very heartily; and comply'd therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his judgment, as very important to the King's Service; and

did all he could to induce others to be of the ſame opinion; in which he had no great ſucceſs.

THE Intelligence from *London* brought, every day, the Reſolution of the Parliament, "To relieve *Gloceſter*; and that, if their Levies did not ſupply them with Men ſoon enough, the Train'd-bands of the City would march out with the General for that Service: whereupon the three Earls, *Bedford*, *Holland*, and *Clare*, after ſome days ſtay in *Oxford*, thought it neceſſary to offer their Service to the King in the Army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an Engagement between the Armies; and ſo went together to *Gloceſter*; where the King receiv'd them without any diſreſpect, and ſpoke with them as they gave him occaſion.

The King's Affairs in the Weſt.

WHILST the King continued before *Gloceſter*, his Forces in the Weſt moved with a full gale and tide of ſucceſs. The Earl of *Carnarvon* march'd with the Horſe and Dragoons, being near two thouſand, into *Dorſet-ſhire*, two days before Prince *Maurice* moved with his Foot and Cannon from *Briſtol*, and had made a fair entrance upon the Reduction of that whole County, before his Highneſs overtook him; and it was thought then, that if the Prince had march'd more ſlowly, the Earl had perfected that work. Upon the Surrender of *Briſtol*, many of the Gentlemen, and others of that County, who were engaged in that City for the Parliament, had viſited their Houſes, and Friends, in their Journey to *London*, whither by their Safe Conduct they went, and had made ſuch prodigious diſcourſes of the Fierceneſs and Courage of the Cavaliers (as moſt Men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the Enemy which had been too hard for them) that reſiſting them began to be thought a matter impoſſible. One Mr *Strode*, a Man much relied on in thoſe parts, and of good Fortune, after he had viſited his Houſe, took *Dorcheſter* in his way to *London*, and being deſir'd by the Magiſtrates, "To "view their Works and Fortifications, and to give his Judg- "ment of them; after he had walked about them, he told them, "That thoſe Works Might keep out the Cavaliers about "half an hour; and then told them ſtrange ſtories of the manner of Aſſaulting *Briſtol*; "And that the King's Soldiers "made nothing of running up Walls twenty foot high, and "that no Works could keep them out; which he ſaid not out of any purpoſe to betray them (for no Man wiſh'd the King's Army worſe ſucceſs) but had really ſo much horror, and conſternation about him, and the dreadful Image of the Storm of *Briſtol* imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had ſcaled all thoſe Forts and Places which were deliver'd to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation ſo fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of *Carnarvon* came

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no sooner near *Dorchester* with his Horse and Dragoons (which it may be, was understood to be the Van of the Victorious Army which had taken *Bristol*) but the Town sent Commissioners to him to Treat; and upon Articles of Indemnity, that they should not be plunder'd, and not suffer for the ill they had done, deliver'd up the Town (which was strongly Situated, and might very well have been Defended by the spirits of these People, if they had Courage equal to their Malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the King, *England* had not) with all their Arms, Ammunition, and Ordnance. The Fame of the Earl's coming had before frighted S^r *Walter Earl*, who had for a long time Besieged *Corfe* Castle (the House of the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, defended by his Lady with her Servants, and some few Gentlemen, and Tenants, who betook themselves thither for Her assistance, and their own security) from that Siege; and he making more haste to convey himself to *London*, than Generals use to do, who have the care and charge of others, his Forces were presently dispersed. And now the Surrender of *Dorchester* (the Magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of Rebellion) infused the same spirit into *Weymouth*, a very convenient Harbour and Haven: and that example again prevailed on the Island and Castle of *Portland* (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance) to all which the Earl granted fair Conditions, and receiv'd them into his Majesty's Protection.

Dorchester Surrender'd.

Weymouth and Portland surrender'd to the King's Forces.

HITHER Prince *Maurice* came now up with Foot and Cannon, and neglecting to follow the Train of the Enemies fears to *Lyme*, and *Poole*, the only two Garrisons then left in their possession, stay'd with his Army about *Dorchester* and *Weymouth* some days, under the Notion of settling and disposing the Government of those Garrisons. Here the Soldiers, taking advantage of the famous Malignity of those places, used great licence; neither was there care taken to observe those Articles which had been made upon the Surrender of the Towns; which the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was full of Honour and Justice upon all Contracts, took so ill, that he quitted the Command he had with those Forces, and return'd to the King before *Gloucester*; which publish'd the injustice with the more scandal. Whether this licence, which was much spoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, alienated the Affections of those Parts, or whether the absence of the Marquis of *Hertford* from the Army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehension that there would not be much Lenity used towards those who had been high, and pertinacious Offenders, or whether this Army when it was together, seem'd less formidable than it was before

fore conceiv'd to be, or that the terror which had poſſeſs'd and ſeiſed upon their Spirits, was ſo violent that it could not continue, and ſo Men grew leſs amazed, I know not: but thoſe two ſmall Towns, whereof *Lyme* was believ'd inconſiderable, return'd ſo peremptory a refuſal to the Prince's Summon's, that his Highneſs reſolv'd not to attack them; and ſo march'd to *Exeter*, where he found all things in better order, and that City more diſtreſſed, than he had reaſon to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of Sr *John Berkley*, who being ſent from *Wells* by the Marquis of *Hertford*, as is before remember'd, to govern the Affairs of *Devon-ſhire*, with one Regiment of Horſe, and another of new Levied and half-arm'd Foot, had ſo encreaſed his Numbers by the concurrence of the Gentlemen of that County, that he fix'd ſtrong Quarters within leſs than a Mile of the City, and kept his Guards even to the Gates; when the Earl of *Stamford* was within, with a ſtrength, at leaſt equal in number to the Beſiegers.

Prince Maurice comes before Exeter with his Army.

THE Parliament commended the Relief of this place, by ſpecial inſtructions, to their Admiral the Earl of *Warwick*; after whoſe having made ſhew of Landing Men in ſeveral places upon the Coaſt, and thereby compelled Sr *John Berkley* to make quick and wearieſome marches with Horſe and Dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the Fleet left thoſe who attended their Landing about *Totneſs*, turn'd about, and with a freſh Gale made towards the River, that leads to the Walls of *Exeter*, and having the Command of both ſides of the River, upon a flat, by their Cannon, the Earl preſumed that way he ſhould be able to ſend Relief into the City; but the diligence, and providence of Sr *John Berkley* had fortunately caſt up ſome ſlight Works upon the advantageous Nookes of the River, in which his Men might be in ſome ſecurity from the Cannon of the Ships; and made great haſte with his Horſe to hinder their Landing; and ſo this Attempt was not only without ſucceſs, but ſo unfortunate, that it diſcouraged the Sea-men from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great ſhot, from their Ships, upon the Land Forces, the Tide falling, the Earl of *Warwick* fell off with his Fleet, leaving three Ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the Land, in view of his whole Fleet which no more look'd after the Relief of *Exeter* that way.

The Earl of Warwick with his Fleet attempts the relief of it, but ſucceeds not.

WHILST all the King's Forces were employ'd in the blocking up the Town, and attending the Coaſt, to wait upon the Earl of *Warwick*, the Garriſon of *Plymouth* encreaſed very faſt, into which the Fleet diſburthen'd themſelves of all they could ſpare; and the North Parts of *Devon-ſhire* gatherd

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apace into a head for the Parliament; *Barnſtable*, and *Bediford*, being Garriſon'd by them; which having an uninterrupted line of Communication with *Plymouth*, reſolv'd to joyn their whole ſtrength, and ſo to compel the Enemy to draw off from the Walls of *Exeter*, which had been very eaſy to have been done, if they in the City had been as active for their own Preſervation. S^r *John Berkley* having notice of this Preparation and Reſolution, ſent Colonel *John Digby* (who had from their firſt entrance into *Corwal*, Commanded the Horſe) with his own Regiment of Horſe, and ſome looſe Troops of Dragoons, into the North of *Devon*, to hinder the joyning of the Rebels Forces. He choſe *Torrington* for his Quarter, and within few days drew to him a Troop of new raiſed Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot, raiſed by his old Friends in *Cornwal*; ſo that he had with him above three hundred Horſe, and ſix or ſeven hundred Foot. Thoſe of *Bediford*, and *Barnſtable*, being Superior in Number, and apprehending that the King's Succeſſes Eaſtward, might encreaſe his Strength and Power There, and weaken theirs, reſolv'd to try their Fortunes; and joyning themſelves together, to the Number of above twelve hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, under the Command of Colonel *Bennet*, hoped to ſurpriſe Colonel *John Digby* at *Torrington*; and he was upon the matter ſurpriſed: for albeit he had notice in the Night from *Barnſtable*, "That the Forces drew out thence "to *Bediford* in the Night, and that they intended to fall on "his Quarters early in the Morning; and thereupon put himſelf into a poſture to receive them, and drew up all his Forces together out of the Town, upon ſuch a piece of ground, as, in that incloſed County, could be moſt advantageous for his Horſe, having, through all the little Incloſure, cut Gaps, through which his Horſe might enter; yet after he had attended their coming till Noon, and heard no more of them, and his ſmall Parties, which were ſent out to enquire, return'd with aſſurance, that there was no appearance of an Enemy, he believ'd they had given over their deſign; and ſo diſmiſſed his Horſe to their ſeveral Quarters, reſerving only one hundred and fifty upon their Guard, and return'd himſelf into the Town with the Foot.

But within leſs than an hour, he receiv'd the Alarm, "That the Enemy was within half a Mile of the Town. The Confuſion was very great, ſo that he reſolv'd not to draw the Foot out of the Town; but having placed them in the beſt manner he could, upon the Avenues, himſelf went to the Horſe out of the Town, reſolving to wait upon the Rear of the Enemy; who were drawn up on the ſame piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The Co-

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lonel, whose Courage and Vivacity upon Action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them; than to engage with them, before his other Troops came up; but having divided his small Party of Horse, the whole consisting but of one hundred and fifty, into several Parties, and distributed them into several little Closes, out of which there were Gaps into the larger ground, upon which the Enemy stood, a Forelorn Hope of fifty Musqueteers advanced towards that ground where himself was, and if they had recover'd the Hedge, they would easily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himself taking four or five Officers into the Front with him, Charged that Forelorn Hope; which immediately threw down their Arms, and run upon their own Body, and carried so infectious a fear with them, that without making a stand, or their Horse offering once to Charge, the whole Body routed themselves, and fled; Colonel *Digby* following the execution with his Horse, till their Swords were blunted with slaughter, and his Numbers over-burthen'd with Prisoners; though the Foot out of the Town hasten'd to the chase, assoon as they saw what terror had possessed their Enemies.

Sir John Digby *Routs the Parliament's Forces at* Torrington.

In this Action (for it cannot be called a Battle; hardly a Skirmish; where no resistance was made) there were near two hundred kill'd, and above two hundred taken Prisoners, and those that fled contributed more to the Victory, than the Prisoners, or the slain, for they were scatter'd and dispersed over all the Country, and scarce a Man without a cut over the Face and Head, or some other hurt; that wrought more upon the Neighbours towards their Conversion, than any Sermon could be Preach'd to them. Some of the Principal Officers, and of their Horse, got into *Bediford*, and *Barnstable*; and not considering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the Cavaliers, told strange stories of "The horror and fear that seised upon them, and "that no body saw above six of the Enemy, that Charged "them; which proved a greater dismay to their Friends, than their Defeat.

At this time came Prince *Maurice* to *Exeter*, the fame of whose arrival brought a new terror, so that the Fort at *Appledore*, which commanded the River to *Barnstable* and *Bediford* being deliver'd to Colonel *Digby*, within two or three days after his Victory, those two Towns shortly after submitted to his Majesty, upon promise of Pardon, and such other Articles as were of course; which Colonel *Digby* saw precisely observ'd as far as concern'd the Towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the Inhabitants. And this success so wrought upon the Spirits, and Temper of that People, that all the Persons of

Barnstable *and* Bediford *yielded to him.*

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eminent disaffection withdrawing themselves, according to their liberty by the Articles; Colonel *Digby*, within very few days, encreased his small Party to the Number of three thousant Foot, and eight hundred Horse; with which he was by Prince *Maurice* order'd to march to *Plymouth*, and to block up that place from making incursions into the Country.

THE loss of all their Garrisons on the North Coast, and despair of succour or relief from any other place, prevailed with the Earl of *Stamford*, and that Committee in *Exeter* (to whom the Earl was not superior) to Treat with the Prince, and thereupon Articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleasant City was deliver'd on the fourth of *September*, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after Prince *Maurice* came thither, into the King's protection, after he had suffer'd no other distress, or impression from the Besiegers, than the being kept from taking the Air without their own Walls, and from being supplied from the Country Markets.

Exeter *deliver'd to the Prince upon Articles*, September 4,

THERE was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new Argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince *Maurice* and the Marquis. It hath been said, that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was General of the Horse of the Western Army, had march'd from *Bristol* the day before the Prince, and had taken *Dorchester*, and *Weymouth*, before his Highness came up to the Army, both considerable places, and the Seats of great Malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a Garrison, but the latter was the best Port Town of that Country, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made some promise of the Government thereof, when it should be taken (of which they made no doubt) to Sr *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, a young Gentleman of that Country, of a fair and plentiful Fortune, and one, who in the opinion of most Men, was like to advance the place by being Governour of it, and to raise Men for the defence of it, without lessening the Army; and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of Officers and Soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince *Maurice*, on the other side, had some other Person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it should fall. In the moment that the Town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sr *Anthony*, hearing that the Marquis came not with the Army, but remain'd some time at *Bristol*, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the King left it; and apply'd himself to the Marquis, who remember'd his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appear'd, that the Town was taken before the King had declared to him, that he should not go to the Army; till

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when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferr'd with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his Honour was concern'd, and on which his heart was set. Sr *Anthony* came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance, "That, "after so much charge he had been put to, in the expecta- "tion of it, and to prepare for it, he might not be exposed "to the Mirth, and Contempt of the Country. It was evident that if he return'd with the Commission from the Marquis (which he was most inclined to give him) both He and the Commission would be affronted, and the Town would not be suffer'd to submit to him. Therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the King, and desire his Favour, as well as his Justice, in giving his Commission to the Person design'd by the Marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would most trouble the Prince; and he offer'd to write himself very earnestly to the King. Besides his desire to gratify the Marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his Majesty's Service, to engage a Person of such a Fortune and Interest, so throughly in his quarrel, as he then believ'd such an obligation must needs do; the flexibility and instability of that Gentleman's nature, not being then understood, or suspected.

He did write, with all the skill and importunity he could use to the King; and writ to the Lord *Falkland*, "To take "Sr *John Colepepper* with him, if he found any aversion in the "King, that they might together discourse, and prevail with "him. But his Majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it; and said, "He would not, to please the Marquis in "an unjust pretence, put a publick disobligation and affront "upon his Nephew. So the express return'd without effect, and the Marquis was as sensibly touched as could be imagin'd; and said, "That he was fallen from all credit with the King, and "was made incapable of doing him farther Service; that his "Fidelity should never be lessen'd towards him (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought) "But since he was be- "come so totally useless to the King, and to his Friends, he "hoped his Majesty would give him leave to retire to his "own House; where, he doubted not, he should be suffer'd "to live privately, and quietly, to pray for the King. The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to pursue any Resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief was no small, from the observation that the Marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity

opportunity to foment those Jealousies and Discontents; and therefore resolv'd (having dispatch'd all things which were incumbent on him at *Bristol*, and used all freedom with the Marquis, for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the King, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new Instances. And at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his Majesty, that he gave a Commission to Sr *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, to be Governour of *Weymouth*; which he was the more easily perswaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the Person, who, he understood, was design'd to that Government. However, the Marquis receiv'd it as a seasonable Act of favour to himself, and in a short time after, came from *Bristol* to *Oxford*, to attend upon his Majesty according to his Command.

The Prosecution of the Siege of Gloucester.

At *Glocester* the business proceeded very slowly: for though the Army encreased wonderfully there, by the access of Forces from all Quarters, yet the King had neither Money nor materials requisite for a Siege, and they in the Town behaved themselves with great Courage and Resolution, and made many sharp and bold Sallies upon the King's Forces, and Did more hurt commonly than they Receiv'd; and many Officers of Name, besides common Soldiers, were slain in the Trenches and Approaches; the Governour leaving nothing unperform'd that became a vigilant Commander. Sometimes, upon the Sallies, the Horse got between the Town and Them, so that many Prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recover'd, they confess'd, "That the Gover-"nour always gave the Party that made the Sally, as much "Wine and strong Water as they desir'd to drink: so that it seems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very observable, that in all the time the King lay there with a very glorious Army, and after the taking of a City of much greater name, there was no one Officer run from the Town to him, nor above three common Soldiers, which is a great Argument, the discipline within was very good. Besides the loss of Men before the Town, both from the Walls, and by sickness (which was not greater than was to be reasonably expected) a very great License broke into the Army both among Officers and Soldiers; the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine, or severity among the Inhabitants. Insomuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thousand Sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the Commissaries for a regular provision; and many Country Men imprison'd by Officers without Warrant, or the least knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good Sums of Money, for their Delinquency; all which brought

brought great clamour upon the Discipline of the Army, and Justice of the Officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the Service they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at *London* unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of *Glocester*. All Overtures of Peace were suppress'd, and the City purely at the Devotion of those who were most Violent, who put one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be passed over. It is remember'd before, that, at the beginning of these distractions, before the King's going into the North, his Majesty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two Houses, made Sr *John Coniers* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; who was a Soldier of very good estimation, and had been the Lieutenant General of his Horse in that last preparation against the *Scots*, and Governour of *Berwick*. The Parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own Creature, and desir'd to have engag'd him in some active Command in their Armies, having the Reputation of one of the best Officers of Horse of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contain'd himself within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of Prisoners, sent to the Tower by the two Houses, and the excessive Fees they paid, yielded him a vast profit; in the administration whereof, he was so impartial, that those Prisoners who suffer'd most for his Majesty, found no more favour or indulgence from him, than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to Confide less in him, than they had done, and that he must engage himself in their Service, or should shortly lose the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be so near those Actions he saw every day committed, and to lie under the scandal of keeping his Majesty's only Fort which he could not apply to his Service, he desired leave from the Houses, "To go into *Holland*, where his Education had been, and his Fortune was, without obliging himself to a time of return. The Proposition was not unwelcome to the Houses; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the Custody of the Tower of *London*, to the Lord Mayor *Pennington*; that the City might see they were trusted to hold their own Reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always justled with their own. This compliment serv'd to a double purpose; for thereby, as they made the City believe they had put themselves under their protection, so they were sure, they had put the City under the power, or under the apprehension of the power of him, who would never forsake them out of an Appetite to Peace.

The Custody of the Tower committed by the two Houses to the Lord Mayor Pennington.

The Earl of *Essex* now declared, that he would himself undertake the relief of *Glocester*, whereas before Sr *William Waller*

Waller was design'd to it, and, whencesoever it proceeded, was return'd to his old full alacrity against the King, and recover'd those Officers and Soldiers again to him, who had absented by his Connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his Numbers increased not so fast as the occasion requir'd: for Colonel *Massey* found means to send many Messengers out of the Town, to advertise the streights he was in, and the time that he should be able to hold out. Their Ordinance of Pressing, though executed with unusual rigour, insomuch as Persons of good Fortunes, who had retired to *London*, that they might be less taken notice of, were seised on, and detain'd in Custody, till they paid so much Money, or procur'd an able Man to go in their places, brought not in such a supply as they expected; and such as were brought in, and deliver'd to the Officers, declared such an averseness to the work to which they were design'd, and such a Peremptory resolution not to Fight, that they only increased their Numbers, not their Strength, and run away upon the first opportunity. In the end, they had no other resort for Men, but to those who had so constantly supplied them with Money, and prevail'd with their true Friends, the City, which they still alarm'd with the King's irreconcilableness to them, to send three or four of their Train'd-band Regiments, or Auxiliaries, to Fight with the Enemy at that distance, rather than to expect him at their own Walls, where they must be assured to see him as soon as *Glocester* should be reduc'd; and then they would be as much perplex'd with the Malignants within, as with the Enemy without the City.

UPON such Arguments, and the power of the Earl of *Essex*, so many Regiments of Horse and Foot as he desired, were assign'd to march with him; and so, towards the end of *August*, he march'd out of *London*; and having appointed a Rendezvous near *Aylesbury*, where he was met by the Lord *Grey*, and other Forces of the Associated Counties, from thence he marched by easy Journeys towards *Glocester*, with an Army of above eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. It would not at first be credited at the Leaguer, that the Earl of *Essex* could be in a condition to attempt such a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the intelligence, and suspected rather that he would give some Alarm to *Oxford*, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the Army from *Glocester*, than that in truth he would venture upon so tedious a march, where he must pass over a Campagne near thirty miles in length, where half the King's Body of Horse would distress, if not destroy his whole Army, and through a Country eaten bare, where he could find neither Provision for Man nor Horse; and if he should, without interruption, be

The Earl of Essex marches out of London to relieve Glocester.

suffer'd to go into *Glocester*, he could neither stay there, nor possibly retire to *London*, without being destroy'd in the Rear by the King's Army, which should nevertheless not engage it self in the hazard of a Battle. Upon these conclusions they proceeded in their works before *Glocester*, their Galleries being near finish'd, and visibly a great want of Ammunition in the Town; yet the Lord *Wilmot* was appointed, with a good Party of Horse, to wait about *Banbury*, and to retire before the Enemy, if he should advance towards *Glocester*, and to give such impediments to their March, as in such a Country might be easy to do; Prince *Rupert* himself staying with the Body of Horse, upon the Hills above *Glocester*, to joyn, if the Earl of *Essex* should be so hardy as to venture.

THE Earl came to *Brackley*, and having there taken in from *Leicester* and *Bedford*, the last recruits upon which he depended, he march'd steadily over all that Campagne, which they thought he fear'd, towards *Glocester*; and though the King's Horse were often within view, and entertain'd him with light Skirmishes, he pursued his direct way; the King's Horse still retiring before him, till the Foot was compelled to raise the Siege, in more disorder and distraction, than might have been expected; and so with less loss, and easier Skirmishes, than can be imagin'd, the Earl, with his Army and Train, march'd to *Glocester*; where he found them reduced to one single Barrel of Powder; and all other Provisions answerable. And it must be confess'd, that Governour gave a stop to the Career of the King's good Success, and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the Parliament had time to recover their broken Forces, and more broken Spirits; and may acknowledge to this rise, the greatness to which they afterwards aspired.

The Siege of Glocester *rais'd.*

THE Earl of *Essex* stayed in that joyful Town (where he was receiv'd with all possible demonstrations of Honour) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the Story, caused all necessary Provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very Quarters in which the King's Army had been sustain'd, and which they conceiv'd to be entirely spent: So sollicitous were the People to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them; which, without a Connivance from the King's Commissaries, could not have been done. All this time, the King lay at *Sudley*-Castle, the House of the Lord *Chandois*, within eight Miles of *Glocester*, watching when that Army would return; which, they conceiv'd, stayed rather out of Despair than Election, in those eaten Quarters; and, to open them a way for their Retreat, his Majesty remov'd to *Esham*, hoping the Earl would choose to go back the same way he came; which, for many reasons,

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was to be desired; and thereupon the Earl march'd to *Tewkesbury*, as if he had no other purpose. The King's Horse though bold, and vigorous upon Action, and Execution, were always less patient of Duty and ill Accommodation than they should be; and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the indisposition that possess'd the whole Army upon this Relief of the Town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the Enemy: So that the Earl of *Essex* was march'd with his whole Army and Train from *Tewkesbury*, four and twenty hours before the King heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having sure guides, reach'd *Cirencester*, before the breaking of the Day; where he found two Regiments of the King's Horse quarter'd securely; all which by the negligence of the Officers (a common and Fatal Crime throughout the War, on the King's part) he surprised, to the number of above three hundred; and which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of Provisions, prepared, by the King's Commissaries, for the Army before *Gloucester*, and which they neglected to remove after the Siege was raised, and so most sottishly left it for the Relief of the Enemy, far more apprehensive of Hunger than of the Sword; and indeed this wonderful supply strangely exalted their Spirits, as sent by the special care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

The Earl of Essex in his return seises upon Cirencester.

From hence the Earl, having no farther apprehension of the King's Horse, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open Campagne, and being at the least twenty Miles before him, by easy marches, that his sick and wearied Soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and enclosed County of North *Wiltshire*, his direct way to *London*. As soon as the King had sure notice which way the Enemy was gone, he endeavour'd, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the supine negligence of those he trusted, had robbed him of; and Himself, with matchless industry, taking care to lead up the Foot, Prince *Rupert*, with near five thousand Horse, march'd Day and Night over the Hills, to get between *London* and the Enemy before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep Countries, in which they were engaged between narrow Lanes, and to entertain them with Skirmishes till the whole Army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish; for when the Van of the Enemy's Army had almost march'd over *Axborne* Chase, intending that Night to have reach'd *Newbury*, Prince *Rupert*, beyond their fear or expectation, appear'd with a strong Body of Horse so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to

receive him, he Charged their Rear, and Routed them with good Execution; and though the Enemy perform'd the Parts of good Men, and applied themselves more dexterously to the relief of each other, than on so suddain and unlook'd for an occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many Men, they were glad to shorten their Journey, and the Night coming on, took up their Quarters at *Hungerford*.

In this Conflict, which was very sharp for an hour or two, many fell of the Enemy, and of the King's Party none of Name, but the Marquis of *Vieu Ville*, a Gallant Gentleman of the *French* Nation, who had attended the Queen out of *Holland*, and put himself as a Voluntier upon this Action, into the Lord *Jermyn*'s Regiment. There were hurt many Officers, and amongst those the Lord *Jermyn* receiv'd a shot in his Arm with a Pistol, owing the preservation of his Life from other shots, to the excellent temper of his Armour; and the Lord *Digby* a strange hurt in the face, a Pistol being discharged at so near a distance upon him, that the Powder fetch'd much blood from his face, and for the present blinded him, without farther mischief; by which it was concluded, that the Bullet had dropped out before the Pistol was discharg'd: And may be reckon'd among one of those escapes, of which that Gallant Person hath passed a greater number, in the course of his Life, than any Man I know.

By this Expedition of Prince *Rupert*, the Enemy was forced to such delay, that the King came up with his Foot and Train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the Licence which many Officers and Soldiers took whilst the King lay at *Esham*, were much lessen'd, being above two thousand fewer, than when he raised his Siege from *Glocester*. And when the Earl, the next day, advanced from *Hungerford*, hoping to recover *Newbury*, which Prince *Rupert* with his Horse would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two Miles of the Town, he found the King possess'd of it. For his Majesty, with his whole Army, was come thither two hours before; this put him to a necessity of staying upon the Field that night; it being now the seventeenth day of *September*.

It was now thought by many, that the King had recover'd whatsoever had been lost by former Oversights, Omissions, or Neglects, and that by the destroying the Army which had reliev'd *Glocester*, he should be fully recompensed for being disappointed of that Purchase. He seem'd to be possess'd of all advantages to be desired, a good Town to refresh his Men in, whilst the Enemy lodged in the Field, his own Quarters to friend, and his Garrison of *Wallingford* at hand, and *Oxford* it self within distance for supply of whatsoever should be wanting;

wanting; when the Enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the Prince had Attack'd them, the day before, had ſtood in their Arms in a Country where they could not find Victual. So that it was conceiv'd, that it was in the King's Power, whether he would Fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable diſadvantages, who muſt make their way through, or ſtarve; and this was ſo fully underſtood, that it was reſolv'd over night, not to engage in Battle, but upon ſuch grounds as ſhould give an Aſſurance of Victory. But, contrary to this reſolution, when the Earl of *Eſſex* had, with excellent Conduct, drawn out his Army in Battalia, upon a Hill called *Bigg*'s-Hill, within leſs than a Mile of the Town, and order'd his Men in all places to the beſt advantage, by the precipitate Courage of ſome young Officers, who had good Commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the Courage of the Enemy, ſtrong Parties became ſucceſſively ſo far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a Battle, and to give the Enemy, at leaſt, an equal game to play.

The Battle of Newbury.

IT was diſputed, on all parts, with great Fierceneſs and Courage; the Enemy preſerving good Order, and ſtanding rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expoſe themſelves to thoſe diſadvantages, which any motion would have offer'd to the Aſſailants. The King's Horſe, with a kind of contempt of the Enemy, Charged with wonderful boldneſs, upon all grounds of inequality; and were ſo far too hard for the Troops of the other ſide, that they Routed them in moſt places, till they had left the greateſt part of their Foot without any guard at all of Horſe. But then the Foot behaved themſelves admirably on the Enemies part, and gave their ſcatter'd Horſe time to Rally, and were ready to aſſiſt and ſecure them upon all occaſions. The *London* Train'd-bands, and Auxiliary Regiments (of whoſe inexperience of danger, or any kind of Service, beyond the eaſy practice of their Poſtures in the Artillery Garden, Men had till then too cheap an eſtimation) behaved themſelves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preſervation of that Army that day. For they ſtood as a Bulwark and Rampire to defend the reſt; and when their wings of Horſe were ſcatter'd, and diſperſed, kept their ground ſo ſteadily, that, though Prince *Rupert* himſelf led up the choice Horſe to Charge them, and endured their ſtorm of ſmall ſhot, he could make no impreſſion upon their ſtand of Pikes; but was forced to wheel about: of ſo Soveraign benefit and uſe, is that readineſs, order, and dexterity in the uſe of their Arms, which hath been ſo much neglected.

IT was fought all that day without any ſuch notable turn,

as that either Party could think they had much the better. For though the King's Horſe made the Enemies often give ground, yet the Foot were ſo immoveable, that little was gotten by the other; and the firſt entrance into the Battle was ſo ſuddain, and without Order, that, during the whole day, no uſe was made of the King's Cannon, though that of the Enemy was placed ſo unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the King's Party, both Horſe and Foot. The night parted them, when nothing elſe could; and each Party had then time to revolve the overſights of the day. The Enemy had fared at leaſt as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themſelves in order of marching, having an obligation in neceſſity to gain ſome place, in which they might eat and ſleep. On the King's ſide there was not that caution which ſhould have been the day before, and though the Number of the ſlain was not ſo great, as, in ſo hot a day, might have been look'd for; yet very many Officers and Gentlemen were hurt: ſo that they rather choſe to take advantage of the Enemies motion, than to charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, call'd off the Night before, when they had recover'd a Poſt, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the Adverſary. The Earl of *Eſſex* finding his way open, purſued his main deſign of returning to *London*, and took that way by *Newbury*, which led towards *Reading*; which Prince *Rupert* obſerving, ſuffer'd him, without interruption or diſturbance, to paſs, till his whole Army was enter'd into the narrow Lanes; and then with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and one thouſand Muſqueteers, follow'd his rear with ſo good effect, that he put them into great diſorder, and killed many, and took many Priſoners. However the Earl, with the groſs of his Army, and all his Cannon, got ſafe into *Reading*; and, after a night or two ſpent there to refreſh and reſt his Men, he moved in a ſlow and orderly march to *London*, leaving *Reading* to the King's Forces; which were preſently poſſeſs'd by Sr *Jacob Aſhley*, with three thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, and made again a Garriſon for the King: his Majeſty and Prince *Rupert*, with the remainder of the Army, retiring to *Oxford*, and leaving a Garriſon under the Command of Colonel *Boys* in *Donnington* Caſtle (a Houſe of *John Packer*'s, but more famous for having been the Seat of *Geoffery Chaucer*, within a Mile of *Newbury*) to Command the great Road, through which the Weſtern Trade was driven to *London*.

The Earl of Eſſex gets into Reading; thence to London.

At this time Sr *William Waller* was at *Windſor*, with above two thouſand Horſe, and as Many Foot; as unconcern'd for what might befall the Earl of *Eſſex*, as the Earl had formerly been on His behalf at *Roundway* Hill: otherwiſe, if he had advanced

advanced upon the King to *Newbury* (which was not above twenty Miles) when the Earl was on the other side, the King had been in great danger of an utter Defeat; and the apprehension of this, was the reason, or was afterward, pretended to be, for the hasty engagement in Battle.

THE Earl of *Essex* was receiv'd at *London*, with all imaginable demonstrations of Affection, and Reverence; Publick, and Solemn Thanksgiving was appointed for his Victory; for such they made no scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the Action was perform'd by him with incomparable Conduct and Courage; in every part whereof, very much was to be imputed to his own Personal Virtue; and it may be well reckon'd among the most Soldierly Actions of this unhappy War. For he did the business he undertook, and, after the Relief of *Gloucester*, his next care was to retire with his Army to *London*; which, considering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less loss than could be expected; on the other hand, the King was not without signs of a Victory. He had follow'd, and compell'd the Enemy to Fight, by overtaking him, when he desir'd to avoid it. He had the spoil of the Field, and pursued the Enemy the next day after the Battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loss; and, which seem'd to Crown the Work, fixed a Garrison again at *Reading*, and thereby streighten'd their Quarters as much as they were in the beginning of the year; his own being enlarged by the almost entire Conquest of the West, and his Army much stronger, in Horse and Foot, than when he first took the Field. On which side soever the Marks and publick Ensigns of Victory appear'd most conspicuous, certain it is, that according to the unequal fate, that attended all Skirmishes and Conflicts with such an Adversary, the loss on the King's side was in Weight much more considerable, and penetrating; for whilst some obscure, unheard of Colonel or Officer, was missing on the Enemies side, and some Citizen's Wife bewailed the loss of her Husband, there were on the other, above twenty Officers of the Field, and Persons of Honour, and publick Name slain upon the place, and more of the same Quality hurt.

The Earl of Sunderland slain in the Battle:

HERE fell the Earl of *Sunderland*, a Lord of great Fortune, tender years (being not above three and twenty years of Age) and an early Judgment; who, having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Person, under the obligation of Honour; and putting himself that day in the King's Troop a Voluntier, before they came to charge, was taken away by a Cannon Bullet.

and the Earl of Carnarvon; His Character.

THIS day also fell the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who, after he had Charged, and Routed a Body of the Enemies Horse, coming

coming carelesly back by some of the scatter'd Troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the Body with a Sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a Person, with whose great Parts and Virtue the World was not enough acquainted. Before the War, though his Education was adorn'd by Travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more Nations, than our Common Travellers use to visit (for he had, after the view of *Spain*, *France*, and most parts of *Italy*, spent some time in *Turky*, and those Eastern Countries) he seem'd to be wholly delighted with those looser Exercises of pleasure, Hunting, Hawking, and the like; in which the Nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the Troubles begun, having the Command of the first or second Regiment of Horse, that was raised for the King's Service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a Soldier; no Man more diligently Obeying, or more dexterously Commanding; for he was not only of a very keen Courage in the exposing his Person, but an excellent Discerner and Pursuer of advantage upon his Enemy. He had a Mind and Understanding very present in the Article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those Infirmities, and that License, which he had formerly indulged to himself, he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a Soldier. He was a great lover of Justice, and practised it then most deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and so strict in the observation of his word, and promise, as a Commander, that he could not be perswaded to stay in the West, when he found it not in his power to perform the Agreement he had made with *Dorchester*, and *Weymouth*. If he had liv'd, he would have prov'd a great Ornament to that Profession, and an excellent Soldier; and by his death the King found a sensible weakness in his Army.

And the Lord Viscount Falkland; His Character.

But I must here take leave a little longer to discontinue this Narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent, and extraordinary Persons, and transmitting their great Virtues, for the imitation of Posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of History, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten, and no success or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy Battle, was slain the Lord Viscount *Falkland*; a Person of such prodigious parts of Learning and Knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in Conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to Mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of Life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed Civil War, than that single Loss, it must be most infamous, and execrable to all Posterity.

Turpe

Turpe mori, poſt te, ſolo non poſſe dolore.

BEFORE this Parliament, his condition of life was ſo happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of Age, he was Maſter of a Noble Fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a Grandfather, without paſſing through his Father or Mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented, to find themſelves paſſed by in the deſcent. His Education for ſome years had been in *Ireland*, where his Father was Lord Deputy; ſo that, when he return'd into *England*, to the poſſeſſion of his Fortune, he was unintangled with any Acquaintance or Friends, which uſually grow up by the cuſtom of Converſation; and therefore was to make a pure Election of his Company; which he choſe by other Rules than were preſcribed to the young Nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted ſome few to his Friendſhip for the agreeableneſs of their Natures, and their undoubted Affection to him, that his Familiarity and Friendſhip, for the moſt part, was with Men of the moſt eminent and ſublime Parts, and of untouch'd Reputation in point of Integrity; and ſuch Men had a Title to his Boſome.

HE was a great Cheriſher of Wit, and Fancy, and good Parts, in any Man; and, if he found them clouded with Poverty or Want, a moſt liberal and bountiful Patron towards them, even above his Fortune; of which, in thoſe adminiſtrations, he was ſuch a Diſpenſer, as, if he had been truſted with it to ſuch Uſes, and if there had been the leaſt of Vice in his expence, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was conſtant and pertinacious in whatſoever he reſolv'd to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were neceſſary to that end. And therefore having once reſolv'd not to ſee *London*, which he lov'd above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek Tongue, he went to his own Houſe in the Country, and purſued it with that indefatigable Induſtry, that it will not be believ'd in how ſhort a time he was Maſter of it, and accurately read all the Greek Hiſtorians.

IN this time, his Houſe being within little more than ten Miles of *Oxford*, he contracted Familiarity and Friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate Men of that Univerſity; who found ſuch an immenſneſs of Wit, and ſuch a ſolidity of Judgment in him, ſo infinite a Fancy, bound in by a moſt Logical ratiocination, ſuch a vaſt Knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet ſuch an exceſſive Humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently reſorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College ſituated in a purer Air; ſo that his Houſe

House was a University in a less Volume; whither they came not so much for Repose as Study; and to examine and refine those grosser Propositions, which lazineſs and consent made current in vulgar Conversation.

MANY attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his Mother (who was a Lady of another perswasion in Religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allay'd with the passion and infirmities of her own Sex) to pervert him in his Piety to the Church of *England*, and to reconcile him to that of *Rome*; which they prosecuted with the more Confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that Religion, whether Priests, or Laicks; having diligently studied the Controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek, and Latin Fathers, and having a Memory so stupendious, that he remember'd on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an Enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of Religion, that in all those disputations with Priests, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to manifest all possible Civility to their Persons, and estimation of their Parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this Charity towards them was much lessen'd, and any Correspondence with them quite declin'd, when, by sinister Arts, they had corrupted his two younger Brothers, being both Children, and stolen them from his House, and Transported them beyond Seas, and perverted his Sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the Principal positions of that Religion, with that sharpness of Style, and full Weight of Reason, that the Church is deprived of great Jewels in the concealment of them, and that they were not publish'd to the World.

HE was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar Minds, and was guilty of no other Ambition than of Knowledge, and to be reputed a Lover of all good Men; and that made him too much a contemner of those Arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human Affairs. In the last short Parliament, he was a Burgess in the House of Commons; and, from the Debates which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the Kingdom; or that the Kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that Convention, he harbour'd, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the Court, towards

which

which he was not before immoderately inclined; his Father having wasted a full Fortune there, in those Offices and Employments by which other Men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same place, and, in the beginning of it, declar'd himself very sharply and severely against those Exorbitances, which had been most grievous to the State; for he was so rigid an observer of establish'd Laws and Rules, that he could not endure the least breach, or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intollerable as the presumption of Ministers of State to break positive Rules, for reasons of State; or Judges to transgress known Laws, upon the Title of Conveniency, or Necessity; which made him so severe against the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Finch*, contrary to his Natural gentleness, and temper: insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from Revenge, as it was from Pride, thought that the sharpness to the Former, might proceed from the Memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his Father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both Cases was only misled by the Authority of those, who, he believ'd, understood the Laws perfectly; of which, himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was then scarce controverted, had been true, "That an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental Laws "of the Kingdom was Treason, a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own Judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several Charges.

THE great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those Persons who appear'd most active, especially of Mr *Hambden*, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the Peace of the Kingdom; and though he differ'd from them commonly in conclusion, he believ'd long their purposes were honest. When he grew better inform'd what was Law, and discern'd in them a desire to controul that Law by a Vote of one, or both Houses, no Man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse Party more trouble by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was, by degrees, look'd upon as an Advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those Addresses, and even those Invitations which he was obliged almost by Civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to Preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court, and to the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent, and divert the King's or Queen's Favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the King sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent Comportment in those Councils, which his Majesty

Majeſty graciouſly term'd "Doing him Service, his Anſwers were more negligent, and leſs ſatisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his Actions ſhould be Juſt, not that they ſhould be Acceptable, and that his Majeſty ſhould think that they proceeded only from the impulſion of Conſcience, without any ſympathy in his Affections; which from a Stoical and Sullen Nature, might not have been miſinterpreted; yet, from a Perſon of ſo perfect a habit of generous, and obſequious Complyance with all good Men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordidinary averſneſs to his Service: ſo that he took more pains, and more forced his Nature to Actions unagreeable, and unpleaſant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than moſt Men have done to procure an Office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty, could have kept him from receiving a Teſtimony of the King's Grace and Truſt, at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averſe from receiving Publick Employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's Perſon, and had before uſed ſome ſmall endeavour to be recommended to him for a Forreign Negotiation, and had once a deſire to be ſent Embaſſadour into *France*; but he abhorr'd an imagination or doubt ſhould ſink into the thoughts of any Man, that in the diſcharge of his truſt and duty in Parliament, he had any biaſs to the Court, or that the King himſelf ſhould apprehend, that he look'd for a reward for being Honeſt.

For this reaſon, when he heard it firſt whiſper'd, "That "the King had a purpoſe to make him a Privy Counſellor, for which there was, in the beginning, no other ground, but becauſe he was known ſufficient (*haud ſemper errat fama, aliquando & eligit*) he reſolv'd to decline it; and at laſt ſuffefer'd himſelf only to be overruled, by the advice and perſwaſions of his Friends, to ſubmit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was poſitive to refuſe it; declaring to his Friends, "That "he was moſt unfit for it, and that he muſt either do that "which would be great diſquiet to his own Nature, or leave "that undone which was moſt neceſſary to be done by one "that was Honour'd with that place; for the moſt juſt and "honeſt Men did, every day, that which he could not give "himſelf leave to do. And indeed he was ſo exact, and ſtrict an obſerver of Juſtice and Truth, that he believ'd thoſe neceſſary condeſcenſions and applications to the weakneſs of other Men, and thoſe Arts and Inſinuations which are neceſſary for diſcoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in him a declenſion from his own rules of life; though he acknowledg'd them fit, and abſolutely neceſſary to be practiced in thoſe Employments.

ployments. He was, in truth, so precise in the practick principles he prescrib'd Himself (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived *in Republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli.*

TWO reasons prevail'd with him to receive the Seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, The consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's affairs, and that Men would have believ'd, that he had refus'd so great an Honour and Trust, because he must have been with it oblig'd to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of Conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him, before other Men, especially because he thought him more honest than other Men. The other was, Lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing Sr *Harry Vane*, whom they looked upon as remov'd for having done them those Offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous Actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to, and approv'd the Justice upon Sr *Harry Vane*, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most Men in the Religious observation of a Trust; the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

FOR these reasons, he submitted to the King's Command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that Office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, Employing of Spies, or giving any countenance, or entertainment to them. I do not mean such Emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the Enemies Camp, and bring Intelligence of their Number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those, who by communication of Guilt, or dissimulation of Manners, wind themselves into such Trusts and Secrets, as enable them to make discoveries. The other, The Liberty of opening Letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "Such Instruments must be void of all Ingenuity, "and common honesty, before they could be of use; and af- "terwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no "single preservation could be worth so general a wound, and "corruption

"corruption of human society, as the cherishing such Per-"sons would carry with it. The last, he thought "such a "violation of the Law of Nature, that no qualification by "Office could justify him in the trespass; and though he was convinced by the necessity, and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessary to be practised, he found means to put it off from himself; whilst he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission; so unwilling he was to resign any part of good Nature to an obligation in his Office.

In all other particulars he filled his place with great sufficiency, being well versed in Languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his Integrity, and his high disdain of any Bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit*. Some sharp expressions he used against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and his concurring in the first Bill to take away the Votes of Bishops in the House of Peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish, "That he was no friend to "the Church, and the establish'd Government of it; and troubled his very Friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to Answer the Allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the Arch-Bishop; and having observ'd his Passion, when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or other indisposition had possess'd him, did wish him less intangled and engaged in the business of the Court, or State: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great Learning, and confessed Integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions which implied a disesteem of the Arch-Bishop, or at least an acknowledgment of his Infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his Soul.

The giving his consent to the first Bill for the displacing the Bishops, did proceed from two grounds: The first, His not understanding Then the Original of their Right and Suffrage there: the other, An opinion, that the combination against the whole Government of the Church by Bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermedling in Secular Affairs, would not preserve the Order. And he was perswaded to this by the profession of many Persons of Honour, who declared, "They did "desire the one, and would not then press the other; which, in that particular, misled many Men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their Intentions,

ons, than he before ſuſpected, with great frankneſs he oppoſed the ſecond Bill that was preferr'd for that purpoſe; and had without ſcruple, the order it ſelf in perfect reverence; and thought too great Encouragement could not poſſibly be given to Learning, nor too great Rewards to Learned Men. He was never, in the leaſt degree, ſwayed or moved by the objections which were made againſt that Government in the Church (holding them moſt ridiculous) or affected to the other, which thoſe Men fancied to themſelves.

He had a Courage of the moſt clear and keen temper, and ſo far from fear, that he ſeem'd not without ſome Appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occaſion of Action, he always engaged his Perſon in thoſe Troops which he thought, by the forwardneſs of the Commanders, to be moſt like to be fartheſt engaged; and in all ſuch Encounters, he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulneſs, without at all affecting the execution that uſually attended them; in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by reſiſtance, made neceſſary: inſomuch that at *Edge-hill*, when the Enemy was routed, he was like to have incurr'd great Peril, by interpoſing to ſave thoſe who had thrown away their Arms, and againſt whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: ſo that a Man might think, he came into the Field chiefly out of Curioſity to ſee the face of Danger, and Charity to prevent the ſhedding of Blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profeſſion of a Soldier; and ſhortly after he came to his Fortune, before he was of Age, he went into the Low Countries, with a reſolution of procuring Command, and to give himſelf up to it; from which he was diverted by the compleat inactivity of that Summer: So he return'd into *England*, and ſhortly after enter'd upon that vehement courſe of Study we mention'd before, till the firſt Alarm from the North; then again he made ready for the Field, and though he receiv'd ſome repulſe in the Command of a Troop of Horſe, of which he had a promiſe, he went a Voluntier with the Earl of *Eſſex*.

From the Entrance into this unnatural War, his natural cheerfulneſs and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of ſadneſs, and dejection of Spirit ſtole upon him, which he had never been uſed to: yet being one of thoſe who believ'd that one Battle would end all differences, and that there would be ſo great a victory on one Side, that the other would be compelled to ſubmit to any conditions from the Victor (which ſuppoſition and concluſion generally ſunk into the minds of moſt Men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he reſiſted thoſe indiſpoſitions,

diſpoſitions, *& in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat.* But after the King's return from *Brentford*, and the furious reſolution of the two Houſes not to admit any Treaty for Peace, thoſe indiſpoſitions, which had before touch'd him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulneſs; and He, who had been ſo exactly eaſy, and affable to all Men, that his face and countenance was always preſent, and vacant to his Company, and held any cloudineſs, and leſs pleaſantneſs of the viſage, a kind of rudeneſs or incivility, became, on a ſuddain, leſs communicable; and thence, very ſad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the Spleen. In his Cloaths and Habit, which he had minded before always with more neatneſs, and induſtry, and expence, than is uſual to ſo great a Soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of Suitors, and the neceſſary, or caſual Addreſſes to his place, ſo quick, and ſharp, and ſevere, that there wanted not ſome Men (ſtrangers to his nature and diſpoſition) who believ'd him proud and imperious; from which no mortal Man was ever more free.

It is true, that as he was of a moſt incomparable gentleneſs, application, and even ſubmiſſion to good, and worthy, and entire Men, ſo he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his Place (which objected him to another converſation, and intermixture, than his own election would have done) *adverſus malos injucundus*; and was ſo ill a diſſembler of his diſlike, and diſinclination to ill Men, that it was not poſſible for ſuch not to diſcern it. There was once, in the Houſe of Commons, ſuch a declared acceptation of the good Service an eminent Member had done to Them, and, as they ſaid, to the whole Kingdom, that it was moved, he being preſent, "That the Speaker might, in the name of the "whole Houſe, give him thanks; and then, that every Mem-"ber might, as a teſtimony of his particular acknowledg-"ment, ſtir or move his hat towards him; the which (though not order'd) when very many did, the Lord *Falkland* (who believ'd the Service it ſelf not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous Perſon could not have ſtooped to it for any recompence) inſtead of moving his hat, ſtretched both his Arms out, and clapſed his hands together upon the Crown of his hat, and held it cloſe down to his head; that all Men might ſee, how odious that flattery was to him, and that very approbation of the Perſon, though at that time moſt popular.

When there was any overture, or hope of Peace, he would be more erect, and vigorous, and exceedingly ſollicitous to preſs any thing which he thought might promote it; and ſitting among his Friends, often, after a deep ſilence, and

frequent

frequent ſighs, would, with a ſhrill and ſad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*; and would paſſionately profeſs, "That "the very agony of the War, and the view of the calamities "and deſolation the Kingdom did, and muſt endure, took "his ſleep from him, and would ſhortly break his heart. This made ſome think, or pretend to think, "That he was ſo much "enamoured on Peace, that he would have been glad the "King ſhould have bought it at any price; which was a moſt unreaſonable Calumny. As if a Man that was himſelf the moſt punctual, and preciſe in every circumſtance that might reflect upon Conſcience, or Honour, could have wiſh'd the King to have committed a treſpaſs againſt either. And yet this ſenſeleſs ſcandal made ſome impreſſion upon him, or at leaſt he uſed it for an excuſe of the daringneſs of his Spirit; for at the Leaguer before *Gloceſter*, when his Friend paſſionately reprehended him for expoſing his Perſon unneceſſarily to danger (for he delighted to viſit the Trenches, and neareſt approaches, and to diſcover what the Enemy did) as being ſo much beſide the duty of his place, that it might be underſtood rather to be againſt it, he would ſay merrily, "That his "Office could not take away the Privileges of his Age; and "that a Secretary in War might be preſent at the greateſt ſe-"cret of danger; but withal alledg'd ſeriouſly, "That it con-"cern'd Him to be more active in enterpriſes of hazard, than "other Men; that all might ſee, that his impatiency for Peace "proceeded not from puſillanimity, or fear to adventure his "own Perſon.

In the morning before the Battle, as always upon Action, he was very chearful, and put himſelf into the firſt rank of the Lord *Byron*'s Regiment, then advancing upon the Enemy, who had lined the Hedges on both ſides with Muſqueteers; from whence he was ſhot with a Muſquet, in the lower part of the Belly, and in the inſtant falling from his Horſe, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was ſome hope he might have been a Priſoner; though his neareſt Friends, who knew his temper, receiv'd ſmall comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young Man, in the four and thirtieth year of his Age, having ſo much diſpatch'd the true buſineſs of life, that the Eldeſt rarely attain to that immenſe Knowledge, and the Youngeſt enter not into the world with more Innocency: Whoſoever leads ſuch a life, needs be the leſs anxious upon how ſhort warning it is taken from him.

The Earl of Eſſex returns to London.

Now to go on with the Courſe of our Hiſtory: the Earl of *Eſſex* enter'd into *London* on the 25th of *September* (a day we ſhall have occaſion to remember upon another ſolemnity) and was the next day viſited, at *Eſſex* Houſe, by the Speaker

and the whole House of Commons, who declared to him, "That they came to congratulate his notable Success, and to "render the thanks of the Kingdom to him, for his incompa- "rable Conduct and Courage; and that they had caused their "acknowledgment to be enter'd in their Journal Book, as a "monument and record of his Virtue, and their Gratitude. A day or two after, solemn Thanks were render'd to those Members of both Houses who had Command in the Army, and some extraordinary signification of respect deriv'd to the Superior Officers, throughout the Army. A gaudy Letter of kindness and value, was sent to Colonel *Massy*, and, which made the Letter of more value, a thousand Pounds was sent him as a gratuity or present for his Service, over and above what was due to him for his Pay, and some larges to all the Inferior Officers, and a Months Pay, over and above their Arrears, to the Soldiers of that Garrison.

Lest the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy between the Earl of *Essex* and Sr *William Waller*, might administer hope or suspicion, that some division might grow amongst themselves, and, from thence, that the King might receive any advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publish, a reconciliation between them; in which Sr *William* was all submission and humility, and his Excellence full of grace and courtesy. The Passion and Animosity which difference of opinion had produced between any Members, was totally laid aside and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a People newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their Brethren the *Scots*; of whose concurrence and assistance they were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation; of which, they had not before a full confidence.

Though the King's Army had all the Trophies of Victory, in, and after this Battle, as is before related (It kept the Field, and had the spoil of it; It took some Pieces of the Enemies Cannon, who march'd off in the Night, and were pursued with some considerable loss beyond *Reading*, where a Garrison was again placed for his Majesty, under the Command of Sr *Jacob Ashley*, Major General of the Army, an excellent Officer; so that the Parliament was in so much a worse State than they were in the Spring, as the loss of *Bristol*, and most of the West amounted to; for by this time *Exeter* was likewise reduced by Prince *Maurice*) yet notwithstanding all this, the Earl of *Essex*, as is said before, was receiv'd at *London* with all imaginable Gratulation and Triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great, Soldierly, and notable Courage, and the Heart

and

and Spirit of the Parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for Peace quite abated.

The Temper of the Army, and the Court at Oxford, *upon the return of the King thither.*

On the contrary, upon the King's return to *Oxford*, there appear'd nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret Mutiny in the Army, Anger and Jealousy among the Officers, every one accusing another of want of Courage and Conduct in the Actions of the Field; and they who were not of the Army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights. The Siege of *Gloucester* was not believ'd to have been well Conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the Earl of *Essex* in all the march over so open a Country, was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the want of Courage in *Wilmot*; whom Prince *Rupert* did in no degree favour: nor was the Prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the Earl of *Essex*, after all the Horse was joyn'd, to march down a long steep Hill into the Vale of *Gloucester*, without any disturbance; and that the whole Army, when it was found necessary to quit the Siege, had not been brought to Fight in that Vale, and at some distance from the Town, when the King's Men were fresh, and the other Side tired with so long a March.

But then all Men renew'd their Execrations against those who advised the sitting down before *Gloucester*; the Officers, who had been present, and consenting to all the Counsels, disclaiming, as much as any, the whole design; and all conspired to lay the whole reproach upon the Master of the Rolls, who spoke most in those Debates, and was not at all gracious to the Soldiers; and this Clamour against that Engagement was so Popular and Universal, that no Man took upon himself to speak in Defence of it; though, besides the Reasons which have been formerly alledged for it, what happen'd in this last Action, in the Relief of *Gloucester*, might well seem to justify it; for since it appear'd, that the City was so much United to the Parliament, that it supply'd their Army with such a Body of their Train'd-bands (without which it could never have march'd) with what success could his Majesty have approach'd *London*, after the taking of *Bristol*, with his harrassed Army? and would not the whole Body of the Train'd-bands have defended That, when so considerable a part of them could be perswaded to undertake a March of two hundred Miles? for less they did not March, from the time they went out, to that in which they return'd. But no reason could ever Convert those who look'd upon that Undertaking at *Gloucester*, as the ruine of the King's Affairs.

THE Temper of the Court was no better than that of the Army: And the King was ſo much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his Condition required. They who had forborn to be importunate for Honours, or Offices, becauſe they knew they ſhould not be able to obtain their deſires from the King, made their Modeſty an argument of their Merit to the Queen; and aſſured Her, "That they had for-"born to ask any thing in her abſence, becauſe they had al-"ways reſolv'd never to receive any thing, but by Her bounty. Many pretended former Promiſes and Engagements for Creations of Honour, aſſoon as any thing ſhould be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their Majeſties had given themſelves eaſe from preſent importunities, by making promiſes, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, reſolv'd, ſhould not be ſoon: and now there was no ſooner mention of conferring Honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the reſt who had that promiſe, were very importunate and clamorous for the ſame Juſtice. By this means they were, upon the matter, compell'd to gratify ſome Men to whom they bore no good will; and ſo, they who received the Favours were no more pleaſed, than they were who conferr'd them; and they who were without Ambition before, when they ſaw Honours and Offices conferr'd upon Men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themſelves, thought their Service undervalued if they did not receive the ſame reward. And it was a uſual Prologue to ſuits of that kind, "That they did not "deſire it out of their own Ambition, but purely to ſatisfy "their Friends; who withdrew their kindneſs from them, out "of an opinion that they had offended the King, who would "not otherwiſe put ſo great a difference between Them and "other Men. Whence it may be obſerv'd, that Princes ſhould not confer Publick Rewards in a ſeaſon when they can only gratify Few, and ſo many ſtand upon the ſame Level in pretences, that they are apt to reſent the preferring of One, as an affront and diſobligation to the Reſt.

THERE was no particular that gave the King more unquietneſs, than the pretence of my Lord of *Holland*. The three Earls I before mention'd, had attended the King before he roſe from *Gloceſter*, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had Charged the Enemy, in the King's Regiment of Horſe, at the Battle of *Newbury*, very bravely; and had behaved themſelves, throughout, very well; and return'd to *Oxford* with his Majeſty; and now expected to be well look'd upon: and the other Two had no cauſe to complain; the King, upon all occaſions, ſpoke very graciouſly to them, and particularly ſent the Chancellor of the Exchequer

to

to the Earl of *Clare*, "That he had liberty, and might be pre-"ſent at the Councils of War; where the Peers uſually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and ſuch things as concern'd the Country, were uſually debated. But the Earl of *Holland* was not pleaſed; he thought nothing of former Miſcarriages ought to be remember'd; that all thoſe were cancelled by the Merit of coming to the King now, and bringing ſuch conſiderable Perſons with him, and diſpoſing others to follow; and expected upon his firſt appearance, to have had his Key reſtored to him; to have been in the ſame Condition he was in the Bed-Chamber, and in the Council, and in the King's Grace and Countenance; of all which he had aſſurance from the Queen before he came, at leaſt from Mr *Jermyn*, who, no doubt, did exceed his Commiſſion; and the very deferring of this, was grievous to him; and the more, becauſe he found the ſame diſreſpect from all others, as he had done when he came firſt to *Oxford*.

He came frequently in the afternoon to *Merton* College, where the Queen lay, and where the King was for the moſt part at that time of the day, and both their Majeſties look'd well upon him, and ſpoke to him in publick as occaſion was adminiſter'd. Sometimes the King went aſide with him to the Window, in the ſame Room, where they ſpoke a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the Queen did often in the ſame manner; and Mr *Jermyn*, who was about this time made a Baron, was very frequently with him. The King was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former Reſolutions. But the Queen, whether from her inclination, or promiſe, or diſlike of moſt other People, who were not ſo good Courtiers (as ſure none was equal to him in that Function and Myſtery) did in truth heartily deſire, that he might receive ſatisfaction in all things, according to his own deſire; and would have truſted him Her ſelf as much as formerly. Yet ſhe complied ſo far with the King's averſion, that ſhe yet forbore to preſs it, or to own the encouragement ſhe had given him; nor had ſhe a willingneſs to oppoſe ſo great a torrent of prejudice, as ſhe ſaw evidently run againſt him; ſo that ſhe appear'd not to wiſh, what without doubt ſhe would have been very glad of. However the Marquis of *Hertford* was now come to *Oxford*, and expected the performance of the King's promiſe to him, and to be admitted into the Office of Groom of the Stole; of which the King took not the leaſt notice to him ſince his return; which made it the more ſuſpected, that the intention was to readmit the Old Officer; and this apprehenſion was confirm'd by the Queen's looking leſs

graciously upon the Marquis, than she had used to do. And it is true, though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks, she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without her Consent, and as it crossed what she design'd; and much desir'd that the Marquis could have been perswaded to have released it; towards which the Lord *Jermyn*, with some passion spoke to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "How unreasonable a thing "it was for the Marquis, who was Master of so great a For- "tune, to affect such a low Preferment (as he term'd it) "and "how generous a thing it would be to quit his pretence: but he quickly discover'd him not to be willing to engage in any such Proposition. All this wonderfully indispos'd the other Lords, and the Persons of Quality in the Town, who did not wish to see the Court just fill'd as it had been, or the Queen her self possess'd of so absolute a Power, as she had been formerly; though they look'd upon her Person with all Duty and Reverence.

The Earl of *Holland* did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his cunning and experience; nor had ever made the least Apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done; nor appear'd to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his Majesty himself declar'd to those who he knew were his Friends; and said, "That he behaved himself with the "same Confidence, and Assurance, as he had done when he "was most in his Favour; and that he retain'd still the old "Artifice at Court, to be seen to whisper in the King's and "Queen's Ear, by which People thought there was some se- "cret, when the matter of those whispers was nothing but "what might be said in the open Court; and that the Earl of "*Holland* had several times seem'd to desire to say somewhat "in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the "Company to the end or corner of the Room, and, at first, "expected and apprehended, that he would say somewhat in "his own excuse; but that he had never then said one word, "but what he might have spoke in the Circle; with which, the King said, "He was the better pleased; and that he be- "liev'd, he had not been more particular in his discourse with "the Queen, save that he used to entertain Her with the Wis- "dom and Power of the Parliament, and what great things "they would be able to do, and how much they were re- "spected in Forreign Parts; which, his Majesty said, was a "strange discourse for a Man to make, who had so lately left "them, because he thought the King's Condition to be the "better of the two.

The Earl had a Friend who did heartily desire to do him all

all the Offices, and Services, that would consist with the King's Honour, and always apprehended the ill consequence of discouraging such Conversions, and who spoke often to the Earl of his own Affairs. And when he complain'd of his usage, and repeated, what promises and encouragement he had receiv'd to come to the King, and of what importance his good reception would have been, "That there were many of consi- "derable Reputation, and Interest in the House of Commons (whom he named) "Who intended to have follow'd; and "that the Earl of *Northumberland* expected only his Advice; his Friend ask'd him, "Whether he had done all things, since "he came to the King, which might reasonably be expected "from him? He said "He thought he had done all could be "expected from him, in bringing himself to the King; and "since his coming to him, in venturing his Life for him; and "in lieu thereof he had not receiv'd Thanks, or one gracious "Word; and now, after his Office had been kept unbestow'd "near two years, and a promise made to him, that he should "be restor'd to it, it was to be bestow'd upon another, to "make his disgrace the more notorious; which he thought "would not prove for his Majesty's Honour or Advantage.

His Friend asked him, "Whether he had ask'd it of the "King, or inform'd him of the promise that was made to him? He said "He had done neither, nor ever would; He ex- "pected it of the King's Grace, and would not extort it by "a promise, which, it might be, his Majesty was not privy to. The other replied very plainly to him, "That if he thought "he had never committed any fault against the King, he had "no reason to acknowledge it; or make excuse for it; but "if he were Conscious of any such, how unwarily soever it "had been done, or how unmaliciously soever it had been "intended, he ought to make some Confession, and Apology "to his Majesty; nor could his Majesty, with the safety of his "Honour, avow the receiving him into any trust without it; "nor was he capable of receiving any Offices from his Friends, "or the Queen's own declar'd interposition on his behalf, till "he had perform'd that necessary Introduction. He told him, "if he would follow His Advice, he believ'd he might receive "some effect of it, which was, "That he should send to desire "a private Audience of his Majesty in some Room, where no "body might be present; which would not be refused him; "and then he should (with all the excuses upon the terror "the Parliament gave to all Men who had exceeded the com- "mon Rules, in their Administration of the trust they had "from his Majesty; as he could not deny He had done in "many particulars for the Advancement of his Majesty's Ser- "vice) confess, that he had not been hardy enough to con-

"temn that Power, but had been ſo much in awe of it, that "he choſe rather to preſume upon his Majeſty's goodneſs, "than to provoke their Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure; and ſo had "complied with them more, than in his Duty and Gratitude "to his Majeſty he ought to have done; for which he begged "his Pardon upon his knees; and if he might obtain it, he "made no doubt, he ſhould wipe out the memory of paſt Of-"fences by ſome new Services, which ſhould be beneficial to "his Majeſty; and he added, "That he would do very well, "if he would ſue out his Pardon, as the Earl of *Bedford* had "done; who had ask'd it of the King when he firſt kiſſed his "hand, and had ſince wiſely taken it out under the Great Seal "of *England*.

THE Earl of *Holland* ſeem'd not at all pleaſed with this Advice; ſaid, "He did not think, (though he would not juſtify "all that he had done,) his Tranſgreſſions were of that magni-"tude, that they requir'd ſuch a formality of asking Pardon; "that his Caſe was very different from that of the Earl of *Bed-"ford*, who had been in Arms, and a General Officer in the "Field againſt the King; whereas he had only ſat in the Par-"liament, as lawfully he might do; and if he had failed in "his attendance upon his Majeſty, and otherwiſe deſerv'd his "diſpleaſure, he had receiv'd ſo many marks of it before he "deſerv'd it, that might well tranſport a very faithful Servant "into a diſcontent. That aſſoon as he found himſelf reſtor'd "to any proportion of his Majeſty's Grace and Confidence, "his own inclination would carry him to as humble Apolo-"gies, and as deep acknowledgements of all his Tranſgreſſions, "as could be expected from him, and ſuch as he believ'd "would reconcile the King's goodneſs to him: but to make "the firſt advance by ſuch a kind of ſubmiſſion, he did not "think he could prevail over himſelf to do it. However, he took his Advice very kindly, and ſpoke often with him after upon the ſame Subject.

BEING, upon Conference with ſome other Friends, adviſed the ſame, eſpecially by his Daughter (whom he lov'd, and eſteem'd exceedingly) he ſeem'd reſolv'd to do it; but whether he thought worſe of the King's Affairs, or liked the Court the leſs, becauſe he ſaw the Poverty of it, and that whatever Place or Favour he might obtain, he could not expect a Support from it to defray his Expences (nor could he draw it from any other place) he delay'd it ſo long, that the King found it reaſonable to confer the Office he had before promiſed, upon the Marquis of *Hertford*.

UPON which he withdrew himſelf, for his convenience, to a Neighbour Village, where he had a private Lodging; and, after few days, with the help of a dark Night and a good Guide,

Guide, he got himſelf into the Enemies Quarters; and laid himſelf at the Feet of the Parliament; which, after a ſhort impriſonment, gave him leave to live in his own Houſe, without farther conſidering him, than as a Man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himſelf as grateful to them as he could, by an Act very unſuitable to his Honour, or his own generous Nature: for he publiſh'd a Declaration in Print of the cauſe of his going to, and returning from *Oxford*; in which, he endeavour'd to make it believ'd, "That his compaſſion, and love to his Country, had "only prevailed with him to go to the King, in hope to have "been able, upon the long knowledge his Majeſty had of his "Fidelity, to perſwade him to make a Peace with his Parlia-"ment; which, from the time of his coming thither, he had "labour'd to do; but that he found the Court ſo indiſpoſed "to Peace, and that the Papiſts had ſo great a Power there (uſing many expreſſions diſhonourable towards the King and his Council) "that he reſolv'd to make what haſte he could "back to the Parliament, and to ſpend the remainder of his "life in Their Service: which Action, ſo contrary to his own natural diſcretion and generoſity, loſt him the Affection of thoſe few who had preſerv'd ſome kindneſs for him, and got him Credit with no body; and may teach all Men how dangerous it is to ſtep aſide out of the path of Innocence, and Virtue, upon any preſumption to be able to get into it again; ſince ſuch Men uſually ſatisfy themſelves in doing any thing to mend the preſent exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that Condition of Innocence from whence they departed with a purpoſe, perhaps, of returning.

The Earl of Holland returns into the Parliaments Quarters.

HOWEVER, this unhappy ill Carriage of the Earl, doth not abſolve the Court from overſight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the King, and all thoſe about him, look'd upon as implacable; and ſo diverted all Men from farther thoughts of returning to their Duty by ſuch application, and made thoſe who abhorr'd the War, and the violent Counſels in the carrying it on, chooſe rather to acquieſce, and expect a Conjuncture when a general Peace might be made, than to expoſe themſelves by unſeaſonable, and unwelcome Addreſſes. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was gone to *Petworth*, as is ſaid before, with a purpoſe of going to the King, if by the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, and the Earl of *Holland*'s reception, he found encouragement, return'd to the Parliament; where he was receiv'd with great reſpect; all Men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had not done. And the other Members who had entertain'd the ſame Reſolutions, changed their minds with him, and return'd to their former Station: and the two Earls who

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yet remain'd at *Oxford*, shortly after found means to make their Peace at *Westminster*; and return'd again to their own Habitation in *London*, without a farther mark of displeasure, than a restraint, for a time, from coming to the House of Peers, or being trusted in their Counsels.

And likewise the Earls of Bedford *and* Clare.

The Transactions of the Committee of the two Houses in Scotland.

THE Committee from the two Houses of Parliament, which was sent into *Scotland* in *July* before, in the distraction of their Affairs, when Sr *William Waller* was defeated, and the Earl of *Essex*'s Army unserviceable, as is remember'd, found that Kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their reception, that they had call'd an Assembly of their Kirk, and a Convention of their Estates, without, and expressly against, the King's Consent; and without any colour of Law; for the time when, by their late Act of Parliament, they might of right challenge those meetings, was not come by almost a year; and the King had refused to Convene them sooner. That Kingdom was at Unity and Peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their Neighbours; and the Government of all Affairs in their Hands who were to be Confided in; and they again ruled, and disposed by a few who were throughly engaged in the Counsels and Discomposures in *England*; for all those who were visibly affected to the King's Service, or disaffected eminently to the Persons in Authority there, were fled the Kingdom; and they who stay'd behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections; of which a full declared Zeal, and good Will to the Parliament of *England*, was a common evidence.

So that the Committee found as good a welcome, as they could wish, and all Men disposed to gain their good opinion; a Committee was appointed both out of the Convention of Estates, and the Assemby, "To Treat with them, and to "make such conclusions, as might be thought necessary to ad- "vance the Peace, and Happiness of both Kingdoms. These Men complied with them, in their full sense of the sad Condition of the Affairs of *England*, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes, which should befall them: they said, "They well understood, how much the fate of *Scotland* was "involv'd in what should befall the Parliament of *England*; "and that if the King prevailed by force, and, by the power "of his Army, oppress'd those Friends, who had express'd a "tenderness formerly towards them, they had reason to ex- "pect the same Army should be applied to the revenge of "those indignities they would easily perswade his Majesty, "he had suffer'd from that his Native Kingdom: and there- "fore, they needed no Arguments to perswade them, to com- "miserate the Estate of their Brethren of *England*; or to con- "vince them, that their Case was their own, and their mu-

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"tual ſafety bound up together: but that thoſe Politick Ar-
"guments and Conſiderations, would have no influence upon
"the People, who had ſuch a natural Affection and Loyalty
"to their Soveraign, as no Earthly conſideration would be
"able to prevail with them to leſſen their Obedience towards
"his Majeſty; and that, albeit there was no viſible Party and
"Faction, that appear'd in the Kingdom for the King, yet
"that there were many well wiſhers to him, and maligners,
"in their Hearts, of the preſent Reformation; who, aſſoon as
"there ſhould be any preparation for an Army to march into
"*England*, would be ready, upon the ſpecious Arguments of
"Duty to his Majeſty, and of Peace to their Country, and
"might be able, to give great diſturbance to the Expedition,
"or to diſquiet the Realm, when the moſt eminently affected
"were march'd towards the relief of their diſtreſſed Neigh-
"bours; except ſome obligation of Conſcience were laid
"upon the People; who only preferr'd what they call'd their
"Piety to God, before their inclination to their Prince, and
"the ſetting up the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, before the vin-
"dication of a Temporal Juriſdiction.

A Covenant propoſed by the Scots between the two Kingdoms, and agreed to.

FOR ſuch an expedient therefore, they propoſed, "That
"a Covenant might be agreed upon between the two King-
"doms, for the utter Extirpation of Prelacy, which that King-
"dom was ſatisfied to be a great obſtruction to the Reforma-
"tion of Religion; and the two Houſes of Parliament had
"diſcover'd a ſufficient averſion from that Government, by
"having paſſed a Bill for their utter Abolition, and in the
"place thereof to erect ſuch a Government, as ſhould be moſt
"agreeable to God's Word, which they doubted not would
"be their own Presbytery; and that the People being Ce-
"mented together by ſuch an obligation, would never be ſe-
"ver'd and disjoyn'd by any Temptation.

THERE was an eaſy conſent, from the Committee of the *Engliſh*, to any expedient that might throughly engage the other Nation; and ſo a form of words was quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect Combination and Marriage between the Parliament and the *Scots*, in all ſuch particulars, as were moſt like to be unacceptable to the King; and this form being preſently communicated to the Convention of Eſtates, and the Aſſembly, as ſoon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much ſolemnity, as was neceſſary to ſhew their Temper and Reſolution, and to gain the conſent of the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, whither it was diſpatch'd with all imaginable celerity, and a ſignification "That That People
"were in ſuch a forwardneſs to advance, that they would be
"in *England* aſſoon as they could be reaſonably expected. And
it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon their diſcipline

ſince

since the late Commotions, and the cunning presage and foresight of that People, there was nothing requisite to their March, but the calling them together.

MANY were of opinion, that this Engagement was proposed "Rather to decline being engaged in the Quarrel, than "out of hope or imagination that the two Houses would Con-"cur with them; for though there had been a Bill passed, "before the last Treaty with the King, to that purpose, yet "they well knew that most of the Peers, and Persons of Qua-"lity and Interest in the other House, were willing to depart "from that Overture. Besides, amongst those who raged "joyntly against Episcopacy, there were so many opinions, "that it would be no less difficult to establish Their Presby-"tery, than to root out the other Government, to which they "intended by their Covenant equally to oblige them: so that "upon this Proposition, which was according to the known "temper of that Nation, they should preserve themselves "plausibly, and without seeming to desert their Confederates, "from bearing any part in the present Troubles. However, "it would visibly take up so much time, that if there were "no Ebb in the King's prosperity and success, he might well "finish his work, and this Interposition be interpreted for a "Politick Stratagem to amuse the *English*. But if this was their Stratagem, they met with People too frank hearted, and not scrupulous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the Covenant no sooner came to *Westminster*, but they shew'd a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well because it was not yet known what success the Earl of *Essex* would have in the Relief of *Gloucester*, which was like to have a threw'd influence upon Men's Affections and Consciences, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation, and Caution, for the information of their Judgments in a new case, that concern'd the Religion, and Ecclesiastical Fabrick of the Kingdom, they transmitted it to their Assembly of Divines, to return their opinion "Of the lawfulness of taking it in point of Con-"science.

THE Assembly, besides that it was constituted of Members who had all renounced their Obedience to their King, and Submission to the Church of *England*, by their appearance and presence in that Convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the House of Commons: for Doctor *Featly* (upon whose Reputation in Learning, they had raised great advantages to themselves having made many Speeches in the Assembly in the behalf of "The order of Bishops, and their Function, and against the "Alienation of Church Lands, as Sacrilege, and especially inveigh'd against "The liberty that was taken in the matter of "Religion

"Religion, by which so many Sects were grown up to the "scandal and reproach of the Protestant Doctrine, if not of "Christianity it self, had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well Confirm'd in Spirit, that they fear'd not his failing or conversion) was directed to make appplication to him in cases of Conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him (which was no hard matter) to intimate to him, "That he had a sure "and unquestionable conveyance to *Oxford*, or that he was "to go thither himself, and if he had any occasion to use his "Service thither, he would faithfully execute his Commands. The Dr believing the Messenger to be sincere, and the King's Affairs standing then prosperous, gave him Letters for the Arch Bishop of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, who waited on his Majesty; and by this Artifice, the same Instrument receiv'd two or three Letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands; and brought them always to those Persons by whom he was intrusted in the work of his imposture.

THE Letters contain'd many Apologies for himself "For "being engaged in such a Congregation, to which he sub- "mitted purely out of Conscience, and for the Service of the "King and Church, in hope that he might be able to prevent "many extravagancies, and to contain those unruly Spirits "within some bounds of regularity, and moderation; of his endeavours that way, he gave many instances; and sent Copies of what he had said in justification of Episcopacy, the Liturgy, and the establish'd Government, and concluded with a desire to his Grace, "To procure a good opinion from the "King towards him, and some Bishoprick or Deanary for his "recompence. About the time that this Agitation was in *Scotland*, and very little before this Covenant was transmitted, these Letters were produced, and a charge against that Doctor, "for betraying the trust repos'd in him, and adhering to the "Enemy; and thereupon the poor Man was expelled the Assembly of Divines, both his Livings (for he had two within a very small distance of *London*) sequester'd; his Study of Books and Estate seised, and himself committed to a Common Goal, where he continued to his death; which befel him the sooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; so sollicitous was that Party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their Journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

THIS fresh example the *Assembly of Godly and Learned Divines*, had before their Eyes when this Covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution; and according to the haste it required, that Clergy return'd within

two

two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two Ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing "They had receiv'd full satisfaction to "their doubts in the Debate, and that they were fully con- "vinced of the Lawfulness, and Piety of it. Having receiv'd so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the Battle of *Newbury* being in that time likewise over (which clear'd and remov'd more doubts, than the Assembly had done) it stuck very few hours with both Houses; but being at once judged Convenient, and Lawful, the Lords and Commons, and their Assembly of Divines, met together at the Church, with great solemnity to take it, on the five and twentieth day of *September*; a double Holyday, by the Earl of *Essex*'s return to *London*, and this Religious Exercise.

It is taken and Subscribed by the Lords and Commons and their Assembly of Divines, Sept. 25.

THERE, two or three of their Divines went up into the Pulpit successively, not to Preach, but to Pray; others, according to their several Gifts, to make Orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "That this Oath was "such, and in the matter and consequence of it, of such con- "cernment, as it was truly worthy of them, *Yea* of those King- "doms, *Yea* of all the Kingdoms of the World: That it could "be no other, but the result and answer of such Prayers and "Tears, of such sincerity and sufferings, that three Kingdoms "should be thus Born, or rather New Born in a day: That "they were entring upon a work of the greatest moment and "concernment to themselves, and to their Posterities after "them, that ever was undertaken by any of them, or any of "their Fore-Fathers before them. That it was a Duty of the "first Commandment, and therefore of the highest and no- "blest order and rank of Duties; therefore must come forth "attended with choicest Graces, Fear, Humility, and in the "greatest simplicity, and plainness of Spirit, and respect of "those with whom they Covenanted. That it was to ad- "vance the Kingdom of Christ here upon Earth, and make "*Jerusalem* once more the praise of the whole Earth, not- "withstanding all the contradictions of Men; with many such high expressions, as can hardly be conceiv'd, with- out the view of the Records, and Registry that is kept of them.

IT will be here most necessary, that Posterity may be in- form'd of the rare conclusion, in which two Nations with such wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calcu- lated also for the Meridian of a third Kingdom (for *Ireland* is likewise comprehended in it) to insert this League and Co- venant in the precise terms in which it was receiv'd, and en- ter'd into; which was in these words.

A Solemn

A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

"We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, "Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all "Sorts in the Kingdom of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, "by the Providence of God living under one King, and being "of One Reform'd Religion, having before our Eyes the Glo- "ry of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our "Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the Honour and Happineſs "of the King's Majeſty, and his Poſterity, and the true Pub- "lick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein "every ones private condition is included; and calling to "mind the treacherous, and bloody Plots, Conſpiracies, At- "tempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God, againſt the "true Religion, and Profeſſors thereof, in all places, eſpe- "ally in theſe three Kingdoms, ever ſince the Reformation "of Religion, and how much their Rage, Power, and Pre- "ſumption, are of late, and at this time, encreaſed and exer- "ciſed (whereof the deplorable Eſtate of the Church and "Kingdom of *Ireland*, the diſtreſſed Eſtate of the Church "and Kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous Eſtate of the "Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, are preſent, and publick "Teſtimonies) We have now at laſt (after other means of "Supplication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtations, and Sufferings) "for the preſervation of our Selves and our Religion from "utter ruine and deſtruction, according to the commendable "practice of theſe Kingdoms in former times, and the exam- "ple of God's People in other Nations, after mature delibe- "ration, reſolv'd, and determin'd to enter into a mutual, "and ſolemn League and Covenant, wherein We all Sub- "ſcribe, and each one of Us for himſelf, with our hands "lifted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear,

A Copy of the Covenant.

1. "That We ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, "through the grace of God, endeavour in our ſeveral places "and callings the preſervation of the Reform'd Religion in "the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, "and Government, againſt our Common Enemies; the Re- "formation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England*, and "*Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Govern- "ment, according to the Word of God, and the example of "the beſt Reform'd Churches; and We ſhall endeavour to "bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the "neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion "of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Wor- "ſhip,

"ſhip, and Catechiſing; that we, and our Poſterity after Us, "may as Brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may "delight to dwell in the midſt of Us.

2. "THAT We ſhall, in like manner, without reſpect of "Perſons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that "is Church Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their "Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chap-"ters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers de-"pending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm, "Prophaneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary "to ſound Doctrine, and the power of Godlineſs, leſt We "partake in other Men's Sins, and thereby be in danger to "receive of Their Plagues; and that the Lord may be One, "and his Name One in the three Kingdoms.

3. WE ſhall, with the ſame ſincerity, reality, and con-"ſtancy, in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates, "and Lives, mutually to preſerve the Rights and Privileges "of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and "to preſerve, and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and "Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Re-"ligion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms; that the World may "bear Witneſs, with our Conſciences, of our Loyalty; and "that we have no thoughts or intention to diminiſh his Ma-"jeſty's juſt power and greatneſs.

4. WE ſhall alſo, with all faithfulneſs, endeavour the "diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, "Malignants, or evil Inſtrument, by hindering the Refor-"mation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or "one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Factions "or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and "Covenant; that they may be brought to publick Trial, and "receive condign puniſhment, as the degree of their Offences "ſhall require or deſerve; or the ſupreme Judicatories of "both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others having power from "them for that effect, ſhall judge convenient.

5. "AND whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed Peace be-"tween theſe Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Proge-"nitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto Us, "and hath been lately concluded and ſettled by both Par-"liaments, we ſhall, each one of Us, according to our places "and intereſt, endeavour, that they may remain conjoyn'd "in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſterity, and that juſtice "may be done upon the wilful Oppoſers thereof, in manner "expreſſed in the precedent Articles.

6. "WE ſhall alſo, according to our places and callings, in "this Common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of "the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this

"League

"League and Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing "thereof; and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirect- "ly, by whatſoever combination, perſwaſion, or terror, to be "divided, and withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Con- "junction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or "to give our ſelves to a deteſtable Indifference of Neutrality "in this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the Glory of God, "the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the King; "but ſhall, all the days of our lives, zealouſly and conſtantly "continue therein, againſt all oppoſition, and promote the "ſame according to our power, againſt all Lets and Impedi- "ments whatſoever. And what We are not able our ſelves "to ſuppreſs, or overcome, We ſhall reveal, and make known, "that it may be timely prevented or remov'd; all which We "ſhall do as in the ſight of God.

"AND becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins, "and Provocations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as "is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, the "fruits thereof; We profeſs and declare, before God and "the World, our unfeigned deſire to be humbled for our own "Sins, and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms; eſpecially, that "We have not, as we ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit "of the Goſpel, that We have not labour'd for the purity, "and power thereof; and that We have not endeavour'd to "receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to Walk worthy of him "in our lives, which are the cauſes of other Sins and Tranſ- "greſſions ſo much abounding amongſt Us: And our true, "and unfeigned purpoſe, deſire and endeavour for our ſelves, "and all others under our power and charge, both in publick "and in private, in all duties We owe to God and Man, to "amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the "example of a real Reformation; that the Lord may turn "away his wrath and heavy indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe "Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace. And this Co- "venant We make in the preſence of Almighty God, the "ſearcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the "ſame, as we ſhall Anſwer at that great day, when the Se- "crets of all hearts ſhall be diſclos'd; moſt humbly beſeeching "the Lord, to ſtrengthen Us by his holy Spirit, for this end; "and to bleſs our deſires, and proceedings, with ſuch "ſucceſs, as may be a deliverance and ſafety to his People, "and encouragement to other Chriſtian Churches, groaning "under, or in danger of, the Yoke of Anti-Chriſtian Tyran- "ny, to joyn in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and Covenant, "to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of "Jeſus Chriſt, and the Peace, and Tranquility of Chriſtian "Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

ASSOON as this solemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr *Henderson* (the sole Ecclesiastical Commissioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*) who magnified what they had done, and assured them "Of great success after it, by the experience "of that Nation, who, from their Union in their first Cove- "nant, found nothing hard they proposed to themselves; and told them, "That were that Covenant now painted upon the "Wall within the Pope's Palace, it would doubtless put him "into *Belshazzar*'s quaking condition; the Speaker and Commons (having first set their hands to the Covenant, after they had taken it) return'd to their House, and observing, that many of their Members were that day absent, the cause whereof was easy to be guessed, they order'd, "That, as soon as they "came into the House, the Covenant should be tender'd to "them, and whosoever refus'd to take it, should be proceeded "against as a disaffected Person, in such manner as the House "shall think fit.

The Covenant order'd to be taken by others, especially by the City.

THEY farther made a special Order, "That all the Mini- "sters of Parish Churches within *London*, and *Westminster*, "the Suburbs, and the whole line of Communication, should "read and explain the Covenant to their several Congregati- "ons, and stir them up, the next Fast-day, to the cheerful ta- "king of it: and particular care was taken, that all the Stu- "dents of the Inns of Court should be perswaded to receive it. But over and above these general directions, there was a particular ceremony, and application to recommend this Covenant to the City, and Corporation of *London*, and another use to be made of it. The Covenant was not only to bring, but to keep Men together; and the taking it had only inclin'd the *Scots* to march to their Assistance; they were to have one hundred thousand pounds advanced to them, and paid at *Edenborough*, before they could stir; and how to advance this great Sum, was not easy to resolve. All their Ordinances for levying of Money were expir'd; their Issues and Disbursments so vast, that no income was sufficient; their Exchequer was exhausted, and even their Publick Faith Bankrupt: such Anticipations upon all kind of receipts, for Monies borrowed, and already spent, that they had no Capitol for future Security.

THE Judicature of the House of Peers (though their Number was but ten, for there was no more at the Sentence of Justice *Berkley*) had helped them all they could. Justice *Berkley*, who had been committed by them to the Tower, shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, upon a Charge of High Treason, and since the beginning of the War, permitted to sit as sole Judge in the King's Bench, one whole Term, was now brought to Judgment, and by their Lordships fined the Sum of

of twenty thousand pounds, and made incapable of any place of Judicature; and upon abatement of half, and his Liberty, he paid the other ten thousand pounds together, to those Persons they appointed to receive it; which, since all fines are due to the King alone, and cannot be disposed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was sentenced. Baron *Trevor*, who was fined for the same Offence, and suffer'd still to continue the same Office, in which he had committed his misdemeanour, yielded them as much more. But these petty sums were disposed before they were receiv'd, and were but small drops to quench the great drought they sustain'd: so that the reputation and security of this Covenant, was, amongst other Uses, to bring in money too.

To that purpose, a Committee of Lords and Commons, with some of their Divines of the Assembly, was sent to the *Guild-Hall*, where the Mayor had called a Common Council for their reception, to recommend to them, "The wonderful "advantage and strength their Party should gain by taking, "and being united in this Covenant, and the desperate condi- "tion they were like to be in without it: If the *Scots* came "not to their Assistance, which, without this obligation, they "could not do, they were in danger to be overwhelm'd by "the Enemy; or at least to make a disadvantageous and "dishonourable Peace with them; which yet they could not "tell how it would be observ'd and kept. On the other hand, "by this famous accession of strength of a whole Nation, they "should undoubtedly be able to master the War, and to make "those who had been the Causers of it, defray the Charge; "and so all the Publick debts being discharged out of the "Estates of Delinquents and Malignants, the Kingdom would "not be at all impoverished, and the Peace, which should "hereafter be made with the King, would be sure to be in- "violably observ'd by the strength of this Union; and there- "fore that it could not be purchased at too dear a rate.

"It was, they said, "Neither Covetousness, nor want of "Affection, and Zeal to their Relief, that the *Scots*, who "took Their Cause to heart as their own, desired an Ad- "vance of Money before they drew their Army into *England*, "but pure Necessity, and the Poverty of that Kingdom, al- "ready exhausted by their late expeditions, and keeping their "Soldiers together for the good of This. And if there had "been Money enough in that Country to have been procured "upon the publick Stock and Revenue, or the Mortgage of "private Estates, to which all Men were forward for the "Publick Good, their Love to their Brethren here was such, "that they would neither have asked, nor receiv'd Money "for their Assistance, after it had proved effectual; much less,

"before the yielding it. For Evidence of which frank and "Brotherly Inclination, they freely offer'd the Engagement "of their own Eſtates, for the repayment of the Money that "ſhould be advanc'd: which was the firſt time, that ever Land in *Scotland* had been offer'd for ſecurity of Money borrowed in the City of *London*. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the Covenant, magnified the *Scotiſh* Nation, with all imaginable Attributes of Eſteem and Reverence, "A Nation "that had engaged it ſelf to God in a higher way, in a more "extraordinary way, than any Nation this day upon the face "of the Earth had done; a Nation, that had reform'd their "lives for ſo ſmall a time, more than ever any People, that they "knew of, in the world had done; a Nation, that God had "honour'd by giving as glorious Succeſs unto, as ever he did "unto any: and very earneſtly deſired the Loan of an hundred thouſand Pounds. The Rhetorick and the Zeal prevailed; a hundred thouſand pounds was promiſed, and ſhortly provided, and ſent to *Edenborough*; and the Aſſurance of the *Scots* coming ſo full, that they were looked upon as Maſters of *New-Caſtle* already. With ſuch an alacrity all theſe things were tranſacted.

THAT Violent Party in the Parliament, which never intended any Peace with the King, and had more deſperate Mutations in their purpoſes, than they avow'd, even amongſt thoſe who concurr'd with them in all they deſired, did not think themſelves ſecure in the Affection of the People, nor in thoſe who had the greateſt Truſt in their Affairs. They had ſeen the great Changes in the Houſes, in the City, and in the Country, upon their late ill Succeſſes, the Defeat of *Waller*, and the loſs of *Briſtol*; and though the Earl of *Eſſex* ſtill adhered to them, yet they ſaw he was not pleaſed, nor favoured one of thoſe Men upon whom they moſt depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by Him, or in His confidence, were Men of ſuch Principles as they liked not, or who deſired no other Alterations, in the Court or Government, but only of the Perſons who Acted in it: therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greateſt dejection of Spirit, and when they looked upon themſelves as near ſwallow'd up by the King's Power, to move "That they "might ſend into *Scotland* to their Brethren there, to joyn "with them, and to aſſiſt them with an Army, that they might "by ſuch a Conjunction, have a ſupport, to make them ſo "conſiderable, as to be Treated with, and to receive Con-"ditions which might preſerve them from ruin: which Propoſition, being for ſo Common an Intereſt and Benefit, had receiv'd a General concurrence; and ſo that Committee of both Houſes had been ſent into *Scotland*, to put them in

mind

mind "Of their joynt concernment, and how impoſſible it "would be, for the *Scots* long to enjoy the great Conceſſions "they had obtain'd from the King, when the Parliament of "*England*, by whoſe Friendſhip, Power, and Authority they "had obtain'd them, ſhould be oppreſſed, and forced to yield "to ſuch Conditions for their particular preſervations, as the "King would think fit to give them. But they were not a little ſtartled, when they found this Meſſage had obliged them to a preſent expence of a hundred thouſand pounds, before there was any viſible Relief given them; and ſaw themſelves involv'd in new obligations of Guilt, and to purpoſes they really never intended.

THERE hath been ſcarce any thing more wonderful throughout the Progreſs of theſe Diſtractions, than that this Covenant did with ſuch extraordinary expedition, paſs the two Houſes, when all the Leading Perſons in thoſe Councils, were at the ſame time known to be as great Enemies to Preſbytery (the Eſtabliſhment whereof was the main end of this Covenant) as they were to the King or the Church. And He who contributed moſt to it, and, in truth, was the Principal Contriver of it, and the Man by whom the Committee in *Scotland* was entirely, and ſtupidly govern'd, Sr *Harry Vane* the Younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laugh'd at 'em then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

HE was indeed a Man of Extraordinary Parts, a pleaſant Wit, a great Underſtanding, which pierced into, and diſcern'd the purpoſes of other Men with wonderful Sagacity, whilſt he had himſelf *vultum clauſum*, that no Man could make a gueſs of what he intended. He was of a Temper not to be moved, and of rare diſſimulation, and could comply when it was not ſeaſonable to contradict, without loſing ground by the condeſcenſion; and if he were not ſuperior to Mr *Hambden*, he was inferior to no other Man, in all myſterious Artifices. There need no more be ſaid of his Ability, than that he was choſen to cozen, and deceive a whole Nation which was thought to excel in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a People, that could not otherwiſe be prevailed upon, than by advancing their Idol Presbytery, to ſacrifice their Peace, their Intereſt, and their Faith, to the erecting a Power and Authority that reſolv'd to perſecute Presbytery to an Extirpation; and, in proceſs of time, very near brought their purpoſe to paſs.

THE Nation of *Scotland*, in general, had been ſo fully ſatisfied in all that they could pretend to deſire, that they were very well diſpoſed to be Spectators of what was done in

England without engaging themselves in the Quarrel; and though there were some powerful Men amongst them, whose Guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure, than by the King's want of Power to call them to Justice, yet their Number was not thought so great, as to be able to corrupt the People into a bare-faced Act of Rebellion: nor had they any such face of Authority, as to invite them to it. Without a Parliament, they could not propose it; the King had absolutely refused to call a Parliament, and it was yet above a year to come, before a Parliament could be Assembled without the King's Consent; and in that time, the King might have the better of his Enemies. However, the Commissioners of the Parliament had not been long at *Edenborough*, before they prevailed with the Council to call a Parliament; which Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who pretended great devotion to the King, and were of the Council, had promised the King to oppose, and said, "They "were powerful enough to prevent it. When it came to the point, Duke *Hamilton*, being, one way or other, perswaded himself, perswaded others, "That the absolute refusal to suffer "a Parliament to be called, would not quiet the Debate, nor "secure the King, but more inflame those who desir'd it; "who would take some other time, when many of them who "opposed it should be absent, to propose it; and so would "carry it: and that therefore they were better be absent at "first, whereby the others might, without opposition, send "out their Summons for a Parliament to Assemble, at the day "they thought fit; and that, as they who would serve the "King would not be there, so they should prevail with as "many others as they could, not to be there likewise; where-"by the number which appear'd, would be so inconsiderable, "that they would not dare to sit, but perfectly disperse; and "this disappointment would for ever quash that design, and "render those who advised it, odious to the People; as Men "who desir'd illegally to engage the Nation in unjustifiable "ways, to disturb the Publick Peace.

A Parliament Summon'd by the Covenanters of Scotland.

A SUMMONS was accordingly sent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, those of the Nobility and Gentry, who did really desire to serve the King, applied themselves to Duke *Hamilton* (whose advice and orders, the King himself had required them to observe; unhappily still believing him to be faithful) to know what they should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, "That they should take an opportunity to "meet together, and bring their Friends with them, whereby "they might make a good Body of Horse, and so, with their "Arms in their hands, they would declare against the Le-

"gality

"gality of that Parliament, and the meeting in it: and named a fit opportunity to him for ſuch a meeting at the Funeral of a Lady, which was to be within ſome days, when, according to the cuſtom of that People, great Numbers of Perſons of Quality uſe to Aſſemble, to do Honour to the dead in the laſt obſequies. He told them, "He believ'd, it muſt come ſhortly "to that remedy, but conceiv'd it not yet time, and that ſuch "a meeting would frighten the People, and encreaſe the "Number in Parliament, and make many reſort to them for "their directions. He likewiſe ſaid, "He had changed his for-"mer opinion, concerning their own being abſent at that "time of the meeting of the Parliament, ſince their meer ab-"ſence would not be diſcountenance enough, and that they "who ſat, would carry the Reputation of a Parliament, and "the People would be guided by them, if there were nothing "but their abſence to work upon their inclinations, and af-"fections.

He propoſed therefore to them, "That they would all re-"ſolve to be preſent, and take their places; and that, when "the Houſe ſhould be ſat, and any Man ſhould ſtand up to "propoſe the taking any buſineſs into conſideration, He [the "Duke] would firſt make his Proteſtation againſt proceeding "in ſo illegal a Convention, and then they ſhould all make "the ſame Proteſtation; and he did hope, that the Number "of the Proteſtors would be great enough to diſſolve the "meeting; and thus they ſhould put the beſt end to the mat-"ter that could be deſir'd: but if it ſhould ſucceed other-"wiſe, then would be the time to withdraw and put them-"ſelves in Arms; towards which he would make the beſt "preparation he could; and deſir'd Them to do the like. The Earl of *Kinoul*, and ſome others, made exception againſt this Expedient, and preſſed the former meeting at the Funeral, till the Duke told them, "The King liked the other way bet-"ter, and pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which he had "receiv'd from his Majeſty, and read them ſo much of it, as contain'd his Approbation, "That they ſhould meet in the Par-"liament; in which determination they could not but ac-quieſce, though they thought at the ſame time, that his Ma-jeſty was betray'd.

The Parliament met at the day; and Duke *Hamilton*, according to his promiſe, took an opportunity to ſay ſomewhat that ſeem'd to imply a Proteſtation againſt the meeting; upon which, many of the Lords, who had been always moſt engaged againſt the King, were very warm; and demanded, "That he ſhould declare himſelf clearly, whether he did Pro-"teſt againſt the Parliament; whereupon his Brother the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was Secretary of State to the King, ſtood up,

and said, "That he hoped, that Noble Lord's Affection to his "Country was better known, than that any Man could ima- "gine he would Protest against the Parliament of the King- "dom; and then the Duke explain'd, and excused himself; and said, "He meant no such thing: and so they declar'd, "That they would Treat with the Commissioners, who were "sent from the Parliament of *England*; and appointed Commissioners for that purpose.

SOME are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the War against the King; but that, as a few Men cozen'd the Parliament at *Westminster*, by perswading them, "That they desir'd only a Safe Peace, till, by multiplication of Indignities, they made it impossible to make a Peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a Number in *Scotland*, that overreach'd the Parliament there, by perswading, "That they never intended to do any thing against "the King, but that it would be too ingrateful a thing, and "render them very odious to the whole *English* Nation, if, "after they had receiv'd so many obligations from the Parlia- "ment there, to whose Protection they ow'd their Religion, "and all that they enjoy'd, they should refuse so much as to "treat with them, and to assist them, by their interposition, "to procure a good Peace for them with the King; which "would be a great Honour to them; and would be as great "an obligation to his Majesty, as to the Parliament. That this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any Engagement in a War, not by rejecting the Proposition, but by making such Demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament at *Westminster*. Thereupon they told the Commissioners from that Parliament, "That it would be impossible to engage their Nation in "a joynt concurrence with them, against the King, but by "the Influence and Authority of their Kirk; and that it would "be as impossible to procure the Consent of their Kirk, ex- "cept by making it evident to them, that the Government of "the Church in *England*, should be reduced to the same mo- "del with Theirs in *Scotland*; and that Episcopacy should be "totally extirpated; and that Deans and Chapters, should be "utterly abolish'd; without which, they said, "They could "never think their own Government securely establish'd; "but if such a promise might be solemnly made, their Kirk "would be throughly engaged, and the Nation, to a Man, "would enter into the Quarrel.

SIR *Harry Vane* was not surprised with the Proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came resolv'd to pay their own price for their Friendship. Thereupon, as hath been already said, the Covenant was prepared, and other Propo-

sitions

sions made for the present furnishing a great Sum of Money, to enable them to begin their Levies; and many other extravagant Conditions proposed on the *Scots* part, for the payment of the Army, and other vast expences, that they did not believe the Commissioners would yield, or that the Parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of Money, or Honour, made any delay; and they came provided with some Letters of Credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible, in making all necessary preparations. The Covenant was the matter of Difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greatest Friends, both in the Parliament, and the Army, had not any mind to change the Government of the Church; to which the People of *England* were not generally disaffected.

SIR *Harry Vane* therefore (who equally hated Episcopacy and Presbytery, save that he wish'd the one Abolish'd with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being Establish'd, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the Kingdom) carefully consider'd the Covenant, and after he had alter'd, and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow Commissioners, sign'd the whole Treaty; whereby it was provided, "That "the Covenant should be taken throughout all his Majesty's "Dominions; that a Committee of the *Scots* should always "sit with the Close Committee at *Westminster* for the carry- "ing on of the War with equal Authority; that there should "be no Treaty of Peace with the King, without the joynt "Consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; and many other particulars, very derogatory to the Honour of the *English* Nation; and with all possible expedition sent it to the Close Committee at *Westminster*; in the time of their Consternation, and before the Relief of *Glocester*; which transmitted it presently back to them, allow'd and confirm'd.

The substance of the Treat between the English *Commissioners and the* Scots.

AND thereupon the Parliament at *Edenborough*, resolv'd to raise a great Army, and to Invade *England*; and their old General *Lesley*, who had so solemnly promised the King, not only "Never to bear Arms against him, but to serve him, "let the Cause be what it would, without any hesitation undertook the Command of it. All this time, Duke *Hamilton* look'd on, and sometimes sate with them; and when the first Proclamation was prepared, in the King's Name, for a General Rendezvous of all Men, from such an Age to such an Age, at such a time and place, that so their Army might be presently form'd, the Earl of *Lanrick* put the King's Signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said Proclamation: and all this being done, both the Brothers left *Scotland*,

The Scots *raise an Army under* Lesley.

land to give the King an Account at *Oxford* of all the Proceedings: Many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, who did heartily wiſh well to the King, being gone from thence, after the firſt days meeting of their Parliament (when the Duke had broken his promiſe to them) and inform'd his Majeſty at large of that which they thought foul Infidelity.

Diviſions amongſt the Councils at Oxford.

THE Diſcompoſures, Jealouſies, and Diſguſts, which reign'd at *Oxford*, produced great Inconveniencies; and as, many times, Men in a Scuffle loſe their Weapons, and light upon thoſe which belonged to their Adverſaries, who again Arm themſelves with thoſe which belonged to the others, ſuch, one would have thought, had been the Fortune of the King's Army in the Encounters with the Enemies: for thoſe under the King's Commanders grew inſenſibly into all the Licenſe, Diſorder, and Impiety, with which they had reproach'd the Rebels; and They, into great Diſcipline, Diligence, and Sobriety; which begot Courage and Reſolution in them, and notable dexterity in Atchievements and Enterpriſes. Inſomuch as one ſide ſeem'd to Fight for Monarchy, with the Weapons of Confuſion, and the other to deſtroy the King and Government, with all the Principles and Regularity of Monarchy.

IN the beginning of the Troubles, the King had very prudently reſolv'd with himſelf to confer no Honours, or beſtow any Offices or Preferments upon any, till the end and concluſion of the Service; and if that Reſolution had continued, He would have found much eaſe by it, and his Service great Advantage. The Neceſſity and Exigents of the War, ſhortly after, made ſome breach into this ſeaſonable Reſolution, and, for ready Money to carry on the War, his Majeſty was compelled, againſt his Nature, to diſpenſe ſome Favours, which he would not willingly have ſuffer'd to be purchaſed, but by Vertue and high Merit. Then all Men thought Money and Mony-worth to be all one; and that whoſoever, by his Service, had deſerv'd a Reward of Money, had deſerv'd any thing that might be had for Money. And when it was apparent, that the War was like to prove a buſineſs of time, it was thought unreaſonable, that the King ſhould not confer Rewards on Some, which he was able to do, becauſe he could not do it on All, which was confeſſedly out of his Power. And ſo, by importunity, and upon the Title of old Promiſes, and ſome conveniencies of his Service, he beſtow'd Honours upon ſome Principal Officers of his Army, and Offices upon others: to which, though in the particulars, no juſt exceptions could be taken, yet many were angry to ſee ſome Preferr'd, and not ſo much extolling their own Merit and Service, as making it equal to thoſe whom they ſaw advanced, every

every Man thought himself neglected and slighted, in that another was better esteem'd.

And this Poyson of Envy wrought upon many Natures, which had skill enough not to confess it: The Soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another (there being unhappy Animosities amongst the Principal Officers) yet they were too well united, and reconciled against any other Body of Men; and thinking the King's Crown depended wholly on the Fortune of Their Swords, believ'd no other Persons to be considerable, and no Councils fit to be consulted with, but the Martial; and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the Council of State, to which, by the wholesome Constitution of the Kingdom, the Militia, Garrisons, and all Martial Power is purely, and naturally Subordinate; and by the Authority, and Prudence whereof, Provision could be only reasonably expected, for the countenance and support of the Army.

The General, and Prince *Rupert*, were both Strangers to the Government and Custom of the Kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the Nobility, and the King's Ministers, or with their Rights: and the Prince's Heart was so wholly set upon Actions of War, that he not only neglected, but too much contemn'd the peaceable and civil Arts, which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, somewhat like that which *Plutarch* says of the Roman Auguries, "That *Octavius* lost his Life trusting to them, and "that *Marius* prosper'd the better, because he did not alto-"gether despise them, may be said of Popularity: though he that too immoderately, and importunately affects it (which was the case of the Earl of *Essex*) will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly despises, or neglects what is said of him, or what is generally thought of Persons, or Things, and too Stoically contemns the Affections of Men, even of Vulgar (be his other Abilities and Virtues as great as can be imagin'd) will, in some conjuncture of time, find himself very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reason cannot be assign'd for the misfortunes that hopeful young Prince (who had great parts of Mind, as well as Vigour of Body, and an incomparable Personal Courage) underwent, and the Kingdom thereby, than that unpolish'd roughness of his Nature; which render'd him less patient to hear, and consequently less skilful to judge of those things, which should have guided him in the discharge of his important Trust: and making an unskilful judgment of the unusefulness of the Councils, by his observation of the infirmities and weakness of some particular Counsellors, he grew to a full disesteem of the Acts of that Board; which must ever be respected, as long as the Regal Power is exercised in *England*.

I CANNOT but, on this occaſion, continue this digreſſion thus much farther, to obſerve, that they who avoid publick Debates in Council, or think them of no moment, upon undervaluing the Perſons of ſome Counſellors, and from the particular infirmities of the Men, the heavineſs of this Man, the levity of another, the weakneſs and ſimplicity of a third, conclude, that the advice and opinions of Many are not requiſite to any great deſign, are exceedingly deceiv'd; and will perniciouſly deceive others who are miſled by thoſe concluſions. For it is in Wiſdom, as it is in Beauty, a Face that, being taken in pieces, affords ſcarce one exact feature, an Eye, or a Noſe, or a Tooth, or a Brow, or a Mouth, againſt which a viſible juſt exception may not be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulneſs and vivacity in the whole, may conſtitute an excellent Beauty, and be more charming than another, whoſe Symmetry is more faultleſs; ſo there are many Men, who in one particular Argument, may be unskilful, in another affected, who may ſeem to have ſome Levity, and Vanity, or Formality, in ordinary and curſory Converſation (a very crooked Rule to meaſure any Man's Abilities, as giving a better meaſure of the Humour, than of the Underſtanding) and yet in form'd Counſels, Deliberations, and Tranſactions, are Men of great Inſight, and Wiſdom, and from whom excellent Aſſiſtance may be contributed.

No Queſtion, all great Enterpriſes, and Deſigns, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the Survey and Diſquiſition of ſeveral Faculties and Abilities, equally for the deciſion of ſharper, and more phlegmatick Underſtandings. And we often hear, in Debates of great Moment, Animadverſions of more weight, and conſequence, from thoſe whoſe ordinary Converſation may not be ſo delightful, than from Men of more ſublime Parts. Certainly *Solomon* well underſtood himſelf, when he ſaid, *In the multitude of Counſellors there is ſafety.* And though it be confeſs'd, that reaſon would be better diſcover'd, and ſtated, and right concluſions eaſier made by a few, than by a greater number, yet when the Execution depends on many, and the general interpretation ſo much depends on the Succeſs, and the Succeſs on the Interpretation, We ſee thoſe Counſels uſually moſt proſperous, whereof the Conſiderations, and Deliberations, have been meaſured by that Standard which is moſt publickly acknowledg'd, and receiv'd. He has had but ſmall Experience in the managing Affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himſelf, ſome very good and uſeful concluſions, which have therefore only miſcarried, becauſe they were not communicated to thoſe, who thought they had reaſon to believe themſelves competent parties to the Secret.

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There was ſeldom ever yet that publick-heartedneſs ſunk into the breaſts of Men, as to be long willing to be left out in thoſe tranſactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore Men have been often willing enough, any ſingle Advice ſhould miſcarry, of whatſoever general Concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of ſome One man, who has thought Their Approbation not worth the providing for. And though the Advantage of ſecrecy and diſpatch, ſeems to favour a ſmall Number of Counſellors, yet (except in ſome few caſes, which in their own Nature are to be both conſulted, and acted together, and the full Execution whereof may be by a few) I am not ſure that the inconveniency will be greater by the neceſſary delays, occaſion'd by the Number, or even by ſuch a diſcovery, as may be ſuppoſed to proceed from the Levity of any of them, than by wanting the Approbation, and Concurrence of thoſe, who will unavoidably know it ſoon enough to add to, or take from the Succeſs, at leaſt the Reputation, of any publick buſineſs. Much of the Negligence, and Diſreſpect towards the Civil Councils, proceeded, from theſe unhappy Cauſes. For as all Corporations, Tribes, and Fraternities, ſuffer moſt by the Malignity of ſome of their own Members; ſo the Jealouſy and Indiſpoſition of ſome Counſellors, contributed much to the diſregard which fell upon the Order; and in them, upon the King.

AMONG thoſe who were next the King's Truſt, and to whom he communicated the greateſt Secrets in his Affairs, there were ſome, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without ſuch an application to Court as uſually uſhered in thoſe promotions, were aſcended to that preferment; and were believ'd to have an equal Intereſt with any, in their Maſter's eſtimation. Theſe were ſure to find no more Charity from the Court, than from the Army; and they having had lately ſo many equals, it was thought no preſumption, freely to cenſure all they did, or ſpoke; what effect ſoever ſuch freedom had upon the publick Policy and Tranſactions. It were to be wiſh'd, that Perſons of the greateſt Birth, Honour, and Fortune, would take that care of themſelves by Education, Induſtry, Litterature, and a love of Virtue, to ſurpaſs all other Men in Knowledge, and all other Qualifications, neceſſary for great Actions, as far as they do in Quality and Titles; that Princes, out of Them, might always chooſe Men fit for all Employments, and high Truſts; which would exceedingly advance their Service; when the reputation and reſpect of the Perſon carries ſomewhat with it, that facilitates the buſineſs. And it cannot eaſily be expreſſed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight, and burthen of the Envy, which naturally attends upon thoſe promotions, which

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seem to be *per Saltum*, how great streights and difficulties such Ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the Charges, with which they are entrusted, must proportionably suffer, let the Integrity and Wisdom of the Men, be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience, and dexterity, to carry a Man through those streights, easily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand rude attempts, and dishonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too mean for such a Trust) and between the caution, that his Nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his great place; which will expose him to much more contempt, than the former; and therefore is, with a more exact Guard to be avoided: the Errors of gentleness and civility, being much more easily reform'd as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation.

The best provision that such Men can make for their Voyage, besides a lasting stock of Innocency, and a firm Confidence in God Almighty, that he will never suffer that Innocency to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, is, an expectation of those Gusts and Storms of Rumour, Detraction, and Envy; and a Resolution not to be over sensible of all Calumnies, Unkindness, or Injustice; but to believe, that, by being Preferr'd before other Men, they have an obligation upon them, to suffer more than other Men would do; and that the best way to convince Scandals, and Misreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserv'd them. There is not a more troublesome passion, or that often draws more inconveniencies with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright Conscience; when Men cannot endure to be spoken ill of, if they have not deserv'd it: in which distemper, though they should free themselves from the Errors, or Infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others, of which they had never been suspected. In a word, let no honest Man that is once enter'd into the list, think, he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent these Conflicts and Assaults; or that he can, by any stubborn or impetuous Humour, suppress, and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as Purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon Providence, and Time, for a Vindication; and by constantly performing all the duties of his place, with Justice, Integrity, and Uprightness, give all Men cause to believe, he was worthy of the first Hour; which is a Triumph very Lawfully to be affected.

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As these distempers, indispositions, and infirmities of particular Men, had a great influence upon the publick Affairs, and disturb'd and weaken'd the whole frame and fabrick of the King's designs; so no particular Man was more disquieted by them, than the King himself; who, in his Person, as well as in his Business, suffer'd all the Vexation of the rude, petulant, and discontented Humours of Court, and Army. His Majesty now paid Interest for all the benefit and advantage, he had receiv'd in the beginning of the War, by his Gentleness, and Princely affability to all Men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of Majesty, which he had, in his former life, observ'd with all punctuality. He vouchsafed then himself to receive any Addresses, and Overtures for his Service, and to hold discourse with all Men who brought devotion to him; and he must be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all; and how frivolous, and unreasonable soever, the cause was, his Majesty was put both to inform, and temper their Understandings. No Man would receive an Answer but from Himself, and expected a better from him, than he must have been contented to have receiv'd from any Body else. Every Man magnified the Service he had done, and his Ability, and Interest to do greater, and proposed Honour and Reward equal to both in his own sense. And if he receiv'd not an Answer to his mind, he grew sullen, complain'd, "He was neglected, and resolv'd, or pretended so, "To quit the Service, and to Travel into "some Forreign Kingdom. He is deceiv'd that believes the ordinary Carriage, and State of a King, to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his Greatness. They are the Outworks, which preserve Majesty it self from approaches and surprisal. We find that the Queen of *Sheba* was amazed at the meat of *Solomon*'s Table, and the sitting of his Servants, and the attendance of his Ministers, and their Apparel, and his Cup-bearers, *&c.* as so great instances of *Solomon*'s Wisdom, that *there was no more Spirit in her*. And no doubt, what Prince soever inconsiderately departs from those Forms, and Trappings, and Ornaments of his Dignity, and Preeminence, will hardly, at some time, be able to preserve the body it self of Majesty, from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

And let no Man think, that the King had now no hard task to master these Troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of Royal Severity, would easily have dispersed these Clouds. The Disease was too violent and catching, and the Contagion, too Universal, to be cured by that Remedy; neither were the symptoms, or effects, the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagin'd, into how many several shapes Mens indispo-

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sitions were put, and how many Artifices were used to get Honours, Offices, Preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One man had been named for such a place, that is, Himself and his Friends had given it out, that he should have it, when it may be, he was too modest to pretend to it; and upon this Vogue he had a Title, and if it should be conferr'd upon another, it would be a mark of the King's disfavour to him; and thereby he should lose the Ability, and Credit, without which he could do no farther Service. Another suggested, that his Friends and Companions in consort, had all receiv'd some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of Favour, it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No Man was so hard hearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and He commonly had best success, who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness, and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reason for some Men's Preferment, than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest natures, to find forward Men had so good Fortune, that the want of Success begun to be imputed to want of Wit.

I Remember about this time, a Person of good Quality, and of a good Name in Action, came to me very pensive, and told me, "How conscientiously he had serv'd the King, without any private designs, or other thoughts, than the discharge of his own Duty, and rendering the performance of "that duty acceptable to his Majesty; yet that, to his unspeakable discomfort, he found, he had been misrepresented "to the King, and that his Majesty had entertain'd a sinister "opinion of him, and desired me to learn, what the ground "of the prejudice was, and by my good testimony to endeavour to remove it. I had a very good opinion of the Person, and believ'd the King had so, and therefore perswaded him, that the Jealousy was groundless, and press'd to know, from whence he receiv'd those impressions; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me, "That he had his Advertisement from a sure hand, which was to be concealed "and not doubted; that upon my Enquiry, I would find it "true, though he could not imagine the cause. I promised him, "I would press the King very heartily in it, and if there "were any thing that stuck with him, I presumed his Majesty "would be so gracious to let me know it; and accordingly having shortly after an opportunity to wait on his Majesty, I told him the true Narrative of what had passed, with my observation of the general comportment of that Gentleman, and besought

beſought his Majeſty, "If any ill Offices had been done him, "or that any prejudice towards him was lodged in his "Royal breaſt, that he would graciouſly vouchſafe to tell "me what it was, and that he would allow him an Acceſs, "to clear himſelf from any imputations. The King very chearfully aſſured me, "That he had not only a very good "opinion of that Gentleman, but that he was moſt aſſured, "he had no real ſuſpicion to the contrary; and therefore, bid me, "Proceed to the other part of my buſineſs. I told him, "I had no more, and that I was ſure, I ſhould make a "very happy Man, by ſatisfying him of what I found. Then ſaid the King, "You are not throughly inſtructed, for the "other half of this buſineſs muſt be a Suite. I replied, "If "that were ſo, I was yet more ignorant than I ſuſpected my "ſelf. The Gentleman ſhortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealouſy of being in Umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant Aſſurance to the contrary, with the mention of ſome Expreſſions the King had uſed, which were indeed very gracious, he ſeem'd to receive it with ſuch a countenance and guſto, that I verily believ'd he had Had his hearts deſire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "That I had made him abundantly happy; and "that he doubted not, there was no juſt ground for the other "reports, but only the Malice of thoſe who wiſh'd them "true; yet, that they had leſſen'd his credit abroad, even "with his Friends; and that he found, there was no way to "keep up his Reputation, and Intereſt in the world, whereby "he might be able to do the King Service (which was all he "look'd after) but the receiving ſome teſtimony of the King's "good opinion, which would be a publick evidence that the "other diſcourſes were falſe. I was ſurpriſed, and as much out of countenance, as He ſhould have been; and adviſed him "to patience, and to expect the King's own time, and me-"thod, rather than to quicken him by any importunity, which "would give an ill reliſh to any obligation. He would not underſtand that Philoſophy, but ſhortly after found ſome other means to preſs the King very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without ſome implication, "That, without ſome "ſuch earneſt of his Majeſty's goodneſs, he ſhould not be able "to continue in his Service; which probably was one of the modeſteſt Addreſſes, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the King's Trouble was ſo great, that he many times ſuffer'd more Vexation from the indiſpoſition, and humours of his own People, than from the Enemy, or the apprehenſion of their Counſels: which hath made me enlarge this digreſſion ſo much; conceiving it no

leſs to be a part of Hiſtory, and more uſeful to Poſterity; to leave a Character of the times, than of the Perſons, or the Narrative of the matters of Fact, which cannot be ſo well underſtood, as by knowing the Genius that prevailed when they were tranſacted.

THE beſt expedient his Majeſty could find to diſpel theſe Fumes, was Motion and Action; and therefore, though the Seaſon of the Year was too far ſpent, and too many Officers hurt, for the taking the Field again, beſides that many Regiments were return'd to their old Poſts (as the *Welſh* to defend their own Country from the Incurſions from *Gloceſter*, and to reduce ſome Towns in *Pembroke-ſhire*, which, lying on the Sea, by the help of the Parliament Ships, begun to fortify, and gather ſtrength) yet he reſolv'd his Forces about *Oxford* ſhould not lie ſtill.

IN the beginning of *October*, Prince *Rupert* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, march'd into *Bedford-ſhire*, and took the Town of *Bedford*, and in it a Party of the Enemy, who uſed it only as a ſtrong Quarter. This Expedition was principally to countenance Sr *Lewis Dives*, whilſt he Fortified *Newport Pannel*, where he hoped to fix a Garriſon; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the Northern Parts, and reſtrain'd the Commerce between *London* and their Aſſociated Counties; which they well underſtood; and therefore, upon the firſt News of it, the Earl of *Eſſex* remov'd his head Quarters from *Windſor* to St *Albans*, and the Train'd-bands of *London*, and their Auxiliary Regiments, marched again to him for his Recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a miſtake of Orders from *Oxford*, Sr *Lewis Dives* drew off his Forces from *Newport Pannel*; and the Enemy preſently poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and made it a very uſeful Garriſon. Upon which, Prince *Rupert* Fortified *Toſſiter*, a Town in *Northampton-ſhire*, and left a ſtrong Garriſon there; which, though it infeſted the Enemy ſomewhat, and took great Revenge upon thoſe Counties which had expreſſed a violent Affection to the Parliament, in truth, added little ſtrength to the King; for he loſt many Horſe by the labour of duty, the greateſt part of the Body of his Horſe being forced to Quarter near that place, for the ſecurity of the Foot, till the Works about the Town were in ſuch a forwardneſs, that they needed not fear their Neighbours at St *Albans*.

The King's Affairs in the Weſt.

IN the mean time, the power of the Parliament was leaſt Manifeſt in the Weſt, where their Party was reduced to a lowneſs, and confin'd within narrow limits after the taking of *Exeter*, the Gentlemen of that County having been generally well devoted to the King's Service, though never able

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safely to declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing the violence of the other Party. Prince *Maurice* found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by Levies of Money, Men, and all Offices that could be expected; insomuch as, within very few days after the Surrender of that Town, his Army of Foot, by the new Levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand Men (which was a Body the West had not before seen) besides a Body of Horse, at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent Equipage for Action. And at the same time, Colonel *John Digby* was before *Plymouth*, with above three thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, and had taken a work from the Enemy of great Importance, called *Mount-Stamford* in honour of that Earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the Town, and which commanded some part of the River; the loss whereof gave the Town a marvellous discouragement.

THE first Error the Prince committed after the reducing of *Exeter*, was staying too long there before he Advanced; for victorious Armies carry great Terror with them, whilst the memory and fame of the Victory is fresh. The next, that he removed not directly towards *Plymouth*, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his Approach: for the Town was full of distraction, and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an Enemy. It was a rich and populous Corporation, being, in time of Peace, the greatest Port for Trade in the West; and, except *Bristol*, then more considerable than all the rest. There was in it a Castle very strong towards the Sea, with good Platforms and Ordnance; and little more than Musquet-shot from the Town, was an Island with a Fort in it, much stronger than the Castle; both which were, before the Troubles, under the Command of a Captain, with a Garrison of about fifty Men at the most; and were only intended for a security, and defence of the Town, against a Forreign Invasion; the Castle and the Island together, having a good Command of the Entrance into the Harbour, but towards the Land there was very little strength. This Command was in the hands of Sr *Jacob Ashley*, and as unprovided to expect, or resist any Enemy, as the other Castles and Forts of the Kingdom; less for the receiving a Recruit; there being only Ordnance, and Ammunition, without any other Provisions for the support of the Soldiers within the Walls; and the Garrison it self being by Time, Marriages, and Trade, Incorporated into the Town, and rather Citizens than Soldiers: So that Sr *Jacob Ashley* being sent for to the King, before his setting up his Standard, as soon, as there was any

apprehenſion of a Party for the King in *Cornwal*, after the appearing of Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and thoſe other Gentlemen there, the Mayor, and Corporation of *Plymouth*, quickly got both the Caſtle and Iſland into their own Power.

It will be wonder'd at by many hereafter, that thoſe, and the like places of Strength in *England*, being under the Command of Perſons entirely of his Majeſty's Nomination, were not put into a good Poſture of Defence, when it grew firſt Evident, that there would be ſhortly occaſion to uſe them; for according to the old ſtory in *Ælian*, that when in one of the States of *Greece*, *Mecippus*'s Sheep brought forth a Lyon, It was generally, and juſtly concluded, that That portended a Tyranny, and change of the State from a Peaceable to a Bloody Government; ſo when the two Houſes of Parliament firſt produced a Soveraign Power, to make, and alter, and ſuſpend Laws, before they raiſed an Army, or made a General, or declared War; when that mild and innocent Sheep, that Legal regular Convention of a ſober and modeſt Council, had once brought forth that Lyon which ſought whom he might devour, it might be eaſily, and naturally concluded by all wiſe and ſober Men, that the bleſſed calm, and temperate State of Government, by which every Man eat the fruit of his own Vine, was at an end; and Rapine, Blood, and Deſolation, to ſucceed; and therefore that thoſe Holds ſhould, in reaſon, have been then provided for.

But I ſhall ſay here once for all, that from the time that there was any reaſonable jealouſy of a War, it was never in the King's Power to mend the Condition of any of thoſe places, and if he had attempted it, with what caution or ſecrecy ſoever, the inconvenience he muſt have ſuſtained by it, beſides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the Advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he deſired. I have very ill deſcribed the times We have paſſed through, if That be not apparent; and that it was rather an Error of the former times, that thoſe places needed any Supply, than that it was not apply'd to them in the ſucceeding.

The Parliament was very glad *Plymouth* was thus ſecured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all Corporations, by ſhewing they thought them capable of the greateſt Truſts, as becauſe they could not, in truth, more reaſonably Confide in any other, they committed the Government thereof to that Mayor; who was well enough inſtructed, what reſpect to pay to their Committee; which was appointed to reſide there for his Aſſiſtance, and to conduct the Affairs in thoſe parts. Of that Committee, Sr *Alexander Carew* was one; a Gentleman of a good Fortune in *Cornwal*, who ſerv'd in Parliament

liament as Knight for that County, and had, from the beginning of the Parliament, curcurr'd in all concluſions with the moſt Violent, with as full a Teſtimony of that Zeal and Fury, to which their Confidence was apply'd, as any Man. To Him the Cuſtody and Government of that Fort, and Iſland, which was look'd upon as the Security of the Town, was committed; and a ſufficient Garriſon put into it. The Mayor Commanded the Caſtle, and the Town, about which a Line was caſt up of Earth, weak, and irregular.

AFTER the Battle of *Stratton*, and the King's Forces prevailing ſo far over the Weſt, that *Briſtol* was taken by them, and *Exeter* cloſely Beſieged, Sr *Alexander Carew* begun to think, his Iſland and Fort would hardly ſecure his Eſtate in *Cornwal*; and underſtood the Law ſo well (for he had had a good Education) to know, that the ſide he had choſen, would be no longer the better, than it ſhould continue the ſtronger; and having originally follow'd no other Motives, than of Popularity and Intereſts, reſolv'd now to redeem his Errors; and found means to correſpond with ſome of his old Friends and Neighbours in *Cornwal*, and by them to make a direct Overture to Surrender that Fort and Iſland to the King, upon an aſſurance of his Majeſty's Pardon, and a full remiſſion of his Offences. Sr *John Berkley*, who then lay before *Exeter*, was the next ſupreme Officer, qualified to entertain ſuch a Treaty; and he, inſtantly, by the ſame Conveyance, return'd him as ample aſſurance of his own Conditions as could be; with advice, "That he ſhould not, upon any defect of forms "(Which upon his engagement, ſhould be ſupplied with all "poſſible expedition, to his own ſatisfaction) defer the conſum- "mating the work; which hereafter, poſſibly, might not be "in his power to effect: deſigns of that Nature being to be conſulted and executed together; for in thoſe caſes, according to *Mutianus* in *Tacitus*, *Qui deliberant, deſciverunt*; and the greateſt danger attends the not going on. But he was ſo ſottiſhly, and dangerouſly wary of his own Security (having neither Courage enough to obey his Conſcience, nor Wickedneſs enough to be proſperous againſt it) that he would not proceed, till he was ſufficiently aſſured, that his Pardon was paſſed the Great Seal of *England*; before which time, though all imaginable haſte was made, by the Treachery of a Servant whom he truſted, his Treaty and Deſign was diſcover'd to the Mayor, and the reſt of the Committee; and, according to the diligence uſed by that Party, in caſes of ſuch concernment, he was ſuddainly, and without reſiſtance, ſurpriſed in his Fort, and carried Priſoner into *Plymouth*; and from thence, by Sea, ſent to *London*; where what became of him, will be remember'd in it's place.

Sir Alexander Carew Treats to Surrender the Fort of Plymouth to the King's Forces, but is ſurpriſed.

SHORTY after this accident, Colonel *Digby* came before the Town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagin'd, but the People were in great diſtraction, with the apprehenſion of the danger they had eſcaped; and thoſe diſcoveries bring always that Melancholy with them, that Men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no Man had, to common underſtanding, better deſerv'd to be truſted, or given leſs Argument for Suſpicion: and upon ſuch a defection, who could hope to ſtand free from jealouſy? Beſides he could not but have had much Familiarity with many in the Town, which muſt ſubject them to ſome Suſpicion, or, at leaſt, make them ſuſpect that they were ſuſpected; and without doubt, it awaken'd many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the Judgment, that he would not ſuffer a Man to recover the Security, and Comfort of his Allegiance, who had ſo ſignally departed from it againſt the light of his own Conſcience; and that a Man, who had been before precipitate againſt all reaſon, ſhould periſh by conſidering too much, when precipitation was only reaſonable.

THE fame of the winning of *Exeter*, by which a Victorious Army was at liberty to viſit them, and then the loſs of *Mount-Stamford*, which was their only conſiderable Fortification to the Land, with thoſe other diſcompoſures wrought a wonderful Conſternation amongſt them; and made them conſider, that if they could hold out, and defend their Town, the Country being all loſt, they muſt loſe all their Trade, and ſo from Merchants become only Soldiers; which was not the Condition they contended for. Inſomuch as the Mayor himſelf was not without a propenſity to ſend for a Treaty, upon which the Town might be deliver'd to the King: and it was by many then believ'd, that if Prince *Maurice* had then marched from *Exeter* before it, that Treaty would infallibly have enſued. But, when I ſay it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a Misfortune than a Fault; for his Highneſs was an utter ſtranger in thoſe parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reaſon, perſwaded firſt to bend his courſe to *Dartmouth*; which was look'd upon "As an eaſy "work, and a Harbour, which being got, would draw a very "good Trade: and that ſhort work being perform'd, *Ply-*"*mouth* would have the leſs Courage to make reſiſtance; and "if it ſhould, it were much fitter for the Winter, which was "now drawing on (for it was more than the middle of *Septem-ber*) "than the other, by reaſon of the conveniency of good "Accommodation for the Soldiers, near about it; which could "not be had about *Dartmouth*.

UPON theſe reaſons, he march'd directly to *Dartmouth*; which,

which, how unfit ſoever to make a defence againſt ſuch an Army, by the diſadvantage of Situation, and the want of all thoſe helps which uſe to make a Garriſon Confident, he found in no temper and diſpoſition to yield; ſo that he ſate down before it. And ſhortly after, there came ſo violent a Seaſon of Rain, and foul Weather, that very many of his Men, with lying on the ground, fell ſick, and died; and more run away. Yet, after near a Months Siege, and the loſs of many good Men (whereof the ſame Colonel *Chudleigh*, of whom We ſpoke before, was one, a Gallant young Gentleman, who receiv'd a ſhot with a Muſquet in the Body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loſs to the King's Service) it was given up on fair Conditions; and then the Prince, having placed a Garriſon there, under the Command of Colonel *Seymour*, a Gentleman of principal Account and Intereſt in *Devon-ſhire*, loſt no more time, but with all convenient expedition, march'd to *Plymouth*; which was not now in the State it had been; for the Parliament being quickly inform'd, how terrible an impreſſion the loſs of almoſt all other Parts of the Weſt had made upon the Spirits of that People, and before this time ſent a recruit of five hundred Men, and a *Scots* Officer to be Governour; who eaſed the Mayor of that unequal Charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the Prince ſate down before it with an Army much inferior, after he had joyn'd with Colonel *Digby*, to that with which he had march'd from *Exeter* to *Dartmouth*; yet with much confidence to reduce that Town, before the Winter ſhould be over.

Prince Maurice *ſits down before* Dartmouth; *and takes it*:

Sits down before Plymouth *too late.*

THOUGH the King's Succeſs, and good Fortune, had met with a check in the relief of *Gloceſter*, and the Battle of *Newbury*, yet his Condition ſeem'd mightily improv'd by the whole Summer's Service. For whereas he ſeem'd before confined, upon the matter, within *Oxford-ſhire*, and half *Berk-ſhire*, (which half was loſt too upon the loſs of *Reading* in the Spring) and the Parties which appear'd for him in other Counties, ſeem'd rather ſufficient to hinder a general Union againſt him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, Maſter of the whole Weſt; *Cornwal* was his own without a Rival; *Plymouth* was the only place, in all *Devon-ſhire*, unreduced; and thoſe Forces ſhut within their own Walls: the large, rich County of *Somerſet*, with *Briſtol*, entirely His: In *Dorſet-ſhire*, the Enemy had only two little Fiſher-Towns, *Poole* and *Lyme*; all the reſt was declar'd for the King. And in every of theſe Counties, he had plenty of Harbours and Ports, to ſupply him with Ammunition, and the Country with Trade. In *Wilt-ſhire* the Enemy had not the leaſt footing, and rather a Town or two in

Hampshire than any possession of the County; that People being generally undevoted to them: The whole Principality of *Wales*, except a Sea Town or two in *Pembroke-shire*, was at his devotion; and that unfortunately obstinate Town of *Glocester* only kept him from Commanding the whole *Severn*. The Parliament was nothing stronger in *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and *Lancashire*, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the Marquis of *New Castle* had been forced to rise as unfortunately from *Hull*, as the King had been from *Glocester*, yet he had still a full Power over *York-shire*, and a greater in *Nottingham-shire*, and *Lincoln-shire*, than the Parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make War; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that there was no Peace. And therefore many believ'd, that, what appearance soever there was of obstinacy, the Winter would produce some Overtures of Accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from *Scotland*, was only to incline the King to the greater Condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the People, as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and traduced the King with a purpose of bringing Forreign Forces to awe, and impose upon his own Subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stranger Nation to Invade their Country, and to compel that People, by whose Affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to Changes they had no mind to receive. And the Arrival of the Count of *Harcourt*, as Extraordinary Embassadour from the Crown of *France*, was look'd upon as an expedient to usher in some Treaty, and to remove those Ceremonies, and preliminary Propositions, which, by reason of the mutual Declarations, and Protestations against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The Count d' Harcourt arrives Embassadour from France

The King himself was not without expectation of notable Effects from this Embassy; for the State of *France* seem'd to be much alter'd from what it was at the beginning of these Troubles. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who the King well knew, had more than fomented the Troubles both in *England*, and *Scotland*, was now dead; and the King of *France* himself likewise; and those old Ministers of State who had been long in the *Bastile*, or Banish'd, were now set at liberty, and recalled and in favour; the Queen Mother made Regent; who professed great Personal kindness to the Queen of *England*, and so great a sense of the indignities the King, and she suffer'd, that she seem'd sensible, that *France* had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the Interest, as well as Honour of that Crown, was concern'd to buoy up the Monarchy of *England*;

land; with intimations, "That the King himself should direct "what way he would be serv'd by that Crown. The first Evidence they gave of meaning as they said, was the revocation of Monsieur *la Ferte Senneterre*, the Embassadour then Resident in *England*; who had contracted a wonderful Familiarity with the fiercest Managers of the Parliament, and done the King all imaginable disservice; insomuch as he had industriously perswaded some *English* Priests, and Jesuits, to engage those of the Romish persuasion, by no means to assist the King; with a full assurance, "That the Parliament would al-"low them Liberty of Conscience. This Minister his Majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddainly done, but a private intimation likewise given to our Queen, "That she should nominate, what Person was to be employ'd "in his Place; who should wholly guide himself by her In-"structions: and her Majesty was led to make choice of Monsieur *le Conte d' Harcourt*, one of the principal Persons of that Kingdom, being a Prince of the House of *Lorraine*, and so allied to the King, and Grand Escuier; and had been their late fortunate General in *Catalonia*, where he had given the *Spaniard* the greatest Defeat they had receiv'd; which was not thought an unseasonable Qualification in an Embassadour whose business was to mediate a Peace.

His Reception at *London* was with much solemnity, that he might not find there was any absence of Ceremony or State, by the absence of the King; yet when he had a Safe Conduct for *Oxford*, his Carriages were stopped at the going out of *London*, and his own Coach, as well as all other places, search'd with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he carried Letters; and though he expostulated the Affront, as a high violation of his Honour, and Privilege, he receiv'd no manner of reparation, or the Officer, that did it, any reprehension; which made many believe, that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The King expected that, by this Embassadour, the Crown of *France* would have made a brisk Declaration on his Majesty's behalf; and if the Parliament should not return to their regular Obedience, that they should have found no correspondence, or reception in that Kingdom; and that they would really assist his Majesty, in such manner as he should propose; which Declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the City of *London*, in respect of their Trade; but more with the *Scots*, who were understood to have an especial dependence upon *France*.

When the Embassadour return'd from his Audience at *Oxford*, where he stay'd not many days, he sent a paper to the Earl of *Northumberland*, by which he desir'd his Lordship,

"to

"to impart to the Meſſieurs of Parliament, that he had made "known to their Majeſties, the Affectionate deſire the King "his Maſter, and the Queen his Miſtreſs, had to contribute "all good Offices, in the procurement of Peace, and Tran- "quillity in this Kingdom; to which he found the deſires of "their Majeſties well diſpoſed; and therefore he deſir'd to "know, whether his Lordſhip thought the two Houſes did "correſpond in the ſame intention; if they did, after they "ſhould make him underſtand the Subject that had obliged "them to take up Arms, he would interpoſe to pacify the "differences, by ſuch expedients, as ſhould be moſt conform- "able to the ancient Laws, and Cuſtoms of the Realm.

AFTER the Earl of *Northumberland* had inform'd the Houſe of Peers of this repreſentation, it was, at a Conference, imparted to the Houſe of Commons, and an Anſwer was framed by joynt agreement, to be return'd by the Earl of *Northumberland* to the Embaſſadour. In the form of it, they gave him the Title of *Prince of Harcourt*, and *Grand Eſcuier of France*; but omitted that of *Extraordinary Embaſſadour in England*, becauſe it did not appear to the Parliament, by Letters of Credence, or the ſight of his Inſtructions from the King, or Queen Regent of *France*, that he was by them employ'd Extraordinary Embaſſadour into *England*.

THE Anſwer it ſelf was, "That the Lords and Commons "in Parliament did, with all due Reſpects, accept of the Af- "fectionate deſires of the King, and Queen Regent of *France*, "to contribute good Offices, towards the procuring a happy "Peace; and that, when the ſaid Monſieur *le Prince d' Har- "court* ſhould make any ſuch Propoſitions to the Parliament, "by Authority from their Majeſties of *France*, they would "give them ſuch an Anſwer to the ſame, as might ſtand with "the Intereſt of both Kingdoms, and their late Solemn League "and Covenant. The Lords propoſed, "That there might "be a Committee appointed to Treat with the Embaſſadour: But the Commons would by no means conſent to it, "Till he "ſhould make it manifeſt, that he had Authority from his "Maſter to treat with the Parliament; and withal they de- clared, "That if he had, at any time, any thing farther to "offer to them, they would not receive it from any particular "Member of either Houſe; but that he ſhould apply himſelf "by writing, or otherwiſe, to the Speaker of either, or both "Houſes of Parliament; otherwiſe, they would hold no cor- "reſpondence with him. The ground of this reſolution was, that they might draw from the Embaſſadour (which they pre- ſumed could not be without the Privity, and Approbation of the King) an Addreſs, and Acknowledgment that they were a Parliament, againſt the Freedom whereof, and conſequently

the

the preſent Being, his Majeſty had, by his late Proclamation, declar'd. So the Embaſſadour, after a Journey or two to *Oxford*, and ſome perfunctory Addreſſes to the Houſes, return'd to *France re infecta*, and without the leaſt expreſſion of diſlike, on his Maſter's behalf, of their proceedings. *Returns in-to France without any good effect to the King.*

SOME were ſcrupulous in believing that *France* really intended to repair the miſchief it had done; and obſerv'd, that though there were ſome plauſible compliances, in point of Ceremony, with particular Perſons, after the death of the former Cardinal; yet, that the main Counſels were carried on upon the Rules and Directions he had left; and that the Cardinal *Mazarin*, a Perſon who had been of the higheſt Truſt with the other, wholly now preſided over thoſe Counſels; and conſider'd how much *France* might imagine it would conduce to their Intereſt, that the King of *England* ſhould not have all his Subjects in perfect Obedience, leſt he might offer to be an Arbiter of their great differences: I ſay, theſe Men believ'd Count *Harcourt's* Inſtructions privately were no other, than the laſt Embaſſadour's; whom the King had cauſed to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealouſy, had arguments enough to encreaſe it.

WHEN this Extraordinary Embaſſadour was appointed to come for *England*, Mr *Mountague* was in the Court of *France*, very much truſted by both their Majeſties, and by his Quality, and near relation to ſo great a Truſt, his long Converſation in that Court, and a ſingular dexterity in his Nature, adorn'd with excellent Parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour and particular eſtimation of that Queen Regent, and in the opinion of the Cardinal; to whom he had been uſeful. With this Gentleman moſt of the Concluſions had been tranſacted, which were preparatory to the Embaſſadour's Journey; and it was thought fit, that He ſhould at the ſame time come into *England*; and, in ſuch a diſguiſe, as might eaſily conceal a Man better known in *France* than in his own Country, in the Embaſſadour's Train find a ſafe paſſage to *Oxford*; which was carried with ſo much ſecrecy, that, beſides to the Embaſſadour himſelf, he was known to very few of his Retinue. The Count of *Harcourt* was not Landed four and twenty hours, but in his Journey towards *London*, a Meſſenger from the Parliament apprehended Mr *Mountague*, and carried him a Priſoner to the Houſes; by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the Embaſſadour made a great ſhew of reſenting it, he never claimed him in ſuch a manner as to procure his Enlargement; which made Men believe the Cardinal liked well his Confinement, and deſir'd not he ſhould be either at *Oxford* or *Paris*.

AT

At the Embassadour's first coming to *Oxford*, after general Overtures, and Declarations of the Resolution of that Crown, "To give his Majesty all possible Assistance for his re-"establishment, he proposed a League Offensive and Defensive with the King. His Majesty, that knew well such an Offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should propose, appointed a Committee of his Council (according to the usual course) to Treat with the Embassadour, upon all necessary Articles, which should attend such a Treaty; declaring an inclination to enter into such a League as was proposed; and thereupon desir'd "A present Loan of Money, and a supply of a good "proportion of Arms, and Ammunition; and likewise that "the Crown of *France* would declare against the Subjects of "*England*, and *Scotland*, who should persist in Rebellion; "according to an Article ratified in the last Treaty now in "force.

The Embassadour, who, it seems, expected that there should have been more pauses in the Overture of the League Offensive and Defensive, for the present declined the Treating with the Committee; alledging, "That he was, upon the "matter, a Minister of both their Majesties; and was to re-"ceive Command from them, and wholly to attend their Ser-"vice; and therefore that he desir'd wholly to communicate "with their Majesties themselves: and shortly after waved any further mention of the League, with an affected Compliment, "That it would not appear a generous thing, to press "the King to any Act in this his distress, which he had made "scruple of consenting to heretofore, when the Fortune of "both Crowns were equally prosperous: but that his Master "and Mistress, would frankly contribute all that could be "reasonably expected from them, towards his Majesty's Re-"storation, and Establishment; and afterwards expect such a "return of Affection from his Majesty, as the greatness of the "obligation should merit in his Princely estimation. And at the same time, the Queen Regent and Cardinal positively denied to the Lord *Goring*, Embassadour Extraordinary then from his Majesty in *France*, that ever the Count of *Harcourt* had any Instruction to mention a League Offensive and Defensive. These particular carriages, and his not relenting the Indignities, offer'd to him by the Parliament, made many Men believe, that this Embassadour, notwithstanding all the specious professions, was sent rather to foment, than extinguish the Fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his stay in *England*, he did not, in the least degree, advance the King's Service; and at his return, left the Parliament more united amongst themselves against the King, and the *Scots* more advanced

vanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the same time likewise a *French* Agent in *Scotland*; who produced no alteration in the Affections of that People, to the King's Advantage.

THE return of the three Earls, formerly mention'd, to *London* in the Winter, who so solemnly applied themselves to the King in the Spring, contributed exceedingly to the Union of the two Houses at *Westminster*. The other two stay'd longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permission. But the Earl of *Holland*, when he saw his place in the Bed-Chamber confer'd upon the Marquis of *Hertford*, in much discontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the King's Quarters; and before he was miss'd at *Oxford*, Intelligence was brought that he had render'd himself to the Parliament at *London*; and to make his return the more conscientious, he declar'd, as hath been said, "That the ground of his deserting them "formerly, and going to the King, was a hope to incline "his Majesty to a Treaty of Peace; but that he found he was "mistaken in the temper of the *Oxford* Councils; and that "the King had still about him some Counsellors, who would "never consent to a safe, and well grounded Peace; and that "he heard they had perswaded the King, to make a Cessa-"tion with the Rebels in *Ireland*; which affected his Con-"science so much, that, though he had been sure to have lost "his Life by it, he would return to the Parliament; profes-"sing exemplary Fidelity to them, if they would again receive "him into their Favour.

IT may be, his discourse of *Ireland*, or the King's averseness to Peace, wrought upon very few; but the Evidence of the King's aversion so far to forgive, and forget former Trespasses, as to receive them into Favour and Trust again, made a deep impression upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing Members of both Houses, that is, of them who had govern'd, and done as much mischief as any, either out of apprehension that the King would prevail, or that They should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their Government, and followed new Leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of Conscience, were quite weary of the Parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the King; and looked only upon the footing which those Doves, which went first out of the Ark, should find; and surely, if that expedient had been dexterously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the Parliament into such contempt, that it must have fallen of it self: A way, that in no

Civil

Civil War, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending ought to be declined. For a Body, that is not form'd by Policy, with any avowed and fixed Principles of Government, but by the diſtemper'd Affections, Ambition, and Diſcontent of particular Perſons, who rather agree againſt a common Adverſary, than are united to one juſt Intereſt, cannot ſo eaſily be diſſolved, as by Treating with particular Perſons, and rending thoſe Branches from the Trunk, whoſe beauty and advantage conſiſts only in the ſpreading.

THE reaſons were unanſwerable, which the old Conſul *Fabius* in *Livy Lib.* 24. gave, in the Caſe of *Caſſius Altinius*, who, after the Defeat of *Cannæ*, deſerted the *Romans*, and fled to *Hannibal*, by which he got the City of *Arpos*; and when the Condition of the *Romans* was again recover'd and flouriſhing, came again to the *Roman* Army, and offer'd to betray that City into their hands. Many were of opinion, "That "he ſhould be look'd upon as a Common Enemy; and bound, "and ſent to *Hannibal*, as a perfidious Perſon, who knew "neither how to be a Friend, nor an Enemy. *Fabius* reprehended the unſeaſonable ſeverity of thoſe who conſider'd, and judged *in medio ardore belli tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, "That their principal care muſt be, that none of their "Friends and Allies might forſake them; the next, that they "who had forſaken them, might return again into their Obe-"ence, and Protection: For, *ſi abire à Romanis liceat, re-"dire ad eos non liceat*, it could not be, but the State of *Rome*, "from which, in the late misfortunes, many had revolted, "muſt become very deſperate.

SUCH was the King's condition, the Number of the Guilty being ſo much ſuperior to the Innocent, that the latter could reaſonably expect only to be preſerv'd by the converſion and reduction of the former. Neither did the King not foreſee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and ſpirit of the time was ſo averſe from the Stratagem, that it was evident his preſent loſs would be as great, by practiſing it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. Whatſoever damage his Majeſty ſuſtain'd, that unfortunate Earl receiv'd no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other Party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his Eſtate was ſequeſter'd as ſoon as he left them, ſo he was now committed to Priſon, and that ſequeſtration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himſelf ever after admitted to his place in their Council, notwithſtanding all the interceſſion of very powerful Friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

CERTAINLY, there muſt be thought to be ſome extraordinary diſlike, in the very primary Law of Nature, of ſuch tergi-

tergiverſation and inconſtancy; ſince we ſcarce find, in any Story, a Deſerter of a Truſt, or Party, he once adhered to, to be long proſperous, or in any eminent Eſtimation with thoſe to whom he reſorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident Arguments of Reaſon and Juſtice: neither hath it been in the power, or prerogative of any Authority, to preſerve ſuch Men from the reproach, and jealouſy, and ſcandal, that naturally attends upon any Defection: *I have not found evil in thee, ſince the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheleſs, the Lords favour thee not*, was the profeſſion of King *Achiſh*, when he diſmiſs'd *David* himſelf from marching with the Army of the *Philiſtines*; and that expoſtulation of thoſe Lords, *Wherewith ſhould he reconcile himſelf unto his Maſter? ſhould it not be with the Heads of theſe Men?* will be always an Argument to raiſe a diſtruſt of thoſe who have eminently quitted their Party: and the judgment of *Fabius* himſelf, which We touch'd before, of *Caſſius Altinius*, was not much in their favour; for, though he reprehended the Propoſition of ſending him to *Hannibal*, yet he concluded, "That "he would have no truſt repoſed in him, but that he ſhould "be kept in ſafe cuſtody, with Liberty to do any thing but go "away, till the War was ended; *tum conſultandum, utrum defectio prior plus merita ſit pœnæ, an hic reditus veniæ.* As it falls out thus in Civil Affairs, and the breach of Moral obligations, ſo it happens in Spiritual Defections, and alterations in Religion: for as among the Jews, the Proſelytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, "That no Proſelyte ſhould be eligible "into the Court of their *Sanhedrin*; and in their very converſation, they had a caution of them; *Vel ad decimam uſque generationem à Proſelytis cave*, was an Aphoriſm amongſt them. And our own obſervation and experience, can give Us few examples of Men who have changed their Religion, and not fallen into jealouſy and diſtruſt, or diſreputation, even with thoſe with whom they ſide; that have made their future life leſs pleaſant, and delightſome; which, it may be, happens only becauſe We have rare inſtances of Men of extraordinary parts or great minds, who have entertain'd thoſe Converſions. 1 Sam. 29. 6.

THE Lords and Commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongſt them, than who ſhould moſt advance the power which was to ſuppreſs the King's: new and ſtricter Orders were made for the general taking the Covenant; and an Ordinance, "That no Man ſhould be in any "Office of Truſt in their Armies, or the Kingdom, or of the "Common Council of *London*, or ſhould have a Voice in the "Election of thoſe Officers, but ſuch who had taken the Cove-

"nant;

"nant; nor even they who had taken the Covenant, if they "had been formerly impriſon'd or ſequeſter'd for ſuſpicion "of Malignancy, or adhering to the King. And that they might as well provide for their Soveraign Juriſdiction in Civil matters, as their ſecurity in Martial, they again reſumed the conſideration of the Great Seal of *England*. The Commons had often preſſed the Houſe of Peers to concur with them, "In the making a new Great Seal; as the proper Re- "medy againſt the miſchiefs, which, by the abſence of it, "had befallen the Common-wealth; declaring, "That the "Great Seal of *England*, of right, ought to attend upon the "Parliament; in which the Peers as often refuſed to joyn with them, being ſtartled at the Statute of the 25th of *Edw.* the III. by which the counterfeiting the Great Seal of *England* is, in expreſs terms, declared to be High Treaſon; and it had been in all times before underſtood to be the ſole property of the King, and not of the Kingdom, and abſolutely in the King's own diſpoſal, where it ſhould be kept, or where it ſhould attend.

The Commons Vote a new Broad Seal; The Lords concurr'd with them.

THIS diſſent of the Lords hinder'd not the buſineſs; the Commons frankly Voted, "That a Seal ſhould be provided; and accordingly took Order that one was Engraven, and brought into their Houſe, according to the ſame Size and Effigies, and nothing differing from that which the King uſed at *Oxford*. Being in this readineſs, and obſerving the Lords to be leſs ſcrupulous than they had been, about the middle of *November* they ſent again to them, to let them know, "They had a great Seal ready, which ſhould be put "into the Cuſtody of ſuch Perſons, as the two Houſes ſhould "appoint, and if they would name ſome Peers, a propor- "tionable Number of the other Body ſhould joyn in the exe- "cuting that Truſt. All objections were now paſſed over, and without any heſitation their Lordſhips not only concurr'd with them to have a Seal in their own diſpoſal, but in a Declaration and Ordinance; by which they declared, "All "Letters Patents, and Grants made by the King, and paſſed "the Great Seal of *England*, after the 22d of *May* in the year "1642 (which was the day the Lord Keeper left the Houſe, "and went with the Great Seal to *York* to the King) to be "invalid, and void in Law; and henceforward, that their "own Great Seal ſhould be of the like force, power, and va- "lidity, to all intents and purpoſes, as any Great Seal of "*England* had been, or ought to be; and that whoſoever, "after publication of that Ordinance, ſhould paſs any thing "under any other Great Seal, or ſhould claim any thing "thereby, ſhould be held and adjudged a publick Enemy to "the State.

AT

At the same time, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullingbrook*, of the Peers, Mr *Saint-John* (whom they had still intituled the King's Sollicitor General, though his Majesty had revoked his Patent, and conferr'd that Office upon Sr *Thomas Gardner*; who had serv'd him faithfully, and been put out of his Recorder's place of *London* for having so done) Serjeant *Wild* (who, being a Serjeant at Law, had with most confidence averr'd their legal power to make a Seal) Mr *Brown*, and Mr *Prideaux*, two private Practisers of the Law, were nominated "To have the keeping, ordering, and disposing of it, "and all such, and the like Power and Authority, as any "Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, or Commissioner of the "Great Seal, for the time being, had had, used, or ought to "have. The Earl of *Rutland* was so modest, as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a Trust; and therefore excused himself in point of Conscience: Whereupon they nominated, in his Room, the Earl of *Kent*, a Man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The Seal then was deliver'd, in the House of Commons to their Speaker; and by Him, with much solemnity, the House attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the Bar in that House. The six Commissioners, were then, in the presence of both Houses, solemnly sworn "To execute the "Office of Keepers of the Great Seal of *England*, in all things "according to the Orders and Directions of both Houses of "Parliament. And thereupon the Seal was deliver'd by the two Speakers to them, who carried it, according to Order, to the House of the Clerk of the Parliament, in the old Palace; where it was kept lock'd up in a Chest; which could not be open'd but in the presence of three of them, and with three several Keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of Soveraignty, a Patent to be sealed to the Earl of *Warwick*, of Lord High Admiral of *England*; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been put out of that great Office, for Their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear Their Livery.

The Seal deliver'd to six Commissioners.

About the same time, to shew that they would be Absolute, and not joynt Sharers in the Soveraign Power, they gave an Instance of boldness mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The King had publish'd several Proclamations, for the Adjournment of the Term from *London* to *Oxford*, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of the necessary Legal form of having the Writs read in Court, so that the Judges at *Oxford*, who were ready to perform their Duty, could not regularly keep the Courts there; which else

they would have done, notwithstanding the Order and Declarations published by the two Houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the Law, believing that Assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These Writs of Adjournment had never yet been deliver'd seasonably, to be read in Court, or into the hands of either of the sworn Judges who yet attended at *Westminster*: of which there were three in Number, Justice *Bacon* in the King's Bench, Justice *Reeve* in the Common Pleas, and Baron *Trevor* in the Exchequer; who, how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the Parliament, knowing the Law and their Duties, Men believed, would not have barefaced declined the execution of those Commands they were sworn to observe. Several Messengers were therefore sent from *Oxford* with those Writs; and appointed, on, or before such a day (for that circumstance was penal) "To find an opportunity to deliver "the Writs into the hands of the several Judges. Two of them perform'd their Charges, and deliver'd the Writs to Justice *Reeve*, and Baron *Trevor*; who immediately caused the Messengers to be apprehended.

THE Houses, being inform'd of it, gave direction, "That "they should be tried by a Council of War, as Spies; which was done at *Essex*-House. The Messengers alledg'd, "That "they were sworn Servants to his Majesty for the transaction "of those Services, for which they were now accused; and "that they had been legally punishable, if they had refused to "do their duties; the Term being to be adjourn'd by no "other way. Notwithstanding all which, they were both condemn'd to be hang'd as Spies; and that such a Sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor Men were, within few days after, carried to the old *Exchange*, where a Gallows was purposely set up; and there one of them, one *Daniel Kniveton*, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of Courage than could be expected from a Man of such condition and education, did not the Conscience of being Innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in any condition. The other, after he had stood some time upon, or under the Gallows, looking for the same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to *Bridewell*; where he was kept long after, till he made an Escape, and return'd again to *Oxford*. This Example begot great terror in all the well affected about *London*, and so much the more, because, about the same time, an Ordinance was made, "That whosoever went to *Oxford*, or "into any of the King's Quarters, without leave from one of "the Houses, or a Pass from their General, or whosoever had "any correspondence with any Person in the King's Quarters, "by writing Letters, or receiving Letters from thence, should

"be

"be proceeded against as a Person disaffected to the State; "and his Person committed, and his Estate sequester'd; and "should be liable, according to the circumstances (of which "themselves would be only Judges) to be tried as Spies.

As this made them exceeding terrible to those who lov'd them not, so, about the same time, they gave another Instance of Severity, which render'd their Government no less reverenced amongst their Friends, and Associates. The brave Defence of *Glocester*, and the great Success that attended it, made the loss of *Bristol* the more felt by the Parliament; and consequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally spoken of, and censur'd. The which Colonel *Fiennes* having not patience to bear, he desired, being a Member of the House of Commons, and of a swaying Interest there, "That he might be put to give an Account of it, at a Court "of War, which was the proper Judicature upon trespasses of "that Nature. And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon some collateral, and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the Chief who inveigh'd against him, to be imprison'd, and reprehended. This begot greater Passion and Animosity in the Persons, that thought they suffer'd unjustly and only by the Authority, and Interest of the Colonel and his Father; which, by degrees, brought Faction into the House of Commons, and the Army, according to the several Affections and Tempers of Men.

Col. Fiennes tried for surrendring Bristol, and condemn'd but pardon'd by the General.

THERE were but two Prosecutors appear'd, one Mr *Walker*, a Gentleman of *Somerset-shire*, of a good Fortune, and, by the loss of that, the more provok'd; who had been in the Town when it was lost, and had strictly observ'd all that was done, or said; and the famous Mr *Pryn*, who had at first let himself into the disquisition of that business, out of the Activity, and restlestness of his Nature, and was afterwards sharpen'd by contempt. These two, under pretence of Zeal to the Kingdom, and that such an irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the Colonel with Cowardise, and Treachery; and gave several Instances of great and high professions and performances faint, and not answerable; with some mixture of pride, and love of Money, throughout the Course of his Government. Colonel *Fiennes*, besides the credit and reputation of his Father, had a very good stock of estimation in the House of Commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of Learning, and Nature, and was privy to, and a great Manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumber'd himself with Command in the Army, to which Men thought his Nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to

none in those Councils, after Mr *Hambden*'s death. This made him too much despise those who appear'd his Adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appear'd not (for he looked upon Sr *William Waller* as an Enemy, who, by his misfortune at *Round-way*-Down, having brought that storm upon *Bristol*, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of Courage, and Conduct) and being sure, that he was very free from wishing well to the King, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be answer'd by the having done his Best; and that the eminency of his perfect Zeal against his Majesty, would weigh down all Objections of disservice to the Parliament.

But notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn hearing before the Court of War, at St *Albans*, where the Earl of *Essex* then lay, which took up many days, he was condemn'd to lose his head, "For not having defended *Bristol* "so well, and so long as he ought to have done. And though he had afterwards a Pardon for his life, granted to him by the Prerogative of the General, under his Hand and Seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an Officer of the Army; and the shame of it perswaded him to quit the Kingdom; so that he went for some time into Forreign Parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the Government of the Church and State, and only griev'd that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this Example, as a foundation of great awe, and reverence in the Army, that the Officers might see, that no Titles or Relations should be able to break through the strict discipline of War. For this Gentleman was a Person of singular merit, and fidelity to the Party that he serv'd, and of extraordinary use to them in those Counsels that requir'd the best understandings. Others thought it an Act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a Person, who knew all their Intrigues, upon the importunity of useless and inconsiderable Persons to infamy; whilst others consider'd it, as a judgment of Heaven upon a Man who had been so forward in promoting the publick Calamities: and no doubt it increased much the Factions and Animosities, both in the Parliament, and the Army; and might have done them farther mischief, if it had not fallen on a man so throughly engaged, that no Provocations could make him less of their Party, or less concern'd in their Confederacy.

At this time, nothing troubled the King so much, as the Intelligence he receiv'd from *Scotland*, that they had already formed their Army, and resolv'd to enter *England* in the Winter season. All his confidence, which he had founded there

upon

upon the Faith, and moſt ſolemn Profeſſions of particular Men, without whom the Nation could not have been corrupted, had deceiv'd him to a Man: and he found the ſame Men moſt engaged againſt him, who had, with moſt ſolemnity, vow'd all Obedience to him. The circumſtance of the time made the danger of the Invaſion the more formidable; for the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, lately Created a Marquis, had been compelled with his Army, as much by the murmurs and indiſpoſition of the Officers, as by the ſeaſon of the year, to quit his deſign upon *Hull*, and to retire to *York*; and the Garriſon of *Hull* had made many ſtrong infalls into the Country, and Defeated ſome of his Troops; ſo that the *Scots* were like to find a ſtrong Party in that large County. However, the Marquis ſent a good Body of Horſe towards the Borders, to wait their motion; and no ſooner heard of their march, which begun in *January*, in a great Froſt and Snow, than himſelf march'd into the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to attend them. The particulars of all that Affair, and the whole Tranſaction of the Northern Parts, where the Writer of this Hiſtory was never preſent, nor had any part in thoſe Counſels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper Perſon will employ himſelf in.

The Scots enter England in Jan. 1643.

In theſe Streights, the King conſider'd two Expedients which were propoſed to him, and which his Majeſty directed ſhould be both conſulted in the Council. The one was "That "all the Peers who were then in *Oxford*, or in the King's "Service, might ſubſcribe a Letter to the Council of State in "*Scotland*; whereby it would appear, by the ſubſcription, "that above five parts of ſix of the whole Nobility, and "Houſe of Peers, were in the King's Service, and diſavow'd "all thoſe actions which were done againſt him, by the pre-"tended Authority of the two Houſes; which poſſibly might "make ſome impreſſion upon the Nation of *Scotland*, though "it was well enough known before to their Seducers. A Letter was prepared accordingly, expreſſing, "The foulneſs of "the Rebellion in *England*, under the Reputation of the "Houſes of Parliament, and the carrying on the ſame, when "they had driven away, by force, much the Major part of the "Members of both Houſes, and expreſly againſt all the Laws "of the Land: it put them in mind of "Their obligation to "the King, and pathetically concluded "With conjuring them "to deſiſt from their unjuſt, and unwarrantable purpoſe; ſince "they could have no excuſe for proſecuting the ſame, from "the Authority of Parliament. The Letter was peruſed, and debated in the Council, and afterwards in the preſence of all the Peers, and being generally approv'd without any diſſenting Voice, it was order'd to be engroſſed, and ſign'd by all

A Letter from the Peers on the King's ſide to the Council in Scotland.

those Peers, and Privy Counsellors, who were then in *Oxford*, and to be sent to those who were absent in any of the Armies, or in the King's Quarters, and to be then sent to the Marquis of *New-Castle*; who, after he had sign'd it, with those Peers who were in those parts, was to transmit it into *Scotland* by a Trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

Of all the Peers who follow'd the King, there was only one who refused to sign this Letter, the Earl of *Leicester*; who, after many pauses and delays, whether he had not yet digested his late deposal from the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, to which the Marquis of *Ormond* was deputed, and thought the disobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the King's Fortune desperate, and resolv'd not to sacrifice himself to any Popular displeasure, and not to provoke the Parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpose to be found in their Quarters, as shortly after he was, did in the end positively refuse to subscribe the Letter; and thereby was the occasion of a mischief he did not intend. For both their Majesties, in their secret purpose, had design'd him to succeed the Marquis of *Hertford* in the Government of the Prince: for which he would have been very proper; but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature, and mind, lyable to no kind of complyance, the King could not prosecute his Purpose; and so the Government of that hopeful and excellent Prince, was committed to the Earl of *Berk-shire*, for no other reason but because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a Man of any who bore the Name of a Gentleman, the most unfit for that Province, or any other that requir'd any proportion of Wisdom and Understanding for the discharge of it.

But it was the unhappy distemper of the Court at that time, to think that it was no matter who was employ'd in that Office; for the King nor Queen were not at all deceiv'd, nor was the Earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of Parts (his Fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and a Counsellor much trusted, speaking at that time with the Lord *Jermyn*, "How "astonishing a thing it was to all the Nation, to see the Prince "committed to such a Governour, he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer; and said, "It was of no "moment, who had the name and style of Governour, since "the King and Queen meant to be his Governour, and firmly "resolv'd that He should never be out of Their Presence, or of "one of them: when, within little more than a year after, the King found it necessary to sever the Prince from himself, and liv'd not to see him again: and his Majesty then found, and lamented, that he had deputed such a Governour over him.

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THE other Expedient propoſed, was, "That ſince the "whole Kingdom was miſled by the reverence they had to "Parliaments, and believ'd that the Laws and Liberties of "the People, could not be otherwiſe preſerved, than by "their ſole Authority, and that it appear'd to be to no purpoſe "to perſwade Men that what they did was againſt Law, when "they were perſwaded that their very doing it made it Law-"ful, it would be therefore neceſſary, and could be only ef-"fectual to convince them, that they who did thoſe mon-"ſtrous things, were not the Parliament, but a handful of "deſperate Perſons, who, by the help of the Tumults raiſed "in the City of *London*, had driven away the Major part of "the Parliament, and called themſelves the Parliament, whilſt "they were in truth, much the leſs, and the leaſt conſider-"able part of it; which would appear manifeſtly, if the King "would iſſue out a Proclamation, to require all the Members "who had left the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to repair to "*Oxford*, by ſuch a day; where his Majeſty would be will-"ing to adviſe with them in matters of the greateſt Impor-"tance, concerning the Peace, and Diſtractions of the King-"dom: by this means, he might, in many things, ſerve him-"ſelf by their Aſſiſtance, and it would evidently appear by "the number of both Houſes, whoſe names would be quickly "known and publiſhed, how few remained at *Weſtminſter*, "who carried on the devouring War, ſo grievous to the "whole Kingdom.

THE King was at firſt in ſome apprehenſion, that ſuch a Conflux of Perſons together of the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the Privileges of it in their Debates, might, inſtead of doing him Service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon ſome Treaty of Peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilſt it was in ſuſpence, would hinder his preparation for the War; and though no body more deſir'd Peace, yet he had no mind, that a Multitude ſhould be Conſulted upon the Conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greateſt Importance, as the giving up Perſons, and other particulars of Honour, would not ſeem to them of moment enough to continue a War in the Kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been ſaid before, the Governours of the Parliament had not themſelves been too fearful of a Peace, to truſt any to make Politick Propoſitions, which, upon refuſal, might have done good, but being conſented to had undone them, and fruſtrated all their deſigns.

THE Council ſeem'd much inclined to the Expedient, and many conveniences were in view; and it might be reaſonably hoped, and preſum'd "That Perſons, who had that Duty

"to obey his Majeſty's Summons, in coming thither, which "would be none but ſuch as had already abſented themſelves "from *Weſtminſter*, and thereby incenſed thoſe who remain'd "there, would not bring ill and troubleſome humours with "them, to diſturb that Service which could only preſerve "them: but on the contrary, would unite, and conſpire toge- "ther to make the King Superior to His and Their Enemies. "And as to the advancing any Propoſitions of Peace, which "there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor "would it be fit for his Majeſty to oppoſe, there could be "no inconvenience; ſince their appearing in it would but "draw reproach from thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, who would never "give them any Anſwer, or look upon them under any No- "tion, but as private Perſons, and Deſerters of the Parlia- "ment, without any Qualification to Treat, or to be Treated "with: which would more provoke thoſe at *Oxford*, and, by "degrees, ſtir up more Animoſities between them. The King diſcover'd more of hope than fear from ſuch a Convention; and ſo with a very unanimous Conſent and Approbation, a Proclamation was iſſued out, containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning the League of *Scotland* to Invade the Kingdom; which was the moſt univerſally odious, and deteſtable; and Summon'd all the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, except only ſuch, as, having Command in his Majeſty's Armies in the North, and in the Weſt, could not be diſpenſed with, to be abſent from their Charges, to attend upon his Majeſty in *Oxford*, upon a day fix'd in *January* next.

The King's Proclamation for Aſſembling the Members of Parliament at Oxford.

THE King was not all this while without a due ſenſe of the dangers that threaten'd him in the growth, and improvement of the power and ſtrength of the Enemy, and how impoſſible it would be for him, without ſome more extraordinary Aſſiſtance, to reſiſt that Torrent, which, he foreſaw, by the next Spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not proviſion accordingly. And finding, by degrees, that it was not in his power to compoſe the diſturbance of *England*, or to prevent thoſe of *Scotland*, and abhorring the thought of introducng a Forreign Nation to Subdue his own Subjects, he begun to think of Expedients which might allay the diſtempers in *Ireland*; that ſo, having one of his Kingdoms in Peace, he might apply the Power of that, towards the procuring it in his other Dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an Argument that buſineſs of *Ireland* was, and how prepar'd Men were to pervert whatſoever he ſaid, or did in it; and therefore reſolv'd to proceed with that Caution, that whatſoever was done in it, ſhould be by the Counſel of that State who were underſtood to be moſt skilful in thoſe Affairs.

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THE Lords Juſtices, and Council, had ſent a ſhort Petition to his Majeſty, which was preſented to them, in the Name of his Catholick Subjects, then in Arms againſt him; by which they only deſired, with full expreſſions of Duty, and Submiſſion to his Majeſty, "That he would appoint ſome "Perſons to hear what they could ſay for themſelves; and to "preſent the ſame to his Majeſty. Hereupon the King Authoriſed by his Commiſſion the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, and ſome others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the leaſt Authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this Commiſſion, the Marquis, finding that this Petition was proſecuted with leſs ingenuity than it ſeem'd to have been preſented, was ſo far from being indulgent to them under that Notion, that he even then advanced againſt them with his Army, and gave them a very ſignal Defeat; which reform'd their Application, and made it more ſubmiſs.

IN the mean time (though in all Actions and Counſels, the Lords Juſtices, and Council there, had yielded punctual Obedience to all directions from the Parliament) the Affairs of that Kingdom ſuffer'd exceedingly for want of Proviſions, Money, and Ammunition, out of *England*; which the two Houſes of Parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpoſe, enabled by his Majeſty to ſend. Inſomuch as that Board, by their Letters of the fourth of *April*, this preſent year, adverti'ſed the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, "That they "had been compelled, for the preſervation of the Army, to "take Money from all who had it, and to wreſt their Com-"modities from the poor Merchants, whom they had now, "by the Law of neceſſity, utterly undone, and diſabled from "being hereafter helpful to them, in bringing them in Vi-"ctuals, or other needful Commodities: And that there were "few of themſelves, or others, that had not felt their parts in "the inforced rigour of their proceedings, ſo as, what with "ſuch hard dealing, no leſs grievous to them to do, than it "was heavy to others to ſuffer, and by their deſcending, "againſt their hearts, far below the Honour and Dignity of "that Power they repreſented under his Royal Majeſty, they "had, with unſpeakable difficulties, prevail'd ſo as to be able "to find Bread for the Soldiers for the ſpace of one Month: "That they were then expelling thence all Strangers, and "muſt inſtantly ſend away for *England* thouſands of poor "deſpoil'd *Engliſh*, whoſe very eating was now inſupportable "to that place; and therefore, they ſaid, they did again "earneſtly, and finally deſire (for their Confuſions would not "now admit the writing of many more Letters, if any) ſome "Supplies of Victual and Munition might, in preſent, be

haſten'd

"haſten'd thither to keep Life, until the reſt might follow; "there being no Victuals in ſtore; nor one hundred Barrels "of Powder; which, according to the uſual neceſſary Ex- "pences, beſides extraordinary Accident, would not laſt above "a Month."

A COPY of this Letter they likewiſe ſent to Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, that his Majeſty might be inform'd of the ſadneſs of their Condition, and, with it, a Copy of a Paper that Morning preſented to the Board (which was likewiſe ſent in their Letter to the Speaker) from the Officers of the Army; who, after ſharp expreſſions of the Miſeries they ſuſtain'd, and expoſtulations thereupon, concluded, "That if their Lordſhips "would take them into their timely Conſiderations, before "their urgent wants made them deſperate, they would ſerve "them readily and faithfully; but if their Lordſhips would "not find a way for their preſervation there, they humbly "deſir'd they might have leave to go where they might have "a better being; and if they refuſed to grant That, they "themſelves muſt then take leave to have recourſe to that "firſt and primary Law, which God had endued all Men "with, the Law of Nature, which taught all Men to preſerve "themſelves."

THE King was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this Advertiſement; apprehending the State of his Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom to be almoſt deſperate, the Rebels receiving daily encouragement and aſſiſtance from Forreign Parts; and thereupon growing ſtrong and bold; yet he forbore to interpoſe his own Soveraign Power, hoping this laſt clear repreſentation would have made ſo deep an impreſſion in the two Houſes of Parliament, that they would have ſent ſuch a full ſupply, that at leaſt the Rebels might make no farther Progreſs in Victory, againſt his Proteſtant Subjects. About the end of *May*, the Lords Juſtices and Council, having receiv'd no probable hope of Aſſiſtance from the Parliament, ſent an Addreſs immediately to his Majeſty, that Himſelf might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preſervation of one of his three Kingdoms. This Letter, Subſcribed by the Lords Juſtices, and every Member of the Council-Board, being the ground and foundation of the Reſolutions which his Majeſty afterwards took, I think neceſſary to inſert in the terms of which it conſiſted; which were theſe:

An Addreſs of the Lords Juſtices and the Council in Ireland *to the King.*

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

"AS SOON as We your Majeſty's Juſtices enter'd into the "Charge of this Government, We took into our Conſidera- "tions, at the Board, the State of your Army here; which "We find ſuffering under unſpeakable Extremity of want of "all

"all things neceſſary to the Support of their Perſons, or "Maintenance of the War, here being no Victuals, Cloaths, "or other Proviſions requiſite towards their Suſtenance; no "Money to provide them of any thing they want; no "Arms in your Majeſty's Stores to ſupply their many de- "fective Arms; not above forty Barrels of Powder in your "Stores; no ſtrength of Serviceable Horſes being now left "here; and thoſe few that are, their Arms for the moſt "part loſt, or unſerviceable; no Ships arriv'd here to guard "the Coaſt, and conſequently no ſecurity render'd to any "that might, on their private Adventures, bring in Provi- "ſions of Victuals, or other neceſſaries towards our Subſi- "ſtence; and finally, no viſible means, by Sea or Land, of "being able to preſerve for you this Kingdom, and to render "deliverance from utter deſtruction to the remnant of your "good Subjects yet left here.

"We find, that your Majeſty's late Juſtices, and this Board, "have often, and fully, by very many Letters, advertiſed the "Parliament in *England* of the Extremities of Affairs here, "and beſought Relief with all poſſible importunity; which "alſo have been fully repreſented to your Majeſty, and to "the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, to be made "known to your Majeſty: And although the winds have of "late for many days, and often formerly, ſtood very fair for "acceſſions of Supply forth of *England* hither, and that We "have ſtill, with longing Expectations, hoped to find Pro- "viſions arrive here, in ſome degree Anſwerable to the ne- "ceſſites of your Affairs; yet now, to our unſpeakable grief, "after full ſix Months waiting, and much longer patience, "and long ſuffering, We find all our great expectations an- "ſwer'd in a mean and inconſiderable quantity of Proviſions, "*viz.* threeſcore and fifteen Barrels of Butter, and fourteen "Tun of Cheeſe being but the fourth part of a ſmall Veſ- "ſel's Lading, which was ſent from *London*, and arriv'd "here the fifth day of this Month, which is not above ſeven "or eight days Proviſion, for that part of the Army which "lies in *Dublin*, and the out Garriſons thereof; no Money "or Victual (other than that inconſiderable proportion of "Victual) having arriv'd in this place, as ſent from the "Parliament of *England*, or from any other Port of *Eng-* "*land*, for the uſe of the Army, ſince the beginning of *No-* "*vember* laſt.

"We have, by the bleſſing of God, been hitherto proſpe- "rous and ſucceſful in your Majeſty's Affairs here, and ſhould "be ſtill hopeful, by the mercy of God, under the Royal di- "rections, of your Sacred Majeſty, to vindicate your Majeſty's "Honour, to recover your Rights here, and take due Ven-

"geance

"geance of those Traytors, for the Innocent Blood they have "spill'd, if We might be strengthen'd, and supported there- "in, by needful supplies forth of *England*: but these Supplies "having been hitherto expected to come from the Parliament "of *England* (on which if your Majesty had not relied, We "are assured you would, in your high Wisdom, have found "out some other means to preserve this your Kingdom) and "so great and apparent a failure having happen'd therein, and "all the former, and late, long continuing Easterly Winds, "bringing us no other Provisions, than those few Cheeses and "Butter, and no advertisements being brought us of any fu- "ture Supply to be so much as in the way hither, whereby "there might be any likelyhood that considerable means of "support for your Majesty's Army might arrive here, in any "reasonable time, before We be totally swallowed up by the "Rebels, and your Kingdom by them wrested from you: We "find our selves so disappointed of our hopes from the Parlia- "ment, as must needs trench to the utter loss of the Kingdom, "if your Majesty in your high Wisdom, ordain not some pre- "sent means of preservation for Us. And considering that if "now, by occasion of that unhappy, and unexpected failing "of Support from thence, We shall be less successful in your "Services here against the Rebels, than hitherto, whilst We "were enabled with some means to serve you, We have been; "the shame and dishonour may, in common construction of "those that know not the inwards of the Cause, be imputed "to us, and not to the Failings that disabled us: And consi- "dering principally, and above all things, the high and emi- "nent trust of your Affairs here, deposited with us by your "Sacred Majesty, We may not forbear, in discharge of our "Duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble appre- "hensions, to the end your Majesty, thus truly understanding "the terribleness of our Condition, may find out some such "means of Support, to preserve to your Majesty and your "Royal Posterity this your Ancient, and Rightful Crown and "Kingdom: and derive deliverance and safety to the rem- "nant of your good Subjects yet left here, as in your excel- "lent Judgment you shall find to be most for your Honour, "and Advantage. And so praying the King of Kings to guide, "and direct you for the best, in this high and important Cause, "and in all other your Counsels and Actions, We humbly "remain:

From your Majesty's Castle of Dublin *the* 11th *of* May 1643.

THERE was no Sober Man in *Ireland* or *England*, who believ'd it to be in the King's Power to enable this People to carry on the War; for all Men too well knew, that he had neither

neither Money, Victual, Ammunition, or Shipping, to ſupply them: and therefore his Majeſty could not but conclude, that by this application of that State to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguiſh that War which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the ſame time with this Letter, he receiv'd Advice and Information, from ſome of his prime Miniſters of that Kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledg'd, perfectly to abhor the Rebellion, "That there was no reaſonable hope of preſerving his Proteſtant Subjects, and his own Intereſt in that Kingdom, but "by Treating with the Rebels, and making a Peace, or Truce, "with them. The King well foreſaw to what reproaches he ſhould object himſelf, by entering into ſuch a Treaty with thoſe Rebels; and that they who had perſwaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented the Rebellion, againſt all human Evidence that can be imagin'd, would more eaſily gain credit, when they ſhould be able to ſay, that he had made a Peace with them: Beſides that he had bound himſelf not to make a Peace with the Rebels in *Ireland*, without the conſent of his two Houſes of Parliament in *England*. On the other ſide, nothing was more demonſtrable, than that his Proteſtant Subjects there, could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and aſſiſtance out of *England*; that it was impoſſible for him to ſend any to them, and as viſible, that the Parliament Would not, or Could not; ſo that it ſeem'd only in his Election, whether he would preſerve the remainder of his Proteſtant Subjects there, and that whole Kingdom, in dependence upon his Crown, with the inconvenience of ſome perverſe and unreaſonable ſcandal; or ſuffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having loſt a Kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his Subjection: and whatever he had obliged himſelf to, in thoſe Acts of Parliament which he had paſſed for relief of *Ireland*, before any Rebellion in *England*, was not, that there might never be a Peace in *Ireland*, but that the two Houſes might cooperate with him, whereby the Rebels might be reduced to thoſe Streights, that they might be compelled to ſubmit to the performance of their Duties: and that, inſtead of any ſuch cooperation, the two Houſes refuſed to concur with him in any thing, and had employ'd thoſe Monies, which had been raiſed by thoſe very Acts, for the relief of *Ireland*, in the maintenance of the Armies which had given his Majeſty Battle in *England*, expreſly contrary to the words of thoſe Acts; and therefore that his Majeſty might be reaſonably diſingaged from thoſe Covenants on his part.

UPON theſe Conſiderations, after two Months delay, to ſee whether

whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having receiv'd fresh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of *July*, the King writ to the Lords Justices in *Ireland*, "That they should issue out a Commission, under the "Great Seal of *Ireland*, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to Treat "and Conclude a Cessation of Arms with the Rebels, upon "such Articles and Conditions as he should judge most rea- "sonable; and during that Cessation that such Agents as they "should make choice of, should have access to his Royal Per- "son, to present their own Propositions for Peace: So careful was the King not to infringe that Act of Parliament, which many understood to be dissolved by themselves: there being no colourable Clause in it, by which it was not in his Majesty's own Power to make a Cessation; and the Peace it self he re- spited in such a manner, that he might receive Advice and Concurrence from the Parliament, if they would not decline any farther consideration or care of that Kingdom.

HEREUPON the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, being then only General of the Horse there, enter'd upon a Treaty with Commissioners Authorised by the Council at *Kilkenney*; to whose Jurisdiction the Rebels had committed the whole Go- vernment of their Affairs; and Articles of Cessation being pre- pared for a Year, and perused, and approv'd by the Lords Justices and Council, without whose advice the Marquis would not proceed, and all the principal Officers of the Army having given it under their hands, being present likewise at the Trea- ty, "That it was most necessary for the preservation of that "Kingdom, that a Cessation should be made for a Year, upon "those Articles and Conditions; and the Rebels undertaking "to pay to his Majesty's use, thirty thousand and eight hun- "dred pounds sterling, within a short time; whereof fifteen "thousand eight hundred pounds in ready Money, and the "other fifteen thousand pounds, one half in Money, and the "other half in good Beefs, at thirty pounds the Score; a Ces- sation of Arms was concluded by the Marquis; and pub- lish'd, with the Articles and Conditions, by the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, to begin on the fifteenth day of *Sep- tember*, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

A Cessation of Arms concluded for a Year in Ireland, Sept. 7. *disown'd by the two Hou- ses at* West- minster.

THIS Cessation was no sooner known in *England*, but the two Houses declar'd against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his Majesty's dishonour that can be imagin'd; per- swading the People, "That the Rebels were now brought to "their last Gasp, and reduced to so terrible a Famine, that "like *Canibals*, they eat one another, and must have been de- "stroy'd immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by the Po- "pish Counsels at Court, the King had not been perswaded "to consent to this Cessation. It is one of the Instances of

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the ſtrange, fatal miſunderſtanding, which poſſeſſed this time, that notwithſtanding all the caution the King uſed in medling at all with the buſineſs of that Kingdom from the time of the Rebellion, and the clear diſcovery of all particular Reaſons, Grounds, and Counſels, when he found it neceſſary to interpoſe in it, the calumnies and ſlanders raiſed to his Majeſty's diſſervice and diſhonour, made a more than ordinary impreſſion upon the minds of Men, and not only of Vulgar-ſpirited People, but of thoſe who reſiſted all other infuſions, and infection. And poſterity, no queſtion, will enquire, from what riſe or ſpring this diſadvantage flowed; to which Enquiry I can apply no other ſatisfaction, beſides the diſeaſe of the time; which imputed all deſigns to deſigns upon Religion, and whatſoever was done by Papiſts, to the Zeal of the Queen on the behalf of her own Religion; then that the chief Managers, and Conducters of their Counſels, found it neceſſary to aver many things of Fact upon their own knowledge (by which they found the underſtanding of Men liable to be captivated) which in truth were not ſo: As I my ſelf found by ſome ſober Men, at ſuch times as there was occaſion of intercourſe, and conference with them, that they did, upon ſuch Aſſurance, believe that the King had done ſomewhat in that buſineſs of *Ireland* (ſome having avow'd, that they had ſeen his hand to ſuch and ſuch Letters, and Inſtructions) which, upon as much knowledge, as any Man can morally have of a Negative, I am ſure he never did.

I SHALL here inſert, as the moſt natural and proper Evidence of the State of *Ireland*, at the time of the Ceſſation, and of the unanſwerable Motives which prevailed with the King to conſent to it, two Letters; the one, of Expoſtulation from the two Houſes to the Lords Juſtices and Council, which was received by them after the Ceſſation agreed on, though ſeeming to be ſent before; and the Anſwer of that Board thereunto; with the Contents whereof, the King, nor any of his Council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The Letters were in theſe words.

To Our very good Lords, the Lords Juſtices, and Council, for the Kingdom of Ireland.

"Our very good Lords,

"THE Lords and Commons in Parliament, have Com- *A Letter*
"manded Us to let you know, they have ſeen your Letter of *concerning it, from the*
"the tenth of *June*, directed to the Speaker of the Houſe of *two Houſes*
"Commons, accompanied with an Act of State; in the Pream- *to the Lords*
"ble whereof, is an expreſſion to this effect, That your preſent *Juſtices, Ju-*
"difficulties are occaſion'd through the failure of the Houſes *ly 4. 1643.*

"of

" of Parliament in *England*, who undertook the charge of this " War. This Letter, and Act of Council, were ſent by his " Majeſty from *Oxford*; to whom they believe you have ſent " Copies of both, and have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that there is " an impious deſign now on foot, to ſell for nought, the cry- " ing Blood of many hundred thouſands of *Britiſh* Proteſtants, " by a diſhonourable, unſufferable Peace with the Rebels; " and then to lay the blame and ſhame of this upon the Par- " liament; a Plot ſuitable to thoſe Counſels that have both " projected, and fomented this unparallel'd Rebellion: for " thoſe who contriv'd the Powder Treaſon, intended to lay " it on the Puritans. And though they cannot think your " Lordſhips intended to further this deſign by this expreſſion, " yet they have cauſe to believe, you have forgotten the pre- " ſent condition of this Kingdom; the ſupplies they have ſent " thither of all ſorts, even in the midſt of their own wants; " what relief going thither hath been taken away by Sea, and " Land, and by whom; and what diſcouragements have been " given them in return: ſo that, as your Lordſhips do truly " obſerve the Proteſtant Party in that City deſirous to contri- " bute, in all things, towards preſervation of that Kingdom, " and that all the oppoſition therein is from thoſe of the Popiſh " Party, ſo ought you juſtly to conclude, that the Proteſtant " Party in this Kingdom have contributed and are ſtill en- " deavouring to contribute, Monies, Ammunition, Victuals, " and other neceſſaries, for the ſaving of that Kingdom: " And that the Popiſh, and Malignant Party here, now in " Arms againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, have not aſ- " ſiſted, in the leaſt meaſure, this pious work; but, on the " contrary, do hinder, and oppoſe the ſame: Neither ſhould " your Lordſhips conceive, that only the charge of that War " was referr'd to, and undertaken by the Parliament, as if " Their part was to be Your Bankers, only to provide Money " for you to ſpend, and were not to adviſe and direct the " managing of the War; although an Act of Parliament hath " inveſted them with that Power; which they muſt aſſume " and vindicate as the means to ſave that Kingdom; and ſhall " bring to condign puniſhment thoſe there, who, in this " conjuncture of Affairs, have adviſed the Commiſſion to hear " what the Rebels can ſay, or propound, for their own Ad- " vantage; the Letters to diveſt their Committee of an Au- " thority given them by both Houſes; and that adviſed the " late alteration of Government there; as Enemies to the " Weal of both Kingdoms, and Fautors of that Rebellion. " In the laſt place, We are forbidden to tell you, what Sup- " plies of Money, Victuals, Ammunition, and other Neceſ- " ſaries, are in good forwardneſs to be ſent over, for the ſup-

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"port of the Officers and Soldiers there; and by whose in-
"cessant care; lest they should seem to Answer that scandal
"by excuse, which deserves an high resentment. This being
"all We have in command for the present, We bid your
"Lordships farewel, and remain,

"Your Lordships Friends to serve you.

Grey of Warke
Speaker of the House of Lords, pro tempore;

William Lenthall
Speaker of the Commons House in Parliament.

"The Lords and Commons will examine the demeanour of
"the Ships appointed to guard those Coasts; and might have
"expected a Copy of *Mountross's* Letter to Colonel *Crawford*,
"which came to your hands before the 10th of *June*; and hap-
"pily, would discover the Treason of the Rebels, sent by your
"Enemies to destroy you; as well as a complaint of those Sea
"Captains sent by your Friends to defend you; whose neg-
"lects and misdeeds are notwithstanding to be publish'd, ac-
"cording as their demerits shall appear.

Westminster the 4th *of July* 1643.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Speaker of the Right Honourable the Lords House of Parliament, in the Kingdom of England; *and to our very loving Friend,* William Lenthall *Esq; Speaker of the Honourable Commons House in Parliament, in the said Kingdom.*

"Our very good Lord, and Mr Speaker of the Commons
"House in Parliament,

"YOUR joynt Letters, of the fourth of *July* last directed *The Lords Justices Answer.*
"to Us, were so long in coming, as they came not to our
"hands until the sixth of *October*. By those your Letters,
"you signify, that the Lords and Commons in Parliament,
"have commanded you to let us know, that they have seen
"our Letters of the Tenth of *June*, directed to the Speaker
"of the House of Commons, accompanied with an Act of
"State, in the preamble whereof, there is an expression to
"this effect, That our present difficulties were occasion'd
"through the failure of the Houses of Parliament in *England*,
"who undertook the charge of this War; to which expressi-
"on, it seems, exception is taken, and interpretations made

"thereof, far otherwiſe we are ſure than was intended by Us; "and, as We conceive, otherwiſe than the true ſenſe of thoſe "words can bear. It is true, that when We were neceſſitated "to ſet on foot the new Impoſition, raiſed here in nature of "an Exciſe, towards keeping this Army from periſhing by "Famine, it became neceſſary to expreſs, in the Act of Coun- "cil whereby We order'd it, the reaſon inducing Us, to ſet "on foot here a thing ſo unknown to his Majeſty's Laws, "and gracious Government, and the difficulties wherewith "We contended, which did neceſſitate that reſolution; and "in expreſſing thoſe difficulties, We uſed that expreſſion, to "ſhew whence our difficulties were occaſion'd; and that We "have therein declar'd the truth, We crave leave to mind you "of ſome particulars.

"If We ſhould look ſo far back as to repeat the Subſtance "of many diſpatches ſent from this Board, ſince the begin- "ning of this Rebellion; ſome, to our very good Lord, the "Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom; ſome to the Lords, and "others, Members of both Houſes, his Majeſty's Commiſſio- "ners for the Affairs of this Kingdom, and ſome to the "Speaker of the Commons Houſe of Parliament there; it "would prove a voluminous work; and therefore We forbear "ſo look farther back into thoſe diſpatches, than to the time "when the Committee ſent thence hither, were here; who, "at their Arrival here, in the end of *October* 1642, brought "with them ſome Money and Proviſions, but far ſhort of that "which the Neceſſities of this Army requir'd; and indeed ſo "inconſiderable, in reſpect of thoſe Neceſſities, as even be- "fore that Committee departed, they ſaw the Money they "had brought, wholly iſſued; and the high and unavoidable "neceſſity of a farther, ſpeedy, and plentiful ſupply of Mo- "ney, and other Proviſions. By Letters from this Board of the "20th of *January* 1642, and directed to the Speaker of the "Commons Houſe of Parliament there, it was ſignified thi- "ther, that the Proviſions of Victuals here, were then at the "very bottom; that that Committee then here, had certified "thither thoſe Wants; that if a perſonal ſupply of Victual ar- "rived not here very ſpeedily, the Army could not ſubſiſt, but "muſt have been conſtrain'd to disband, to the loſs of this "Kingdom, and utter deſtruction of the few Subjects here: "that the want of Treaſure here, to pay the Army, enforced "this Board to iſſue Victual to the Common Soldier, and "others, towards their pay, which did the ſooner exhauſt the "Magazine of Victual; that the Captains, and other Offi- "cers, not having relief that way, were reduced to great ex- "tremities, as had been formerly often repreſented thither;

"and

"and therefore this Board, by the said Letters, then moved, "that Treasure might be sent us speedily, so to redeem "the Offices from the Calamities they suffer'd, and this "Board from their unsupportable Clamours; and to enable "the payment, in some part, in Money to the Common Soldier; so to make the Victual we then expected, to hold out "the longer.

"It was also by those Letters then advertised thither, that "the extremities of the Officers of the Army had begotten so "much discontent amongst them, as divers Colonels, and "others of them, presented at this Board a Remonstrance, "whereof a Copy was then sent inclosed in the said Letters; "which Remonstrance did exceedingly trouble, and perplex "Us, lest it might beget such distractions amongst Us, as "might give too much advantage to the Rebels. But, after "full Debate thereof at this Board, it was here directed, that "in present, to render some Subsistence to the Officers un-"til Treasure arrived forth of *England*, every Man in this "City should bring in half of his Plate, to be paid for it when "Treasure arrived; whereupon some Plate was brought in, "and applied towards the Army. This Board did also signify "by those Letters, that without some speedy relief forth of "*England*, the Burden here was become too heavy to be "borne; and therefore, in discharge of our Duty to God, to "our Gracious Soveraign, to that Kingdom, and to This, "We held our selves bound clearly to make known, that un-"less We were speedily supplied from thence, with Money, "Arms, and Victual, it would be impossible for Us any far-"ther to prosecute this War, or to preserve from suddain "confusion this State and Government: so highly did the "discontent of the Officers, and the disorder of the Soldiers, "threaten Us, that it might be easily apprehended, what, in "all human probability, must become of Us, when it was "then evident, that here was no Money, nor any possibility "of procuring any in this City, when our Victuals were spent; "when a great part of the Army had no Arms; upon which "We doubted, and feared, for the reasons in those Letters "express'd, that the Soldiers would make Prey of Us and "this City at last; and when We saw that the destruction, "then threatned against Us, must then go farther, even to "the loss of this Crown, and Kingdom; and to the highly "endangering of that Kingdom also; which, for the Honour "of his Majesty, and the *English* Nation, We by our said "Letters desired might, by the Wisdom of that Honourable "House, be speedily prevented, by hastening away, with all "possible speed, Supply of Money, Arms, and Victuals.

"By other Letters of this Board, directed to Mr Speaker, "and dated the said twentieth of *January* 1642, it was adver- "tised thither, that it was become of absolute necessity, that "there should be sent Us from thence, speedily, six hundred "light Geldings for Recruits, to be defaulked out of the en- "tertainments of those who should receive them. By other "Letters from this Board, of the same date, directed to Mr "Speaker, it was signified thither, that We had contracted "an Agreement here with *Theodore Schout*, and *Jacab Ablin*, "Merchants, that *Anthony Tyrenes*, in *London*, or *Daniel Wi- "brant* in *Amsterdam*, should receive seven thousand eight "hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings; for "which the said *Theodore* and *Jacob*, had undertaken, by "their agreement with Us, to buy in *Holland*, and to Trans- "port from thence hither, at their own charge and adventure, "several proportions of Arms mention'd in a Docquet, then "sent inclosed in our said Letters; and they undertook so to "secure it by insurance, and provide such a Ship of force, as "We might be assured to have all those Arms arrive here "by the tenth of *March* now last past. And We, by our said "Letters earnestly besought that the said sum of seven thou- "sand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shil- "lings might, by order of that Honourable House, be speedi- "ly paid to the said *Tyrenes*, or *Wibrant*, that those Pro- "visions might arrive here by the tenth of *March*; that we "might not lose the advantage of the then next Spring, for "recovering of such of the Sea Ports, and other places of im- "portance, as the Rebels had gotten; and for proceeding effe- "ctually in this War. Those Letters also mov'd for other pro- "visions of War, which We conceiv'd might be had in *Eng- "land* in reasonable time. And We then sent a Docquet of "those also; desiring earnestly they might be sent us speedi- "ly. And although there was an Agent sent from hence in "*November* 1641, to sollicite the dispatches sent from hence, "who attended at *London*, when these our Letters were sent "hence; yet of so great importance was that dispatch, requiring "instant and speedy Answer and Supply from thence, as We "adjudged it necessary to give special Instructions to the Lord "*Conway*, and others (besides that Agent then there attend- "ing) to move his Majesty, and sollicite the Houses of Parlia- "ment, to hasten unto Us, with all possible Speed, the Provi- "sions in those Letters contain'd: and that there might no- "thing be omitted, that by sollicitation could be obtain'd, "there were Agents also sent thither from the Army to solli- "cite for them. By Letters from this Board of the twentieth "of *February* 1642, directed to Mr Speaker; We again de-

"sired

"fired, with all poſſible earneſtneſs, that the Proviſions of all "ſorts, expreſſed in thoſe three Letters of the twentieth of "*January*, and the Docquets therewith ſent, might be haſten'd "to us; and that the ſaid ſeven thouſand eight hundred four- "ſcore and thirteen pounds three ſhillings, for Arms to be "provided in *Holland*, might be ſpeedily paid. And in thoſe "laſt Letters We again ſignified our miſerable, and unſpeak- "able want of Victuals, Arms, Munition, Money, Shoes, and "other Neceſſaries; and that if the Supplies We moved for, "came not ſpeedily, We were unavoidably in danger to be "as much devour'd by our own wants, as by the Sword of "the Rebels; and that our want of Corn was ſo much the "more, in regard that, in confidence to be plentifully ſup- "plied forth of *England*, We cauſed great deſtruction to be "made of Corn; there being indeed nothing conducing more "to the deſtruction of the Rebels, than the burning of all Corn.

"We alſo then ſignified the neceſſity of ſending a farther "ſupply of Powder, and Match; and We declar'd, that no "words could ſufficiently expreſs the greatneſs of the danger "We ſhould incur, if our Supplies came not Speedily: that "the Plate brought in, amounted not to one thouſand two "hundred pounds; a Sum very inconſiderable towards Relief "of the Officers. By Letters of this Board of the 25th of "*February* 1642, directed to Mr Speaker, We ſignified, that "when our means from thence failed, and our Credits could "hold out no longer, We were conſtrain'd, towards Relief "of the Army, to force from the Proteſtant Merchants here, "as well *Engliſh* as Strangers, not only the Commodities "they had brought hither, but the Native Commodities alſo; "undertaking to them that they ſhould receive Payment at "*London*; which failing, that thoſe that would ſupply Us, "were diſhearten'd, and durſt not come hither with Com- "modities; wherefore We again, by thoſe Letters, beſought "ſpeedy ſupply from thence; declaring that otherwiſe, the "Army, and We, muſt periſh; and ſo far We were tranſported "with grief, in the conſideration of the high Extremities of "this Kingdom, and Army, as We did, by thoſe Letters, la- "ment for the ſhame and diſhonour, which We then foreſaw "would reflect upon the *Engliſh* Nation; if then, after ſo "long and often forewarnings, given by Us to that Honou- "rable Houſe, this Kingdom were loſt, and that for want of "Supplies from thence; wherein We then declar'd, that all "the comfort left us, was, that We had done our parts, and "diſcharged our duties to God, to his Majeſty, and to all his "Kingdoms, who muſt have born their parts with us in ſo "heavy a loſs.

"By Letters from this Board dated the 23d of *March* 1642, "directed to Mr Speaker, We signified that our wants en- "forced us to distribute the Soldiers, for their Victuals, in "and throughout this City and Suburbs; which, We signified, "could not long hold, considering the Poverty of this place; "and therefore to avoid utter Confusion, We did again and "again beseech most earnestly, that, above all things, Vi- "ctuals and Munition might be sent us speedily; and that "Money, Arms, Cloaths, Shoes, and other Provisions might "also be sent; declaring, that if they yet came speedily, the "Kingdom, and his Majesty's Forces here, might be there- "by redeem'd out of part of their distresses; and We en- "abled, by the blessing of God, to give his Majesty such an "account of this Kingdom, as would be for the Glory of the "King our Master, and the Honour of the *English* Nation, "in the subduing this horrid Rebellion; which, by reason of "our wants, and in no other respect, was then grown very "terrible: and We did again call for the Provisions, moved "for by our several former Letters of the twentieth of *Ja-* "*nuary*, and twentieth of *February*, and for the Payment of "the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen "pounds three shillings, for Arms to be provided in *Hol-* "*land*, and those also which We expect from *London*; de- "claring, that unless those Supplies came, We should be dis- "abled from doing Service on the Rebels the then next Spring, "or the then succeeding Summer; and must undoubtedly put "the Rebels into a Condition of prevailing against us, which "We well believ'd, the Kingdom of *England* would never "have permitted against so faithful Servants and valiant Sol- "diers, as his Majesty yet had here.

"By those Letters also We signified, that it was necessary "that there should be here, at this Harbour of *Dublin*, by the "middle of *April*, at least two Ships of good Strength; and "that the Ships design'd for guarding the other parts of the "Coasts of this Kingdom, should be hasten'd away with all "possible Speed. By Letters from this Board directed to "Mr Speaker, dated the fourth of *April* 1643, We represented "again the unspeakable miseries of the Officers and Soldiers, "for want of all things; and all those made the more insup- "portable, in the want of Food; and that this City was then "apparently found to be unable to help us, as it had for- "merly done; and repeated again, in as lively terms as We "could, the high Extremities fallen, and encreasing upon us; "declaring, that We were enforced to see, who had any "thing yet left him not taken from him, to help us; and that "although there were but few such, and some poor Merchants,

"whom

"whom We had formerly, by the Law of Neceſſity, utterly "undone; yet, that We were forced to wreſt their Commo- "dities from them: That there were few here, of our ſelves "or others, that had not felt their parts in the inforced ri- "gour of our proceedings towards preſerving the Army; and "We earneſtly deſir'd, that his Majeſty, and the *Engliſh* "Nation, might not ſuffer ſo great, if not irrecoverable pre- "judice and diſhonour, as muſt unavoidably be the conſe- "quence of our not being Reliev'd ſuddainly; but that yet, "although it were then even almoſt at the point to be too "late, Supplies of Victuals, and Munition, in preſent might "be haſten'd hither, to keep Life, until the reſt might fol- "low: declaring alſo, that there was no Victual in the Store, "and that there would not be an hundred Barrels of Powder "left, when the out Garriſons, as they muſt then inſtantly "have been, were ſupplied; and that the reſidue of our Pro- "viſions muſt alſo come ſpeedily after, or otherwiſe that *Eng-* "*land* could not hope to ſecure *Ireland*, or ſecure Themſelves "againſt *Ireland*; but in the loſs of it, muſt look for ſuch "Enemies from hence, as would perpetually diſturb the Peace "of his Majeſty, and his Kingdom of *England*; and among "them, by Sea and Land, as We had often formerly repre- "ſented thither; which miſchiefs We ſignified might yet be "prevented, if We were but then forthwith enabled, from "thence, with means to overcome this Rebellion.

"We then alſo again renew'd our requeſts for the Provi- "ſions, mention'd in our Letters of the twentieth of *January*, "and for the payment of the ſeven thouſand eight hundred "fourſcore and thirteen pounds three ſhillings, for Arms to "be provided in *Holland*, beſides thoſe We expected from "*London*; We then alſo ſent, incloſed in our Letters to "Mr Speaker, a Copy of writing, ſign'd by ſundry Officers of "the Army, which was in a Style threatning much danger; "whereby appear'd the high neceſſity of haſtning Treaſure "hither to pay them, and the reſt of the Officers, and pro- "vide Victual for the Soldiers. On the 10th of *April* 1643, "We receiv'd Letters from Mr Speaker, of the ſeventeenth, "of *March*, in Anſwer to our Letters of the 20th and 25th of "*February*. Thoſe Letters from Mr Speaker, adviſed free "Trade and Truck to be given to Merchants, by taking our "Native Commodities, that cannot be Manufactur'd here, "for their Corn, and other Victuals, and carrying them into "*England*, or other places not prohibited. And by our Let- "ters directed to Mr Speaker, dated the 22d of *April*, in An- "ſwer to his ſaid Letters of the ſeventeenth of *March*, We "made it appear, that That deſign could not hold to derive

" benefit to this Army. By those our Letters We signified " also, that the necessities of the Army still pressed us, by " degrees, to break the Merchants here, by wresting their " Commodities from them, upon promise of satisfaction in " *England*: that the failing of that satisfaction in *England*, as " it had undone Them, so had it infinitely prejudiced the " Service here: that We engaged the word of this State to " procure payment to many others, out of the next Treasure " that shall arrive forth of *England* (which Courses though " very hard, did help us for a time) that when those failed, " We begun at our selves, then at others, then at all Frater- " nities, and Corporations, as Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, " Vintners, and the like; then at all particular Persons ob- " serv'd to have any visible substance, not being able to spare " poor Men, who (to gain a poor living) made profes- " sion, some of selling Hot Waters, and some of Cutting " Tobacco: that in the end, all other means failing, We had " recourse to the only Native Commodity, Hydes; seising on " all that could be found, either on Ship-board, ready to be " exported hence (with purpose in some of the owners of " them to return Victuals hither; which We were not able " to wait for) or on Shore prepared for Ship-board; and made " use of them to get the Army in a few days Bread, still hoping " provisions of Victual might come to keep them alive; which " did draw upon us infinite Clamours.

" And by the said Letters We earnestly besought, that be- " fore We should be utterly swallow'd up in the Confusion " of Affairs, wherewith We were beset, the destruction of " this State, and Army, and Kingdom, being then no less " feared to arise from the Army, though sent hither for their " preservation, than from the fury of the Rebels, if that Ho- " nourable House would not look back into all our several " Letters sent thither, which We then declar'd should for " ever acquit us before God, and the World; as having " discharged our duties to God, to his Majesty, and to this " his Kingdom, in fully, and timely, and often representing " thither the evils then ready to seise upon this State, the Ar- " my, and the Kingdom, and the means of preventing them; " yet at last they would be pleased to review our said several " Letters of the 20th and 25th of *February*, of the 20th of *Ja- " nuary*, 23d of *March*, and 4th of *April*. We then also " signified that the Soldiers, pressed through wants, attempted " Tumults, and Mutiny, plunder'd divers of the Inhabitants " of this City, as well *English*, and Protestants, as others: " that We apprehended those disorders but beginnings of " what, We doubted, would then shortly ensue, even the

" Ransack

"Ranſack of this City, if by Supplies forth of *England*, it "were not prevented: that then there would be no refuge "left, either for the Army, or other *Engliſh* here: that We "were not able to ſend out the Soldiers, for want of Money "to furniſh ordinary neceſſities, and of Ammunition: where- "fore We then again earneſtly moved, that ſome means "might be found for complying with our deſires, in thoſe "our ſeveral Letters expreſſed; certifying, that the State of "Affairs here, could not poſſibly admit the leaſt deferring; "and that no help was to be expected from hence; as We "had often, and fully, in former Letters, ſignified thither: "that if it were not immediately ſupplied forth of *England* "with Powder, We ſhould not be able to defend our ſelves, "or offend the Rebels; and that, above all things, Munition, "Money, and Victuals, were, of neceſſity to be ſent in the "firſt place; and the other Proviſions to be ſent after, which "alſo we certified moſt needful to be done with all poſſible "ſpeed.

"By our Letters of the ſixth of *May* 1643, directed to "Mr Speaker, We ſignified how neceſſary it was, that the "intended Eſtabliſhment ſhould be conſider'd there, and put "into ſuch a way as to be made perfect, and receiving his "Majeſty's gracious Approbation, might be ſent hither; "which We deſir'd to be haſten'd, that the Officers, who "daily labour in the Publick Services, might the better know "what they are to have; of which Eſtabliſhment We have "not yet had any return. By our Letters to Mr Speaker of "the eleventh of *May* 1643, We ſignified, that although by "Letters from Mr Speaker dated the 17th day of *March*, it "was Advertiſed hither, that ſix weeks Proviſion of Victuals, "for each Province, was in preparing, yet that it was not "come, or if it was come, that it was a ſupply far below "that which was neceſſary to be then ſent hither. And We "then again repeated the miſerable Condition of this Army, "through want of all things, eſpecially Money, Victuals, "Cloaths, Arms, and Munition: that there were not above "forty Barrels of Powder in the Store (a mean and inconſi- "derable quantity for this Army, on whom depends the pre- "ſervation of the Kingdom) and We again deſir'd, in caſe "of ſo high and eminent danger, and that with all poſſible "importunity, that a courſe might be then inſtantly taken "for haſtning away Powder with all ſpeed, and that the "other Proviſions alſo of all ſorts, mention'd in our former "ſeveral Letters of the 20th of *January*, 20th, and 25th of "*February*, the 23d of *March*, and the 4th, and 22d of *April*, "might be alſo haſten'd away; and that the ſeven thouſand

"eight

"eight hundred and fourscore and thirteen pounds three "shillings, for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, besides those "We expected from *London*, might be paid.

"By those Letters also We signified, that We could not "but lament our misfortune, and the dishonour reflecting on "the *English* Nation, that the Season of the year should be "so far enter'd into, and yet (nothwithstanding all the repre-"sentations, often, and timely enough made thither of Af-"fairs here) no means put into our Power to make use "thereof, in a vigorous prosecution of the War; but in-"stead thereof, notwithstanding all the endeavour and in-"dustry here used to prevent it, We then beheld our selves "sunk deeply into a Gulph of Confusion, and Distress of "Affairs, being equally in danger to be devour'd through our "wants, or to be destroy'd by the Rebels, for want of need-"ful Habiliments of War to enable our Defence, as had "been formerly often and fully declared thither; and there-"fore We again pressed to be redeem'd from the terrible-"ness of our Condition, by such timely accessions of Sup-"plies forth of *England*, as were contain'd in our said former "dispatches.

"By our Letters to Mr Speaker, dated the sixteenth of *May* "1643, We desired that 320l might be paid there, as We had "formerly desired, for sundry particulars necessary for the "Chirurgeons of this Army; there being a great want there-"of for the Cures of wounded Men. And then We sent, "and employ'd Sr *Thomas Wharton* Knight, a Member of "this Army, purposely to sollicite the means of our Relief, "that so We might omit nothing that We conceiv'd might "conduce to the hastning of our expected Supplies. And "by our Letters of the sixteenth of *May*, then sent to Mr "Speaker, We signified, that the Kingdom was then in more "danger than ever to be forced out of our hands, for want of "timely Supplies out of *England*; and We desir'd most "earnestly, that his dispatch might be hasten'd for our pre-"servation, that, if it were possible, the King, and Kingdom "of *England*, might yet then be preserv'd from that irrecover-"able prejudice and dishonour, which must necessarily ac-"company, and follow the loss of this Kingdom.

"And here We may not omit to mention, that We pre-"vailed with divers Persons to advance Provisions to us, at "several times, to answer the crying necessities of this Ar-"my; and to some, We gave our Bills, in nature of Bills of "exchange, and to others, our own Bonds, undertaking re-"payment at *London* by the Parliament there; which We "did in confidence to find ready payment there accordingly:

"and

" and We do not yet hear that thoſe Bills of exchange, or " Bonds, are yet paid there; but We find ſome of the Parties " ready to Sue, and Implead us here, for thoſe Debts, though " contracted only for the Publick Service.

" WHICH proceeding of this Board, from time to time, " We thus at large deduce, that ſo it may appear fully that " We have diſcharg'd thoſe duties which We owe to his Ma- " jeſty, and to the truſt of his Majeſty's Affairs here, in re- " preſenting thither fully, and timely, and often, the wants " and extremities to which this Kingdom and Army were re- " duced, and the means requiſite to be ſent for relief and pre- " ſervation of both; and yet in all that time, namely from the " ſaid twentieth day of *January*, 1642, to the tenth of *June*, " 1643, which is the day of the date of our Letters, to which " yours of the fourth of *July* is an Anſwer, or from that time " to this, there arriv'd here, as ſent from the Parliament of " *England*, towards the relief of this Army, and for mainte- " nance of this War, but the particulars following, *viz.* Forty " nine thouſand two hundred forty eight pounds of Butter; " forty nine thouſand ſix hundred forty nine pounds of Cheeſe; " four hundred forty ſeven Barrels and a half of Wheat, and " Rye; three hundred threeſcore and ſeven Barrels of Peaſe; " and three hundred fifty ſix Barrels of Oats; alſo five hun- " dred Suits of Cloaths, one thouſand Caſſocks, two thou- " ſand eight hundred and eighteen Caps, alſo eight and " twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of Match; " thirty eight hundred two quarters and nine pound of Shot, " and three hundred threeſcore and fourteen Barrels of Pow- " der; of which Proviſions of Munition, there were three " hundred and one and forty Barrels of Powder, and five hun- " dred fifty five pound two quarters and four and twenty " pound of Match, which was the Munition We had con- " tracted for here, and in the way, coming from *Holland*, " was intercepted at Sea, and carried to *Calais*, and afterwards " ſet free there by the mediation of his Majeſty, and the " Houſes of Parliament in *England*; but the price thereof " ſtands charg'd on the ſaid Houſes of Parliament.

" THIS was not above a weeks Proviſion, or thereabouts, " of Victuals, for the Army in *Lemſter*, being fifteen Regi- " ments of Foot, and twenty two Troops of Horſe, and four " Troops of Dragoons, beſides Train of Artillery, and four " hundred Firelocks; ſo as certainly there was a failure in " ſupplying us, and that failure was not occaſion'd through " any neglect on our parts, in not repreſenting thither the " wants and extremities endured by this Army; and the " means of their Supply is, as We conceive, very clear by

" thoſe

"thoſe ſeveral diſpatches ſent from us to Mr Speaker. And "ſeeing, that the charge of this War was referr'd to, and "undertaken by the Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and "that by thoſe diſpatches they fully underſtood the Condi- "tion of Affairs here, We offer it to any Man's Conſidera- "tion, whether or no We had not juſt cauſe to conceive, "and accordingly to expreſs in that Act of Council, that our "difficulties, which were neceſſary to be mention'd in that "Act, were occaſion'd through the failure of the Houſes of "Parliament in *England*.

"And whereas you write, that the Lords and Commons "in Parliament do believe We have ſent Copies of our ſaid "Letters, and Act of Council to his Majeſty, it is true, that "We have ſo done; and therein acquitted our ſelves towards "that Duty which We owe Him; and had failed in our "Duties, if We had done otherwiſe. But how from that, as "We conceive, neceſſary and true expreſſion of ours in the "ſaid Act of Council, or from our ſending a Copy thereof, "and of our ſaid Letters to his Majeſty, there can be any "juſt cauſe to ſuſpect (as your Letters ſeem to infer) there "is ſuch an impious deſign now on foot, as your Letters "mention, We confeſs We do not underſtand, or any de- "ſign at all other than the needful ſettling here of the Im- "poſition in Nature of an Exciſe, in thoſe our Letters and "Act of Council mention'd; without which this Army could "not have ſubſiſted to this time; and was preſſed by the "Committee from the Parliament here, but then avoided; "our hopes being then more, and our neceſſities not ſo great "as they were when we laid it. And as We find by your "Letters, that the Lords and Commons in Parliament there "have done us the right, by your ſaid Letters, to ſignify that "they cannot think We intended by that expreſſion, to far- "ther the deſign in your Letters mention'd, ſo We hold it "neceſſary to declare, that We neither have forgotten, nor "can forget, the preſent Condition of that Kingdom; but "We have a long time beheld, and ſtill behold, and lament "with bleeding Hearts, the woful Condition of that King- "dom, and how God's Hand is ſtill ſtretch'd out againſt us, "in thoſe heavy Diſtractions there; yet We Comfort our "ſelves with hope, that God, in mercy to his Majeſty, and "to all his Kingdoms and People, will at length, in his own "good time, anſwer the Prayers and Tears of us his Ma- "jeſty's Servants, and many thouſand of others his good Sub- "jects there, and here, continually pour'd out for his Ma- "jeſty, and his Kingdom, in removing that heavy Judgment, "and ſettling Peace and Tranquillity there, to the Glory of "God,

"God, the Honour of his Majesty, and the joynt Happiness "of all his Subjects, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions.

"NOR have We forgotten the Supplies of all sorts sent hi- "ther by the Parliament, but do very well remember them. "But We confess We know not, what relief coming hither "hath been taken away, either by Sea or Land, or by whom, "or what discouragement hath been given them in return: "Only we have heard, that the Shipping, employed by the "Rebels at *Wexford*, did give them some interruption at Sea; "and that was occasion'd by neglect of duty in those who "Commanded the Ships design'd for the Guard of the Coasts "of this Kingdom: and the said Ship bound hither from "*Holland* with Munition, which We had contracted for here, "was intercepted at Sea, and carried to *Calais*, and afterwards "set free there, by the mediation of his Majesty and the "Houses of Parliament in *England*. And We find that some "Ships, sent hither it seems at first with Provisions from *Lon-* "*don*, and other Ships bound hither with Provisions on pri- "vate Mens Adventures, were taken away even from this "Harbour, a few days before the Cessation of Arms here, as "they were coming in, and carried to *Leverpool*, by one Cap- "tain *Dausk* a Person employ'd by the two Houses of Parlia- "ment there, in the Command of a Ship, and that Ship com- "manded by *Dausk*, and other Ships employ'd at *Leverpool*, "do now, and have a long time stay'd on that side, laden with "Provision of Victuals, Coals, and other necessary relief bound "from thence hither to be sold; which, if they had arrived "here, would have brought great relief to this Army, and the "Inhabitants in this City, though on the Adventure of the "Bringers; which We hold necessary to represent thither, to "the end that their uncharitableness towards those poor Men "that would Adventure hither to relieve us, and their inhu- "manity towards this distressed Army, and City, and many "of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects therein, might appear so "as they, or others, may not presume hereafter to offend in "that kind.

"AND whereas you write, that We should not conceive "that only the Charge of this War was refer'd to, and under- "taken by the Parliament, as if their part were to be our "Bankers, only to provide Monies for Us to spend, and were "not to advise, and direct the managing of the War; We "confess We neither did, nor do conceive the Parliament "there to be Bankers for Us; but did esteem them, as those "to whom the King our Master referr'd the Charge of this "War, and to whom, as so entrusted by his Majesty, this "Board, from time to time, made application; and if any ad-

"vice

"vice had come from them, concerning the managing of the "War, We ſhould have endeavour'd to have made the beſt "uſe thereof, for the furtherance of his Majeſty's Service here. "And here We hold it neceſſary to declare, that when We un- "derſtood, that his Majeſty, at the humble deſire of the Lords "and Commons of Parliament in *England*, had, in *April* 1642, "granted a Commiſſion to ſome Members of both Houſes, "for ordering and diſpoſing all matters there, for the defence, "relief, and recovery of this Kingdom; and that his Majeſty "Commanded all his Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects of his "Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*, to be obedient, aiding, "and aſſiſting to the ſaid Commiſſioners in the due execution "of the ſaid Commiſſion; and that by his Majeſty's inſtructi- "ons, annexed to the ſaid Commiſſion, his Majeſty gave it in "charge to thoſe Commiſſioners, to advertiſe his Lieutenant of "*Ireland*, the Council, and other Governours and Command- "ers here, what they conceiv'd to be needful for the proſe- "cution of the War in the beſt manner for the defence of "this his Kingdom, and eaſe of the great Charges and Ex- "pences, which, by occaſion of this Rebellion, lay upon his "loving Subjects of his Kingdom of *England*: We therefore, "by our letters of the ſeventh of *June* 1642 directed to thoſe "his Majeſty's commiſſioners, beſought, among other things, "preſent and particular direction for the proſecution of the "War; which yet We have not receiv'd: only We had ad- "vice from thence, to ſend ſome forces into *Connaught*; which "was done; and for ſending ſome Forces into *Munſter*, "which, by Our Letters of the thirteenth of *September* 1642 "to the Commiſſioners there, We ſignified was not poſſible "for Us to do, unleſs We were plentifully ſupplied of thoſe "things, whereof the wants then certified thither did then "diſable Us.

"CONCERNING the Commiſſion in your Letters men- "tion'd, it was not to hear what the Rebels would ſay, or "propound for their own advantage, as your Letters mention; "but his Majeſty having receiv'd an humble Petition, in the "name of the Recuſants of *Ireland*, deſiring to be heard, his "Majeſty thought it not unjuſt, or inconvenient for him, to "receive from them what they could ſay unto him; to whom "they inſinuated that they would yet yield due obedience. "And therefore his Majeſty, by his Commiſſion under the "Great Seal of *England* (wherein he declared his extreme de- "teſtation of the odious Rebellion, which the Recuſants of "*Ireland* have, without any ground or colour, raiſed againſt "Him, his Crown, and Dignity) Authoriſed ſome of his Mi- "niſters here, to hear at large what the Petitioners ſhould

"ſay,

"ſay, or propound, which his Majeſty, by the ſaid Commiſ-
"ſion, directed that the Petitioners, or the principal of them,
"Authoriſed by the reſt, ſhould ſet down in writing under
"their hands; and the Commiſſioners to ſend the ſame to his
"Majeſty; whereupon his Majeſty by the ſaid Commiſſion
"declar'd, he would take ſuch farther conſideration, as ſhould
"be juſt, honourable, and fit for his Majeſty: and that that
"Courſe gave not the leaſt interruption to the proceeding of
"the War, appears by this, that on the eighteenth of *March*
"(being in the time the Commiſſioners, Authoriſed by his
"Majeſty, gave meeting to thoſe of the other ſide, upon that
"Commiſſion) the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, though one of
"thoſe Commiſſioners, in his return from *Roſſe* with about
"two thouſand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horſe
"of his Majeſty's Army, fought with the Army of the Re-
"bels, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred
"and fifty Horſe, and obtain'd a happy and glorious Victory
"againſt them; and the Rebels Army being Defeated, and
"wholly Routed, and their Baggage and Munition ſeiſed
"on, his Majeſty's Forces lodged that night where they had
"gained the Victory, as by former Letters of this Board, of
"the fourth of *April* 1643, directed to Mr Speaker, We for-
"merly ſignified thither: which We thus repeat, to manifeſt
"that that Commiſſion, or the Meeting thereupon, gave not
"any manner of interruption to the proceeding of the War.

"CONCERNING the Letters you mention, to diveſt the
"Committee of both Houſes there, of an Authority given them
"by both Houſes, We remember that his Majeſty, by his
"Letters of the third of *February* 1642, underſtanding that the
"then Juſtices and Council had admitted, without His order
"or knowledge, to ſit in Council with them in this his King-
"dom, Mr *Robert Goodwin* and Mr *Reynolds*, and that thereby
"they were become ſo bold, as to take upon them to hear
"and Debate of Matters Treated of in Council, his Majeſty,
"by his ſaid Letters, ſignified by his expreſs Command, that
"they ſhould not be permitted to ſit, or be preſent any more
"at his Majeſty's Council Table here; but if they had any
"buſineſs, his Majeſty willed, that they ſhould attend as others
"of their Quality: which his Majeſty's pleaſure was humbly
"obeyed by his ſaid Juſtices, and Council, with that Duty
"and Submiſſion, which was due from them to his Roy-
"al Commands. And as his Majeſty, by his ſaid Letters re-
"quired, that, if thoſe Perſons had any buſineſs, they ſhould
"attend, as others of their Quality; ſo, if they had afterwards
"offer'd any buſineſs at this Board, they ſhould have been
"heard therein: which was alſo ſignified to them before their

"departure

"departure hence. And now, upon this occasion, We having "perused the Copies they deliver'd at this Board, of the Order "of both Houses Dated the sixth of *October* 1642, and of their "Instructions, do find indeed, that, by the said Order, the said "*Robert Reynolds*, and *Robert Goodwin*, were to have the Cre- "dence, Power, and Esteem of a Committee sent hither by the "Advice, and Authority of both Houses of Parliament; and "that, by the said Instructions, they were to be admitted to "be present, and Vote at all Consultations concerning the War; "yet there is nothing in the said Order, or Instructions, for "admitting them to sit, or be present at his Majesty's Coun- "cil Table; which is that which his Majesty, by his said "Letters, required, should not be permitted; which cannot be "conceiv'd to be a devesting them of any Authority given "them by both Houses.

"And as to the late Alteration of Government here, ex- "pressed in your Letters, although his Majesty in his high "wisdom adjudged it fit to alter one of those Governours, "which he had placed here, which was no more than He, "and his Royal Predecessors had usually done in all Ages, as "often as they thought fit, yet that made no alteration in the "Government; but it in all times continued, and still conti- "nues the same, though in other Persons.

"That part of your Letters which declares, that you are "forbidden to tell Us what Supplies of Money, Victual, Am- "munition, and other Necessaries, were then in a good for- "wardness to be sent hither for the support of the Officers, "and Soldiers here, requires no Answer on Our parts, other "than this truth, that they are not yet arriv'd here. Con- "cerning *Mountross's* Letter to Colonel *Crawford*, We know "of no Treason to be discover'd thereby; but for the Sea "Captains in your Letters mention'd, it is certain that their "neglects and misdeeds deserve punishment, which We de- "sire they may find rather to their correction, than to their "ruin.

"Thus We have given Answer to those parts of your "Letters, which, We conceiv'd, concern'd Us; whereby, We "hope, both Houses of Parliament there will now remain sa- "tisfied, as in the necessity and justice of our Actions, so in "the truth and candour of our Intentions, in those particulars "to which your said Letters seem to take exception. And so "We remain,

From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin 28th of Oct. 1643.

"Your Lordships very loving Friends,

Jo-

Jo. Borlase.	*Hen. Tichborne.*	*Rich. Bolton. Canc.*
La. Dublin.	*Ormond.*	*Roscommon.*
Ant. Midensis.	*Ed. Brabazon.*	*Char. Lambert.*
Geo. Shurley.	*Ger. Lowther.*	*Tho. Rotherham.*
Fr. Willoughby.	*Tho. Lucas.*	*Ja. Ware.*
	G. Wentworth.	

THE distractions in *Ireland* being, by means of the Cessation, in some degree allayed, and both Parties having time to breathe, the King, in the next place, consider'd how he might apply that Cessation to the Advancement of his Affairs in *England*. One of the principal Motives that induced that Cessation, was the miserable State of the Army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband; so that there being now less use of them there, and an impossibility to keep them, his Majesty had it only in his Election, whether he should suffer them there to disband, and dispose of themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a Number as might be safely spared, to his own Assistance in *England*; to which he was assured, that the devotion, and affection of most of the principal or considerable Officers there, chearfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only inform'd of the preparations and readiness in *Scotland*, to invade this Kingdom; but that they had called over their old General, the Earl of *Leven*, who Commanded the *Scots* Forces in *Ireland*, and many other Officers and Soldiers out of that Kingdom, to form and conduct their Army into This; and that there were also Arts and Industry used, by some Agents for the Parliament, to perswade the *English* Officers likewise to bring over their Men for their Service.

The King sends for part of the English Army out of Ireland.

So that the King directed the Marquis of *Ormond*, to make choice of such Regiments and Troops, as were necessary for the Defence of the several Garrisons, or as could be provided for, and supported in that Kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for *England*. To which purpose, Shipping was sent; with direction that those from, and about *Dublin*, should be Shipp'd for *Chester*, to be joyn'd to those Forces under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of Sr *William Bruerton*; who, by an addition of Forces from *London*, and with the Assistance of Sr *Thomas Middleton*, and Sr *John Gell*, was grown very strong; being backed by *Lancashire*, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the Parliament;

and that the other Forces out of *Munster* should be landed at *Bristol*, to be disposed by the Lord *Hopton*; who was forming a new Army, to oppose S^r *William Waller*; who threaten'd an inroad into the West; or rather to seek him out by visiting *Hampshire*, and *Sussex*, if the other were not ready to advance.

THE Court at *Oxford* was much encreased by the Queen's Presence, and the necessities were encreased with the expence. All correspondence was absolutely broken with *London*, insomuch as a sworn Messenger of the Chamber, sent to *London* with a Writ, and Proclamation for the Adjournment of the Term to *Oxford*, was apprehended as a Spy (as hath been said before) and executed by Martial Law; and the two Houses had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, and Inscription, and put the same into the hands of Commissioners; and so the Courts were continued in *Westminster*-Hall, for the dispatch of Justice (as they call'd it) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the King's Proclamation. The money, which by the particular Persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied in the beginning of the War, now near spent, and the stopping the intercourse with *London*, had shut the door against farther Supply; so that all Men were weary of the condition they were in, and expressed it as weary Men used to do in Murmurs and Complaints. And now all the hope was in the Convention of the Members of Parliament; which being a new thing, suspended the present indisposition, and administred some expectation, what they, who came from all Quarters of the Kingdom, would do.

The Members of both Houses met at Oxford.

ACCORDING to the King's Proclamation, the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who had withdrawn out of Conscience and Duty from those at *Westminster*, appear'd at *Oxford* at the day appointed; except such as could not reasonably be absent from their Commands in the Counties, where the Armies were. They were graciously, and solemnly welcom'd by his Majesty, with that Ceremony which is used at the opening of a Parliament; when his Majesty told them:

The Substance of the King's Speech to them.

"THAT he had called them to be Witnesses of his Actions, "and privy to his Intentions; and that he desired to receive "any Advice from them, which they thought would be suit- "able to the miserable and distracted condition of the King- "dom; in presenting whereof, they should use all that Par- "liamentary freedom which would be due to them if they "were with him at *Westminster*, and which, with all their "other Privileges, they should enjoy at *Oxford*, though they "could

"could not in the other place; with many expreſſions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. As ſoon as they had withdrawn to thoſe places which were aſſign'd to their Counſels, both Lords and Commons enter'd upon the deliberation of all poſſible expedients, in order to Peace; moſt Men believing, according to the reaſon and conſcience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to diſpoſe thoſe at *London* to the honeſty and confidence of a Treaty, than, in that Treaty, to agree on ſuch Concluſions as might be ſatisfactory to all Parties; judging it impoſſible, that Men could deſire to bring ruine and deſolation upon their Country, if they were once perſwaded that it might be prevented with their own preſervation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a diſpoſition to intercourſe, appear'd very hard. When they thought of adviſing the King to ſend a gracious Meſſage and Overture of the two Houſes, they preſently remember'd, and conſider'd, what his Majeſty had already done that way, and how ill returns of Reverence and Duty, he had receiv'd from them: That to the two laſt Meſſages he had ſent (it being not poſſible now to ſend any more gracious and obliging) they had never return'd Anſwer, and that they ſtill detain'd his laſt Meſſenger in ſtrict durance, after having expoſed him to a Trial for his Life at a Court of War: That they had prohibited any kind of Addreſs to be made to them from his Majeſty, except through the hands of the Earl of *Eſſex* their General. From thence thoſe at *Oxford* enter'd upon the diſpoſition, how they might engage his Lordſhip to the ſame thoughts and deſires with them; to the which they eaſily believ'd, Experience, Obſervation, and Intereſt, would engage him. They perſwaded themſelves, that the principal ground which had hitherto fruſtrated all Overtures from his Majeſty towards Peace, was the Conſcience thoſe at *Weſtminſter* had of their own guilt, and the jealouſy, that proceeded from thence, that no Peace could ſecure them, whilſt there was power left in his Majeſty; but that they could not poſſibly ſuſpect the performance and exact obſervation of any agreement, which ſhould be concluded upon the interceſſion of all the King's Party; which muſt be ſecurity for the accompliſhment of it. From the reaſonableneſs of this Aſſertion, they entertain'd an Aſſurance, that the Earl of *Eſſex* would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in promoting the Overture; which was all they deſired; for that would remove thoſe forms, which, as ſo many Rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the Lords and Commons, the Members of both Houſes, reſolv'd to write a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, in

their own Names, which, with the King's Consent, was by Trumpet sent to him, within four days after their meeting. The Letter was in these very Terms.

My Lord,

They send a Letter to the Earl of Essex.

"His Majesty having, by his Proclamation of the 22d of "*December* (upon the occasion of the Invasion threaten'd, "and in part begun, by some of his Subjects of *Scotland*) sum- "mon'd all the members of both Houses of Parliament, to at- "tend him here at *Oxford*, We whose Names are underwrit- "ten, are here met and assembled, in obedience to those his "Majesty's Commands. His Majesty was pleased to invite Us, "in the said Proclamation, by these gracious Expressions, that "his Subjects should see, how willing he was to receive Ad- "vice, for the preservation of the Religion, Laws, and Safety "of the Kingdom, and as far as in him lay, to restore it to it's "former Peace and Security (his chief and only end) from "those whom they had trusted; though he could not receive "it in the place where he appointed. This most gracious In- "vitation hath not only been made good unto Us, but se- "conded, and heighten'd by such unquestionable Demonstra- "tions of the deep and Princely sense, which possesses his "Royal heart, of the Miseries, and Calamities, of his poor "Subjects, in this unnatural War, and of his most entire and "passionate Affections to redeem them from that sad and de- "plorable condition, by all ways possible, consistent either "with his Honour, or with the future Safety of the Kingdom, "that as it were impiety to question the sincerity of them, so "were it great want of duty and faithfulness in Us (his Ma- "jesty having vouchsafed to declare, that he did call Us to be "Witnesses of his Actions, and Privy to his Intentions) should "We not testify, and Witness to all the world, the Assurance "We have of the piety and sincerity of both. We being most "entirely satisfied of this truth, We cannot but confess, that "amidst our highest Afflictions, in the deep and piercing sense "of the present miseries and desolations of our Country, and "those farther dangers threaten'd from *Scotland*, We are at "length erected to some chearful and comfortable thoughts, "that possibly We may yet (by God's mercy, if his justice "have not determin'd this Nation, for it's Sins, to total ruine "and desolation) hope to be happy Instruments of our Coun- "tries redemption, from the miseries of War, and restitution "to the blessing of Peace.

"And We being desirous to believe your Lordship, how- "ever engaged, a Person likely to be sensibly touch'd with

"these

" theſe conſiderations, have thought fit to invite you to that " part in this bleſſed work, which is only capable to repair all " our misfortunes, and to buoy up the Kingdom from ruine; " that is, by Conjuring you by all the obligations that have " Power upon Honour, Conſcience, or Publick Piety, that lay- " ing to Heart, as We do, the inward bleeding Condition of " your Country, and the outward more menacing deſtruction " by a Forreign Nation upon the very point of Invading it, " you will cooperate with us to it's preſervation, by truly " repreſenting to, and faithfully and induſtriouſly promoting " with thoſe by whom you are truſted, this following moſt " ſincere, and moſt earneſt deſire of ours; that they joyning " with us in a right ſenſe of the paſt, preſent, and more threat- " ning Calamities of this deplorable Kingdom, ſome Perſons " be appointed on either part, and a place agreed on, to Treat " of ſuch a Peace, as may yet redeem it from the brink of " Deſolation.

" THIS Addreſs We ſhould not have made, but that his " Majeſty's Summons, by which We are met, moſt graciouſly " proclaiming Pardon to all without exception, is evidence " enough, that his mercy and clemency can tranſcend all for- " mer provocations; and that he hath not only made us wit- " neſſes of his Princely Intentions, but honour'd us alſo with " the Name of being ſecurity for them. God Almighty direct " your Lordſhip, and thoſe to whom you ſhall preſent theſe " our moſt real deſires, in ſuch a Courſe as may produce that " happy Peace, and Settlement of the preſent Diſtractions; " which is ſo heartily deſired, and pray'd for, by us, and " which may make us,

" Your *&c.*

From Oxford 29th *of Jan.* 1643.

THIS Letter was Subſcribed by his Highneſs the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and three and forty Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, and Barons, and one hundred and eighteen Members of the Houſe of Commons; there being ſuch expedition uſed in the diſpatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferr'd for a greater Subſcription: Albeit it was known that many Lords and Commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty Peers abſent with his Majeſty's leave, and employ'd in his Affairs, and Armies, in the Kingdom; and ten at the ſame time in the Parts beyond the Seas. So that the Numbers at *London* were very thin; for there were not above two and twenty Peers, who either ſat in the Parliament, or were en-

gaged in their Party; that is to say, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Essex*. *Kent*, *Lincoln*, *Rutland*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick*, *Manchester*, *Mulgrave*, *Denbigh*, *Stamford*, *Bullingbrook*; the Lords *Say*, *Dacres*, *Wharton*, *Grey* of *Wark*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Howard* of *Escrick*, *Rochfort*, and *Robarts*; who were present, or had Proxies there.

THE Trumpeter found the Earl of *Essex* at his House in *London*, where he was detain'd three or four days; during which time, the Committee of both Houses, that Committee which they called the Committee of Safety for the two Kingdoms (the *Scotish* Commissioners being a part of it) resorted to the Earl for his Advice: and in the end, the Trumpeter return'd with this short Letter to the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General.

My Lord,

The Earl of Essex's Answer directed to the Earl of Forth, with the two following Declarations.

"I RECEIV'D this day a Letter, of the 29th of this instant, "from your Lordship, and a Parchment Subscribed by the "Prince, Duke of *York*, and divers other Lords and Gentle- "men; but it neither having Address to the two Houses of "Parliament, nor therein, there being any acknowledgment "of them, I could not communicate it to them. My Lord, "the Maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, and of the "Privileges thereof, is that for which We are resolv'd to "spend our Blood; as being the foundation whereupon all "our Laws, and Liberties are built. I send your Lordship "herewith a National Covenant, solemnly enter'd into by "both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; and a Decla- "ration passed by them both together, with another Declara- "tion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, I rest

Your Lordships *&c.*

WHAT the Covenant was, being the same particularly set down before, I need not mention; and the Declarations are as publick, and would be thought too large to be in this place inserted, to the interruption of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be amiss to make a short Extract of some particular heads, or conclusions of them; that the World may see what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the King.

An Extract of the Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland.

THAT Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* alone, was, to justify their present Expedition into *England*; in which they said, "It was most necessary, that every one, against all doubt- "ing, should be perswaded in his mind of the lawfulness of "his Undertaking, and of the goodness of the Cause main- "tain'd

"tain'd by him; which they said was no other, than the good "of Religion in *England*, and the deliverance of their Brethren "out of the depths of Affliction; the preservation of their own "Religion, and of themselves from the extremity of Misery, "and the Safety of their Native King, and his Kingdoms, "from destruction and desolation. Any one of which (they "said) by all Law divine, and humane, was too just cause of "taking of Arms; how much more, when all of them were "joyn'd in one? And therefore, they wish'd any Man, who "did withdraw, and hide himself in such a Debate and Con-"troversy, to consider, whether he were not a hater of his "Brethren, against Christian and Common Charity; an hater "of Himself and his Posterity, against the law and light of "Nature; an hater of the King, and his Kingdoms, against "Loyalty, and common Duty; and a hater of God, against "all Religion, and Peace.

"THEY said, "The Question was not, nor need they dis-"pute, whether they might propagate their Religion by "Arms; but whether, according to their power, they ought "to assist their Brethren in *England*, who were calling for "their help, and were shedding their Blood in defence of "that Power, without which Religion could neither be de-"fended, nor reform'd; nor unity of Religion with them, "and other Reform'd Kirks, be attained. So that, they said, "the Question was no sooner rightly stated, but it was soon "resolv'd; and concluded, *That the Lord would save them "from the curse of Meroz, who came not to help the Lord against "the Mighty.* They said, the Question could not be, as their "Enemies would make it, whether they should enter into "*England*, and lift Arms against their own King, who had "promised and done as much, as might secure them in their "own Religion, and Liberties: but whether against the Po-"pish, Prelatical, and Malignant Party, their Adherents pre-"vailing in *England* and *Ireland*, they were not bound to "provide for their own preservation. That they might well "have known, from their continual Experience, ever since "the time of their first Reformation, especially after the two "Kingdoms were united under one Head and Monarch, and "from the Principles of their own Declarations, in the time "of their late Troubles and Dangers, that they could not "long, like *Goshen*, enjoy their light, if darkness should co-"ver the face of other Reform'd Kirks: that *Juda* could "not long continue in Liberty, if *Israel* were led away in "Captivity; and that the Condition of the one Kirk and "Kingdom, whether in Religion or Peace, must be com-"mon to both.

"THEY said the Question was not, Whether they should "presume to be Arbitrators in the matter, now debated by "Fire and Sword, betwixt his Majesty and the Houses of "Parliament; which might seem to be forreign and extrin-"secal to that Nation, and wherein they might be conceiv'd "to have no Interest; but, Whether, their Mediation and In-"terception being rejected by the one Side, upon hope of "Victory, or supposed by both Sides, upon Confidence of "their own strength and several Successes, it were not their "Duty, it being in their Power, to stop or prevent the Effu-"sion of Christian Blood; or, Whether they ought not to en-"deavour to rescue their Native King, his Crown and Po-"sterity, out of the midst of so many dangers, and to pre-"serve his People and Kingdom from Ruine and Destruction. "If every private Man were bound in Duty to interpose "himself as a Reconciler, and Sequestrator between his Neigh-"bours, arm'd to their mutual Destruction; if the Son ought "to hazard his own Life for the preservation of his Father "and Brother, at Variance one against the other, should a "Kingdom sit still, and suffer their King and Neighbouring "Kingdom to perish in an unnatural War? in the time of "Animosity, and appetite of Revenge, such an Interposing "might be an irritation; but afterwards, when the Eyes "of the Mind, no more blood-run with Passion, did dis-"cern things right, it would be no grief or offence of "Heart, but matter of Thanksgiving to God, and to the In-"struments which had kept from shedding Blood, and from "Revenge.

WITH this kind of Divinity, and this kind of Logick, to shew that they had a clear prospect of whatever could be said against them, they resolv'd to Invade their Neighbour Nation, and to interpose themselves as Reconcilers, by joyning against their Native and Natural King, with his Rebellious Subjects, in all the Acts of Animosity and Blood, which have been ever practised in the most raging, and furious Civil War.

An Extract of the Declaration of England and Scotland.

THE other Declaration, mention'd in the Earl's Letter, was a Declaration passed, and published in the Name of both Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*, after their Marriage by their new League and Covenant, and about the very time, that this very Overture for Peace came from *Oxford*. They were now both equally inspired with the *Scotch* Dialect and Spirit; talked, "How clearly the light of the Gospel shined "amongst them; that they placed not their Confidence in "their own Counsels and Strength; but their Confidence was "in God Almighty, the Lord of Hosts, who would not

"leave

"leave nor forſake his People. It was his own Truth and "Cauſe, which they maintain'd againſt the Hereſy, Super- "ſtition, and Tyranny of Anti-Chriſt: the Glory of his "Name, the Exaltation of the Kingdom of his Son, and the "Preſervation of his Church was their aim, and the end "which they had before their Eyes. It was his Covenant, "which they had ſolemnly in both Nations Sworn and Sub- "ſcribed; which he would not have put in their Hearts to "do, if he had been minded to deſtroy them. Upon theſe "and the like Grounds and Conſiderations, being confident "that this War, wherein both Nations were ſo firmly united, "and deeply engaged, was of God, they reſolve with Cou- "rage and Conſtancy to the end to do their part; and the "Lord who had ſtirr'd up their Spirits, diſplay'd his Banner "before them, and given the Alarm, do that which ſeemeth "him good.

THEY gave now "Publick warning to all Men to reſt no "longer upon their Neutrality, or to pleaſe themſelves with "the naughty and ſlothful pretext of indifferency; but that "they addreſs themſelves ſpeedily to take the Covenant, and "joyn with all their power, in the Defence of this Cauſe "againſt the Common Enemy; and by their Zeal, and for- "wardneſs hereafter, to make up what had been wanting "through their Lukewarmneſs; this they would find to be "their greateſt Wiſdom, and Safety; otherwiſe they did declare "them to be Publick Enemies to their Religion, and Country; "and that they were to be cenſur'd and puniſh'd, as profeſſed "Adverſaries, and Malignants.

THEN they proclaim'd "A Pardon to all thoſe who would "before ſuch a day deſert the King, and adhere to them, and "take the Covenant; and concluded, "That they made not "that Declaration, from any preſumption, or vain glorying "in the ſtrength of their Armies and Forces, but from the "ſenſe of their Duty, which was required and expected from "the high Places, and publick Relations, wherein they ſtood; "and from the Aſſurance they had of the Aſſiſtance of God, "by whoſe Providence, the Truſt and Safety of thoſe King- "doms were put into their hands at this time; having, after "long and grave Conſultation, reſolv'd and decreed never to "lay down Arms, till Truth and Peace, by the bleſſing of "God, be ſettled in this Iſland, upon a firm foundation for the "preſent, and future Generations; which, they ſaid, ſhould be "eſteem'd of them an abundant reward of all that they could "do, or ſuffer in that Cauſe.

THESE were the Declarations which the Earl of *Eſſex*, together with the Covenant, ſent, as an Anſwer to that Let-

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ter from the Prince of *Wales*, and those Lords and Gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an Honest, and Honourable Peace to all the King's Dominions. And I cannot but observe, that after this time that the Earl declin'd this opportunity of declaring himself, he never did prosperous Act in the remainder of his Life; but whereas before, he had throughout the Course of his Command, how unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal Courage and Conduct, and at this time was adorn'd with the Testimony of Friends and Enemies, of a right good General, upon the conclusion of the business of *Glocester*; he never, after his taking this Covenant, and writing this Letter, did one Successful thing; but prov'd Unfortunate in all he went about, even to his Death; of which We shall say more in it's place.

We the rather extracted these short Clauses of those two Declarations, that Posterity may observe the Divine Hand of Almighty God upon the People of these miserable Kingdoms; that after they had broken loose from that excellent Form and Practice of Religion, which their Ancestors, and Themselves had observ'd, and enjoy'd, with a greater measure of Happiness, than almost any Nation liv'd under, so long a time; and after they had cancelled, and thrown off those admirable and incomparable Laws of Government, which was compounded of so much exact reason, that all possible Mischiefs were foreseen, and provided against by it; they should be now Captivated by a Prophane and presumptuous entitling themselves to God's Favour, and using his holy Name in that manner, that all sober Christians must stand scandalized, and amazed at; and should be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate, as, one would think, could only impose upon Men unnurtur'd, and unacquainted with any Knowledge or Science.

There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this Trumpet; and yet the Answer being so much in that Popular Road, of saying something plausibly to the People, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the World might see, that they did, in plain *English*, refuse to admit of any Peace. So the Earl of *Forth* was advised to write again to the other General, for a Safe Conduct for two Gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from *Westminster*, to be sent by his Majesty concerning a Treaty of Peace. To this the Earl of *Essex* return'd Answer, "That whensoever he should "receive any directions to those who had intrusted him, he "should use his best endeavours; and when a Safe Conduct

"should

"should be desir'd for those Gentlemen, mention'd in his "Letter, from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament, his "Lordship would, with all chearfulness, shew his willingness "to farther any way that might produce that happiness, which "all honest Men pray'd for; which is a true Understanding "between his Majesty, and his faithful, and only Council, the "Parliament.

THIS expression of his resolution of interposing, if he had a Letter from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament (together with some intimation in Letters from *London*, which at these Seasons never wanted) perswaded many, that the Earl wanted only an opportunity to possess the Houses with the Overture, and if it were once within the Walls, there were so many well affected to Peace, that the Proposition would not be rejected; though no particular Person, or Combination of Men, had the Courage, of themselves, to propose it. And therefore at the same time, making all possible preparations for the Field, as the Scene where the differences were like to be decided, his Majesty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to send this ensuing Message, which was enclosed to the Earl of *Essex*, to be by him managed.

The King's Message to both Houses.

"OUT of Our most tender and pious Sense of the sad and "bleeding Condition of this Our Kingdom, and Our un- "wearied desires to apply all remedies, which by the bless- "ing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter Ruine, "by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, "assembled at *Oxford*, We do propound, and desire, that a "convenient Number of fit Persons may be appointed, and "authorised by You, to meet, with all convenient speed, at "such Place as you shall Nominate, with an equal Number "of fit Persons whom We shall appoint, and authorise to "Treat of the ways and means to settle the present Distra- "ctions of this our Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace: "And particularly, how all the Members of both Houses "may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parlia- "ment, there to Treat, Consult, and Agree upon such things, "as may conduce to the maintenance, and defence of the "true Reform'd Protestant Religion, with due consideration "to all just, and reasonable ease of tender Consciences; to "the settling and maintaining of our just Rights and Privi- "leges, of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, the Laws "of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and "all other Expedients, that may conduce to that blessed "end of a firm and lasting Peace both in Church and State,

"and

" and a perfect underſtanding betwixt Us and our People:
" wherein no Endeavours, or Concurrence of Ours ſhall be
" wanting: And God direct your Hearts in the way of Peace.

Given at our Court at Oxford, 3d March. 1643.

THIS Meſſage being ſign'd by his Majeſty, was ſuperſcribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*; which, though it was a Style they could not reaſonably except againſt, was yet no other than the Lords and Commons at *Oxford* took upon themſelves, as they well might. After two or three debates in the Houſes, and with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, without whoſe Concurrence nothing was tranſacted, this Anſwer was return'd to his Majeſty; which put a period to all Men's hopes, who imagin'd that there might be any diſpoſition in thoſe Councils to any poſſible, and honeſt Accommodation.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty.

The two Houſes Anſwer.

" WE the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament
" of *England*, taking into our conſideration a Letter ſent from
" your Majeſty, dated the 3d of *March* inſtant, and directed
" to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at
" *Weſtminſter* (which by the contents of a Letter from the
" Earl of *Forth* unto the Lord General the Earl of *Eſſex*, We
" conceive was intended to our ſelves) have reſolv'd with the
" concurrent Advice and Conſent of the Commiſſioners of
" the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to repreſent to your Majeſty, in
" all humility and plainneſs, as followeth: That as We have
" uſed all means for a juſt and ſafe Peace, ſo will We never
" be wanting to do our utmoſt for the procuring thereof; but
" when We conſider the expreſſions in that Letter of your
" Majeſty's, We have more ſad and deſpairing thoughts of at-
" taining the ſame than ever; becauſe thereby thoſe Perſons
" now aſſembled at *Oxford*, who, contrary to their Duty, have
" deſerted your Parliament, are put into an equal Condition
" with it. And this preſent Parliament, conven'd according
" to known and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom (the con-
" tinuance whereof is eſtabliſh'd by a Law conſented to by
" your Majeſty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the
" ſcope and intention of that Letter being to make proviſion
" how all the Members, as is pretended, of both Houſes may
" ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament;
" whereof no other concluſion can be made, but that this pre-
" ſent Parliament is not a full, nor free Convention; and that to
" make

"make it a full and free Convention of Parliament, the pre-
"ſence of thoſe is neceſſary, who notwithſtanding that they
"have deſerted that great Truſt, and do levy War againſt the
"Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houſes
"of Parliament.

"AND hereupon We think our ſelves bound to let your
"Majeſty know, that ſeeing the continuance of this Parlia-
"ment is ſettled by a Law, which (as all other Laws of your
"Kingdom) your Majeſty hath ſworn to maintain, as We
"are ſworn to our Allegiance to your Majeſty (theſe obliga-
"tions being reciprocal) We muſt in duty, and accordingly
"are reſolv'd, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend and
"preſerve the juſt Rights and full power of this Parliament;
"and do beſeech your Majeſty to be aſſured, that your Ma-
"jeſty's Royal and hearty concurrence with Us herein, will
"be the moſt effectual and ready means of procuring a firm
"and laſting Peace in all your Majeſty's Dominions, and be-
"getting a perfect Underſtanding between your Majeſty and
"your People: without which, your Majeſty's moſt earneſt
"profeſſions, and our moſt real Intentions concerning the
"ſame, muſt neceſſarily be fruſtrated. And in caſe your Ma-
"jeſty's three Kingdoms ſhould, by reaſon thereof, remain in
"this ſad and bleeding condition, tending, by the continu-
"ance of this unnatural War, to their ruine, your Majeſty
"cannot be the leaſt, nor the laſt Sufferer. God in his goodneſs
"incline your Royal breaſt, out of pity and compaſſion to
"thoſe deep ſufferings of your innocent People, to put a ſpee-
"dy and happy Iſſue to theſe deſperate evils, by the joynt ad-
"vice of both your Kingdoms, now happily united in this
"Cauſe by their late ſolemn League and Covenant; which
"as it will prove the ſureſt remedy, ſo it is the earneſt prayer
"of your Majeſty's loving Subjects, the Lords and Commons
"aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*.

Grey of Warke
Speaker of the Houſe of Peers in Parliament
Weſtminſter the 9th of Mar. 1643. [pro tempore;

William Lenthall
Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament.

Means agreed upon by the Lords and Commons at Oxford to raiſe Money.

THE hope of Peace, by this kind of interpoſition, did not in any degree make the Counſels remiſs for the providing of Money to ſupply the Army: Upon which they had more hope than for a Treaty. But the Expedients for Money were not eaſily

eaſily thought on; though there was a conſiderable part of the Kingdom within the King's Quarters, the Inhabitants were frequently robbed, and plunder'd by the Incurſions of the Enemy, and not very well ſecured againſt the Royal Troops, who begun to practice all the Licenſe of War. The Nobility, and Gentry, who were not Officers of the Army, lived for the moſt part in *Oxford*; and all that they could draw from their Eſtates, was but enough for their own Subſiſtence; they durſt not enter upon charging the People in general, leſt they ſhould be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament; and their care was, that the Common People might be preſerv'd from Burthens; and they were as careful not to expoſe the King's Honour, or Name, to affronts and refuſals; but were willing that the Envy and Clamour, if there ſhould be any, ſhould fall upon Themſelves.

THEY appointed all the Members of the Commons, "To "bring in the Names of all the Gentlemen of Eſtate, and "other Perſons who were reputed to be rich, within their ſe- "veral precincts; and what Sum of Money every Body might "be well able to ſupply the King with, in this exigent of the "publick State. And then a form of a Letter was conceiv'd, which ſhould be ſent to every one of them, for ſuch a Sum; "the Letter to be Subſcribed by the two Speakers of the "Houſes, to the end that the People might know, that it was "by the advice of the Members of Parliament aſſembled "there; which was as much the advice of Parliament, as could "be deliver'd at that time in the Kingdom. When the way and method of this was approv'd by the Lords, and his Majeſty likewiſe conſented to it; they begun, the better to encourage others, with Themſelves; and cauſed Letters to be ſign'd and deliver'd to the ſeveral Members of both Houſes, "For ſuch Sums as they were well diſpoſed to furniſh; which were to that proportion as gave good Encouragement to others; and the like Letters to all Perſons of condition who were in the Town. And by this means, there was a Sum raiſed in ready Money, and Credit, that did ſupply many neceſſary occaſions, near the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, whereof ſome came in every day, to enable the King to provide for the next Campagne; which, the Spring coming on, was to be expected early; the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* having raiſed vaſts Sum of Money, and being like to bring many Armies into the Field. All, who were to furniſh Money upon theſe Letters, had liberty to bring, or ſend it in Plate, if that was for their convenience; the King having called the Officers and Workmen of his Mint to *Oxford*, who Coyn'd ſuch Plate as was brought in; his Majeſty likewiſe made a Grant of ſome Forreſts,

Forrefts, Parks, and other Lands, to certain Perſons in Truſt, for the ſecuring of ſuch Money as ſhould be borrow'd, or thoſe Perſons who ſhould be bound for the payment of ſuch Money; and by this means likewiſe many conſiderable Sums of Money were procured, and Cloth, and Shoes, and Shirts, were provided for the Army.

THE two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, who called themſelves, and they are often called in this diſcourſe, the Parliament, had at this time by an Ordinance, that is an Order of both Houſes, laid an Impoſition, which they called an Exciſe, upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and many other Commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically ſet down by them, for the carrying on the War. This was the firſt time, that ever the Name of payment of Exciſe was heard of, or practiſed in *England*; laid on by thoſe who pretended to be moſt jealous of any exaction upon the People: and this Pattern being then printed, and publiſh'd at *London*, was thought by the Members at *Oxford*, as a good Expedient to be follow'd by the King; and thereupon it was ſettled, and to be govern'd, and regulated by Commiſſioners, in the ſame Method it was done at *London*. And in *Oxford*, *Briſtol*, and other Garriſons, it did yield a reaſonable ſupply for the Proviſion of Arms and Ammunition; which, for the moſt part, it was aſſign'd to; both ſides making ample Declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the neceſſity that drew on this impoſition, "That it ſhould be continued "no longer than to the end of the War, and then laid down, "and utterly aboliſh'd; which few wiſe Men believ'd it would ever be.

The two Houſes at Weſtminſter impoſe an Exciſe.

The two Houſes at Oxford follow the Example.

THE high and inſolent proceedings at *Weſtminſter*, made no impreſſion at *Oxford* towards the ſhaking the Allegiance, and Courage of thoſe whom his Majeſty had called to adviſe him. But when they found the temper of thoſe ſo much, above belief, averſe to Peace, and intending utter ruine to the King, the Church, and all who ſhould continue true *Engliſh* Men and Subjects, they reſolv'd as frankly to declare their Reſolutions, that the People might ſee the Iſſue they were at; and therefore they publiſh'd a Declaration of the Grounds and Motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; in which they mention'd "All the "indirect Paſſages, and the Acts of Violence, by which they "had been driven thence; and the obligations upon them in "Conſcience, and Law, to adhere to his Majeſty; and the "miſery which the other Party had already brought upon the "Kingdom, and the deſolations which muſt inevitably follow "thoſe concluſions: and with a greater Unanimity and Conſent

The Subſtance of the Declaration of the Lords and Commons at Oxford.

ſent, than was ever known in ſo great a Council, where there were ſo many Perſons of Honour, and Judges, and others Learned in the Law, among whom there was ſcarce one diſſenting Voice, they declared,

1. "THAT all ſuch Subjects of *Scotland*, as had conſented "to the Declaration, entitled the Declaration of the King- "dom of *Scotland* concerning the preſent Expedition into "*England*, had thereby denounced War againſt the Kingdom "of *England*, and broke the Act of Pacification.

2. "THAT all his Majeſty's Subjects of the Kingdom of "*England* and Dominion of *Wales*, are both by their Alle- "giance, and the Act of Pacification, bound to reſiſt and re- "preſs all thoſe of *Scotland* as had, or ſhould enter upon any "part of his Majeſty's Realm and Dominions, as Traytors, "and Enemies to the State; and that whoſoever ſhould Abet, "Aid, or Aſſiſt the *Scots* in their Invaſion, ſhould be deem'd "as Traytors and Enemies to the State.

3. "THAT the Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſt-* "*minſter*, that had given their Votes, or Conſent to the rai- "ſing of Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, or "had been Abetting, Aiding, or Aſſiſting thereunto, had le- "vied and raiſed War againſt the King, and were therein "guilty of High Treaſon.

4. "THAT thoſe Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſt-* "*minſter*, that had given their Votes and Conſents for the "making and uſing a new Great Seal, had thereby Counter- "feited the King's Great Seal, and therein committed High "Treaſon.

5. "THAT the Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſt-* "*minſter*, who had given their Conſents to the preſent com- "ing in of the *Scots* in a Warlike manner, had therein com- "mitted High Treaſon: and that in theſe three laſt Crimes, "they had broken the Truſt repoſed in them by their Coun- "try, and ought to be proceeded againſt as Traytors to the "King, and Kingdom.

So that the Engagement ſeem'd fuller of Animoſity on both ſides, than ever; and the King exceedingly ſtrengthen'd by the Lords and Commons having more poſitively and concernedly wedded his Cauſe, than they were before underſtood to have done; and in truth, in the Civil Counſels, nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable Advancement.

IT had been very happy for the King, if the Winter had been ſpent only in thoſe Counſels which might have provided

vided Money, and facilitated the making his Army ready to take the Field in the Spring; when he was ſure to have occaſion enough to uſe it; and to be in great diſtreſs, if it ſhould not be then in a condition to march; but the Invaſion, which the *Scots* made in the depth of Winter, and the Courage the Enemy took from thence, deprived his Majeſty even of any reſt in that Seaſon. Upon the *Scots* unexpected march into *England* in *January*, in a moſt violent Froſt and Snow, hoping to reach *New-Caſtle* before it could be Fortified, and perſwading their Common Soldiers, that it would be deliver'd to them as ſoon as required; thither the vigilant Sr *Thomas Glemham* had been before ſent to attend their Coming, and the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* with his Army, upon the fame of their Invaſion, marched thither with a reſolution to Fight with them before they ſhould be able to joyn with the *Engliſh* Rebels; leaving in the mean time the Command of *York*, and the Forces for the guard of that County, to Colonel *John Bellaſis*, Son to the Lord *Falconbridge*, a Perſon of great Intereſt in the Country, and of exemplary Induſtry and Courage. But by this means, and the remove of the Marquis with his Army ſo far North, the Enemy grew to a great ſtrength in thoſe Parts; and not only able to diſquiet *York-ſhire*, but drawing a great Body of Horſe and Foot out of *Derby-ſhire*, *Stafford-ſhire*, and *Lincoln-ſhire*, ſat down before his Majeſty's Garriſon of *Newark* upon *Trent*, with a full confidence to take it; and ſo to cut off all correſpondence between his Majeſty and the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*. And Sr *Thomas Fairfax* from *Hull*, in the head of a ſtrong Party, had fallen upon a Quarter not far from *York*, Commanded by Colonel *John Bellaſis* at *Selby*, and had totally Defeated it, taken the Cannon, and many Officers Priſoners, and amongſt thoſe the Colonel himſelf. This was the firſt Action for which Sr *Thomas Fairfax* was taken Notice of; who in a ſhort time grew the ſupreme General under the Parliament. This Defeat, which was great in it ſelf, was made much greater by the terrible apprehenſions the City of *York* had upon it; inſomuch that the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, who till then had kept the *Scots* at a Bay, found it neceſſary to withdraw his Army, and with great part of it to make haſte into *York*, to prevent any farther miſchief there; by which means the *Scots* were at liberty to advance as they pleaſed; and *Fairfax* improv'd his Reputation by a ſpeedy, and unlook'd for march into *Cheſhire*.

The Marquis of New-Caſtle marches to oppoſe the Scots.

Sir Thomas Fairfax Defeats and takes Col. Bellaſis at Selby.

Whereupon the Marquis of New-Caſtle retires to York.

The Marquis of Ormond *made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *sends the King Assistance.*

UPON the Cessation in *Ireland*, the King made the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and appointed him to make use of the Winter Season (when the Parliament Ships could not attend that Coast) to transport those Regiments of Foot which might be well spared during the Cessation, and which could not be supported there, to *Chester*; from whence his Majesty could easily draw them in the Spring to *Oxford*; and were, in truth, the principal Recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the Field. The Lord *Byron* then Commanded *Chester*, and that County; and was appointed to take care for the reception, and accommodation of those Troops; which was a right good Body of Foot, and being excellent Men, both Officers and Soldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their Landing; and quickly freed North *Wales* from the Enemy; who at that time begun to have great power there. It was towards the end of *November* when they Landed, and being a People who had been used to little ease in *Ireland*, the King having given the Lord *Byron* leave to employ them in such Services as might secure that Country, the Season of the year made little impression on them; they were always ready, and desirous of Action; and in the space of a Month reduced, by Assault and Storm, many places of notable importance, as *Howarden*-Castle, *Beeston*-Castle, *Crew*-House, and other places of strength; and encountring the whole Body of the Rebels, at *Middlewich* in *Cheshire*, Broke and Defeated them with great Slaughter; and drove all that Surviv'd, and were at liberty, into *Nantwich*; the single Garrison they had then left in *Cheshire*: into which the whole Party was retired, and which had been Fortified and Garrisoned from the beginning of the Troubles, as the only refuge for the disaffected in that County, and the Counties adjacent. The Pride of the late Success, and the Terror the Soldiers believ'd their Names carried with them, carried them at this most unseasonable time of the year thither; for it was about the first week in *January* when the Lord *Byron* came with his Army before the Town, and Summon'd it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the King's Affairs, there being, between that and *Carlile*, no one Town of Moment (*Manchester* only excepted) which declared against the King; and those two populous Counties of *Chester*, and *Lancashire*, if they had been united against the Parliament, would have been a strong Bulwark against the *Scots*.

THESE

THESE conſiderations, and an opinion that the Town would yield as ſoon as Summon'd, brought the Army firſt thither; and then a paſſionate deſire of Honour, and Contempt of the Enemy within, or of any other who could undertake their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and ſo they raiſed Batteries, and undertook a formal Siege a gainſt the Town. The ſeventeenth day of *January* they made a general Aſſault upon five ſeveral Quarters of the Town, ſomewhat before day-break, but were with equal Courage oppoſed from within, and near three hundred Men loſt, or wounded in the Service; which ſhould have prevailed with them to have quitted their deſign. But thoſe repulſes ſharpen, rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the Aſſailants, no leſs than the Beſieged, deſiring an Army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience long for the ſame thing; the *Iriſh* (for under that name, for diſtinction ſake, we call that Body of Foot, though there was not an *Iriſh* Man amongſt them) ſuppoſing themſelves Superior to any that would encounter them in the Field, and the Horſe being ſuch as might as reaſonably undervalue thoſe who were to oppoſe them.

The Iriſh Forces routed by Sr Thomas Fairfax at Nantwich.

IN this their confidence, ſupply came too ſoon to the Town, and confuſion to the King's Forces: For Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, upon his Victory at *Selby*, brought out of *York-ſhire*, a good Body of Horſe to *Mancheſter*; and, out of that place, and the neighbour places, drew near three thouſand Foot, with which, joyning with Sr *William Bruerton*, and ſome other ſcatter'd Forces from *Stafford-ſhire*, and *Derby*, who had been Routed at *Middlewich*, he advanced near *Nantwich*, before he was look'd for; the *Iriſh* being ſo over confident that he would not preſume to attack them, that, though they had Advertiſement of their motion, they ſtill believ'd that his utmoſt deſign was by Alarms to force them to riſe from the Town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their Poſts too long; and when they found it neceſſary to draw off, a little River which divided their Forces, on a ſudden thaw, ſo much ſwelled above it's Banks, that the Lord *Byron* with the greateſt part of the Horſe, and the Foot which lay on one ſide of the Town, were ſever'd from the reſt, and compelled to march four or five miles, before he could joyn with the other; before which time the other part, being Charged by Sr *Thomas Fairfax* on the one ſide, and from the Town on the other, were broken; and all the Chief Officers forced to retire to a Church call'd *Acton* Church, where they were caught as in a Trap, and the Horſe, by reaſon of the deep ways with the ſudden thaw,

and narrow Lanes, and great Hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves Prisoners to those whom they so much despised two hours before. There were taken, besides all the Chief and Considerable Officers of Foot, near fifteen hundred Soldiers, and all their Cannon, and Carriages: The Lord *Byron* with his Horse, and the rest of his Foot, retiring to *Chester*. There cannot be given a better, or it may be, another reason for this Defeat, besides the Providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and disdain this Body had of the Enemy; and the presumption in their own Strength, Courage, and Conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon Him who alone disposes of the event of Battles: though it must be acknowledged, most of the Officers were Persons of signal Virtue, and Sobriety; and, in their own Natures, of great Modesty and Piety; so hard it is to suppress those motions, which Success, Valour, and even the Conscience of the Cause, is apt to produce in Men not overmuch inclined to presumption.

THERE was another result of Council at *Oxford*, in this Winter Season, which deserves to be mention'd; and the rather, because all the inducements thereunto were not generally understood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the *Scots* were visibly Arm'd, and upon their march into *England*, which the King was the last Man in believing; and when there was no way to stop, or divert them, his Majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some Men of that Nation, who had been long proposing a way to give them so much trouble at home, that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their Neighbours; to which Propositions less care had been given, out of too much confidence in Persons, upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependence.

The Earl of Mountrose comes to the King, and informs him of the state of Scotland.

The Earl of *Mountrose*, a young Man of a great Spirit, and of the most ancient Nobility, had been one of the most principal and active Covenanters in the beginning of the Troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that Party, and his Command in that Army; and at the King's being in *Scotland*, after the pacification, had made full tender of his Service to his Majesty; and was so much in the jealousy and detestation of the violent Party, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was the Head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the King.

UPON the beginning of the Parliament at *Edenborough*, and the manifestation the Duke *Hamilton* would give no opposition

position to the proceedings thereof (as hath been mention'd before) the Earl privately withdrew out of *Scotland*, and came to the King few days before the Siege was raised from *Gloceſter*, and gave his Majeſty the firſt clear information of the carriage and behaviour of Duke *Hamilton*, and of the poſture that Kingdom would ſpeedily be in, and of the reſolutions that would be there taken; and made ſome ſmart Propoſitions to the King for the remedy; which there was not then time to conſult; but as ſoon as the King retired to *Oxford*, after the Battle of *Newbury*, and had had fuller intelligence, by the reſort of others of that Nobility who deſerv'd to be truſted, how the Affairs ſtood in *Scotland*; and heard that Duke *Hamilton*, and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanrick*, were upon their way as far as *York* towards *Oxford*; his Majeſty was very willing to hearken to the Earl of *Mountroſe*, and the reſt, what could be done to prevent that miſchief that was like to enſue. But they all unanimouſly declared, "That they durſt make no Propoſitions for the advancement "of the King's Service, except they might be firſt aſſured, "that no part of it ſhould be communicated to Duke *Hamil-*"*ton*; nor He ſuffer'd to have any part or ſhare in any Action, "that ſhould depend upon it; for they were moſt aſſured "that he had always betray'd his Majeſty; and that it had "been abſolutely in his power, to have prevented this new "Combination, if he would reſolutely have oppoſed it. "But if they might be ſecure in that Particular, they would "make ſome ſuch attempt under his Majeſty's Commiſſion "in their own Country, as might poſſibly make ſome diſtur-"bance there. His Majeſty thought he had much leſs reaſon to be confident of the Duke than formerly; for he had expreſly failed of doing ſomewhat which he had promiſed to do; yet he thought, he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of Truſt from him, except he did, at the ſame time, ſecure him from being able to do him farther miſchief; towards which kind of ſeverity, he did not think he had evidence enough. Beſides he had a very good opinion of the Earl of *Lanrick*, as a Man of much more plainneſs and ſincerity, than his Brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himſelf to a full reſolution in this important Affair, his Majeſty appointed the Lord Keeper, his two Secretaries, the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to examine the Earl of *Mountroſe*, the Earl of *Kinnoul*, the Lord *Ogilby*, and ſome others, upon Oath, of all things they could accuſe Duke *Hamilton*, or his Brother *Lanrick* of; and to take their Examinations in writing; that ſo his Majeſty might diſcover, whether their Errors proceeded from infidelity, and

consider the better, what course to observe in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much secrecy, as an Affair of that Nature could be, wherein so many were trusted.

UPON their Examination, there appear'd too much cause to conclude, that the Duke had not behaved himself with that Loyalty, as he ought to have done. The Earl of *Mountrose*, whilst he had been of that Party, had been privy to much of his Correspondence, and Intelligence. But most of the particulars related to the time when he Commanded the Fleet in the *Frith*, and when he had many Conferences with his Mother (who was a Woman most passionate in those contrivances) and with others of that Party; and when he did nothing to hurt, or incommodate the Enemy; all which was expresly pardon'd by the Act of Oblivion, which had been passed with all formality and solemnity by the King in the Parliament of both Kingdoms: And, so much as to question what was so forgot, might raise a greater fire, than that which they desir'd to quench; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper Caution. In the late transactions of *Scotland*, it was manifest that the Duke had absolutely opposed all Overtures of force, and of seising those Persons who could only be able to raise new Troubles; which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betray'd the King, and all the Lords, in consenting to the meeting of the Parliament, called and summoned against the King's express Pleasure and Command, and without any pretence of Law. And to this, the King's Approbation and Consent had been shew'd to them, by the Duke, under the King's own hand; which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw the mischief.

THE Case was thus; the Duke had given the King an account, after he had himself promised him that the Parliament should never be assembled (which his Majesty abhorr'd) "That though some few hot, and passionate Men, desir'd to "put themselves in Arms, to stop both Elections of the Mem"bers and any meeting together in Parliament; yet, that "all sober Men who could bear any considerable part in the "Action, were clearly of the opinion, to take as much pains "as they could to cause good Elections to be made, and then "to appear themselves, and that they had hope to have such "a Major part, that they might more advantageously dis"solve the meeting as soon as they came together, than pre"vent it; however, that Then would be the fit time to pro"test against it, and immediately to put themselves into Arms, "for which they would be well provided at the same time;

and

and to this he desir'd the King's positive direction. And his Majesty, in Answer to it, had said, "Since it was the opi-"nion of all his Friends, he would not Command them to do "that which was against their Judgment; but would attend "the Success; and was content that they should all appear "in the Parliament at it's first meeting; and the Duke had shewed the Lords those words in the King's Letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one Person who was of that Opinion, or had given that Counsel, but had still detested the Expedient when proposed.

THEN the Duke's Carriage in the Parliament, and his Brother's, at their first coming together, appear'd to be as is set down before, by the Testimony of those who were present; and the Earl of *Lanrick*'s applying the Signet to the Proclamation for that Rendezvous where the Army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the Evidence, upon the Depositions of the Persons examin'd, was presented to the King for his own determination. His Majesty had some thoughts of sending to the Marquis of *New-Castle* to stop the Duke and his Brother at *York*, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to *Oxford*, and meant the same Night to have kissed their Majesties Hands; but assoon as they arriv'd, they receiv'd a Command from the King, "To keep their Chambers; and had a Guard attended them. The King resolv'd to consult the whole Affair then with the Council Board, whereas, hitherto the Examinations had been taken by a Committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that purpose directed that a Transcript might be prepared, of all the Examinations at large; and that the Witnesses might be ready to appear before the Board, if it should be thought necessary: His Majesty at that time inclining to have both the Lords present, and the Depositions read, and the Witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second Morning after their coming to the Town, the Earl of *Lanrick*, either having corrupted or deluded the Guard, found a means to escape; and by the assistance of one *Cunningham* a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and of that Nation) had Horses ready; with which the Earl and his Friend fled, and went directly to *London*; where he was very well receiv'd. Hereupon the King inform'd the Board of the whole Affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted

in *Scotland*, and so, in many respects, it was not a Season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther Mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint: and so he was sent in Custody to the Castle at *Bristol*, and from thence to *Exeter*, and so to the Castle at *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*; where We shall at the present leave him.

Duke Hamilton made Prisoner at Oxford.

Mr Pym's death.

About this time the Councils at *Westminster* lost a principal Supporter, by the death of *Jo. Pym*; who died with great Torment and Agony of a Disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *Morbus Pediculosus*, as was reported; which render'd him an Object very Loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No Man had more to answer for the Miseries of the Kingdom, or had his Hand, or Head, deeper in their Contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his Life, than he design'd. He was a Man of a private Quality and Condition of Life; his Education in the Office of the *Exchequer*, where he had been a Clerk; and his Parts rather acquired by Industry, than supplied by Nature, or adorn'd by Art. He had been well known in former Parliaments; and was one of those few, who had sate in many; the long intermission of Parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the Rules, and Orders observ'd in those Conventions. This gave him some Reputation, and Reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

He had been most taken notice of, for being concern'd and passionate in the jealousies of Religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those Opinions that had been imputed to *Arminius*; and this gave him great Authority and Interest with those who were not pleased with the Government of the Church, or the growing Power of the Clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believ'd, and he profess'd to be very entire to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*. In the short Parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most Leading Man; for, besides the exact knowledge of the Former, and Orders of that Council, which few Men had, he had a very comly and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural, and proper; and understood the Temper and Affections of the Kingdom as well as any Man; and had observ'd the errors and mistakes in Government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy Dissolution of that Parliament, he continued for the most part about *London*, in Conversation and great Repute amongst those Lords who

who were moſt ſtrangers to the Court, and were believ'd moſt averſe to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealouſies, and diſcontents towards the State; and aſſoon as this Parliament was reſolv'd to be ſummon'd, he was as diligent to procure ſuch Perſons to be Elected, as he knew to be moſt inclin'd to the way he meant to take.

At the firſt opening of this Parliament, he appeared paſſionate and prepar'd againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; and though in private deſigning he was much govern'd by Mr *Hambden*, and Mr *Saint-John*, yet he ſeem'd to all Men to have the greateſt Influence upon the Houſe of Commons of any Man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and ſome Months after, the moſt Popular Man, and the moſt able to do hurt, that hath liv'd in any time. Upon the firſt deſign of ſoftning, and obliging the powerful Perſons in both Houſes, when it was reſolv'd to make the Earl of *Bedford* Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, the King likewiſe intended to make Mr *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer; for which he receiv'd his Majeſty's promiſe, and made a return of a ſuitable profeſſion of his ſervice and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no ſecret, ſomewhat declin'd from that ſharpneſs in the Houſe, which was more Popular than any Man's, and made ſome Overtures to provide for the Glory and Splendour of the Crown; in which he had ſo ill ſucceſs, that his Intereſt and Reputation there, viſibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do Hurt than Good; which wrought very much upon him to Melancholy, and complaint of the violence and diſcompoſure of the People's Affections, and Inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the Earl of *Bedford*, he deſpair'd of that Preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which upon his Converſion to the Court, he thought might be diſcover'd to his damage, or for pure want of Courage, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be carried by thoſe who would not follow Him; and ſo continued in the head of thoſe who made the moſt deſperate Propoſitions.

In the Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Carriage and Language was ſuch as expreſs'd much Perſonal Animoſity; and he was accuſed of having practiſed ſome Arts in it not worthy a good Man; as an *Iriſh* Man of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an Evidence of one part of the Charge againſt the Lord Lieutenant, in a particular of which a Perſon of ſo vile Quality would not be reaſonably thought a competent Informer; Mr *Pym* gave him Money to buy him a Sattin Sute and Cloak; in which Equipage he appear'd at the Tryal, and gave his Evidence; which if true, may make many other

other things which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believ'd; as that he receiv'd a great Sum of Money from the *French* Embassadour (which hath been before mention'd) to hinder the Transportation of those Regiments of *Ireland* into *Flanders*, upon the disbanding that Army there; which had been prepared by the Earl of *Strafford* for the business of *Scotland*; in which, if his Majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted, and contradicted, by the Houses, many do believe the Rebellion in *Ireland* had not happen'd.

CERTAIN it is, that his power of doing Shrewd Turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good Offices for particular Persons; and that he did preserve many from censure, who were under the severe displeasure of the Houses, and look'd upon as eminent Delinquents; and the Quality of many of them made it believ'd, that he had sold that protection for valuable Considerations. From the time of his being accused of High Treason by the King, with the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the other Members, he never entertain'd thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all Overtures of Peace and Accommodation; and when the Earl of *Essex* was disposed, the last Summer, by those Lords to an inclination towards a Treaty, as is before remember'd, Mr *Pym*'s power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerv'd not from. He was wonderfully sollicitous for the *Scots* coming in to their Assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad Spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurr'd with him, it is not known what his last thoughts, and considerations were. He died towards the end of *December*, before the *Scots* enter'd; and was buried with wonderful Pomp and Magnificence, in that place where the Bones of our *English* Kings and Princes are committed to their rest.

The Prince Elector Arrives at London.

THE Arrival of the Prince Elector at *London* was no less the discourse of all Tongues, than the death of Mr *Pym*. He had been in *England* before the Troubles, and was receiv'd and cherish'd by the King with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and supplied with a Pension of twelve thousand pounds Sterling yearly. When the King left *London*, he attended his Majesty to *York*, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high, that his Majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an Army for his Defence. Then, on the suddain, without giving the King many days notice of his resolution, that Prince left the Court; and taking

taking the opportunity of an ordinary Veſſel, Embark'd himſelf for *Holland*, to the wonder of all Men; who thought it an unſeaſonable Declaration of his fear, at leaſt of the Parliament, and his deſire of being well eſteem'd by them, when it was evident they eſteem'd not the King as they ſhould. And this was the more ſpoken of, when it was afterwards known that the Parliament expreſſed a good Senſe of his having deſerted the King, and imputed it to his Conſcience, "That he knew of ſome ſuch deſigns of his Majeſty, as he "could not comply with. At this time, after many loud diſcourſes of his coming (which were deriv'd to *Oxford*, as ſomewhat that might have an influence upon his Majeſty's Counſels, there being then ſeveral whiſpers of ſome high proceedings they intended againſt the King) he arriv'd at *London*, and was receiv'd with Ceremony; Lodged in *White-Hall*, and order taken for the payment of that Penſion which had been formerly aſſign'd to him by his Majeſty; and a particular direction by both Houſes, "That he ſhould be ad-"mitted to ſit in the Aſſembly of Divines; where, after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often preſent: of all which the King took no other notice, than ſometimes to expreſs, "That he was ſorry on his Nephew's behalf "that he thought fit to declare ſuch a compliance.

THE Defeat of Colonel *John Bellaſis* at *Selby*, by Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, and the deſtruction of all the *Iriſh* Regiments under the Lord *Byron*, together with the terror of the *Scotiſh* Army, had ſo let looſe all the King's Enemies in the Northern parts, which were lately at the King's Devotion, that his Friends were in great diſtreſs in all places before the Seaſon was ripe to take the Field. The Earl of *Derby*, who had kept *Lancaſhire* in reaſonable Subjection, and incloſed all the Enemies of that County within the Town of *Mancheſter*, was no longer able to continue that reſtraint, but forced to place himſelf at a farther diſtance from them; which was like, in a ſhort time, to encreaſe the Number of the Rebels there. *Newark*, a very neceſſary Garriſon in the County of *Nottingham*, which had not only ſubjected that little County, the Town of *Nottingham* only excepted, which was upon the matter confin'd within it's own Walls, but had kept a great part of the large County of *Lincoln* under Contribution, was now reduced to ſo great ſtreights by the Forces of that Country, under the Command of *Meldrum* a *Scotch*-Man, with addition of others from *Hull*, that they were compell'd to beg relief from the King at *Oxford*; whilſt the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* had enough to do to keep the *Scots* at a Bay, and to put *York* in a condition to endure a Siege, if he ſhould be forced to continue within thoſe Walls.

IN

In these streights, though it was yet the depth of Winter, and to provide the better for the security of *Shrewsbury*, and *Chester*, and North *Wales*, all which were terrified with the Defeat of the Lord *Byron*, the King found it necessary to send Prince *Rupert*, with a good Body of chosen Horse, and Dragoons, and some Foot, with direction, after he had visited *Shrewsbury* and *Chester*, and used all possible endeavours to make new Levies, that he should attempt the relief of *Newark*: which, being lost, would cut off all possible Communication between *Oxford* and *York*. In *Newark*, the Garrison consisted most of the Gentry of the County, and the Inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a Siege, but Courage and excellent Affections. The Enemy entrench'd themselves before the Town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturb'd: and indeed it was not easy for the King to find a way for their relief. To send a Body from *Oxford* was very hazardous, and the Enemy so strong, that they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from *Shrewsbury*, and *Chester*, where Prince *Rupert* had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so considerable a Body together, that the Enemy found little advantage by their late Victory, in the enlargement of their Quarters. His Highness then resolv'd to try what he could do for *Newark*, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby perform'd it. For the Enemy, who had always excellent Intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six Miles of them, before they believ'd he thought of them; and Charging and Routing some of their Horse, pursued them with that Expedition, that he Besieged them in their own Intrenchment, with his Horse, before his Foot came within four Miles. In that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength, to bring them into those streights, He, with a Number inferior to the Enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an Action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their Arms, or any Carriage or Baggage. Thus he reliev'd *Newark*, and took above four thousand Arms, eleven Pieces of Brass Cannon, two Mortar Pieces, and above fifty Barrels of Powder; which was as unexpected a Victory, as any happen'd throughout the War; with this prosperous Action, which was perform'd on the 22d of *March*, We shall conclude the Transactions of this Year.

Prince Rupert sent to relieve Newark, and effects it.

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.